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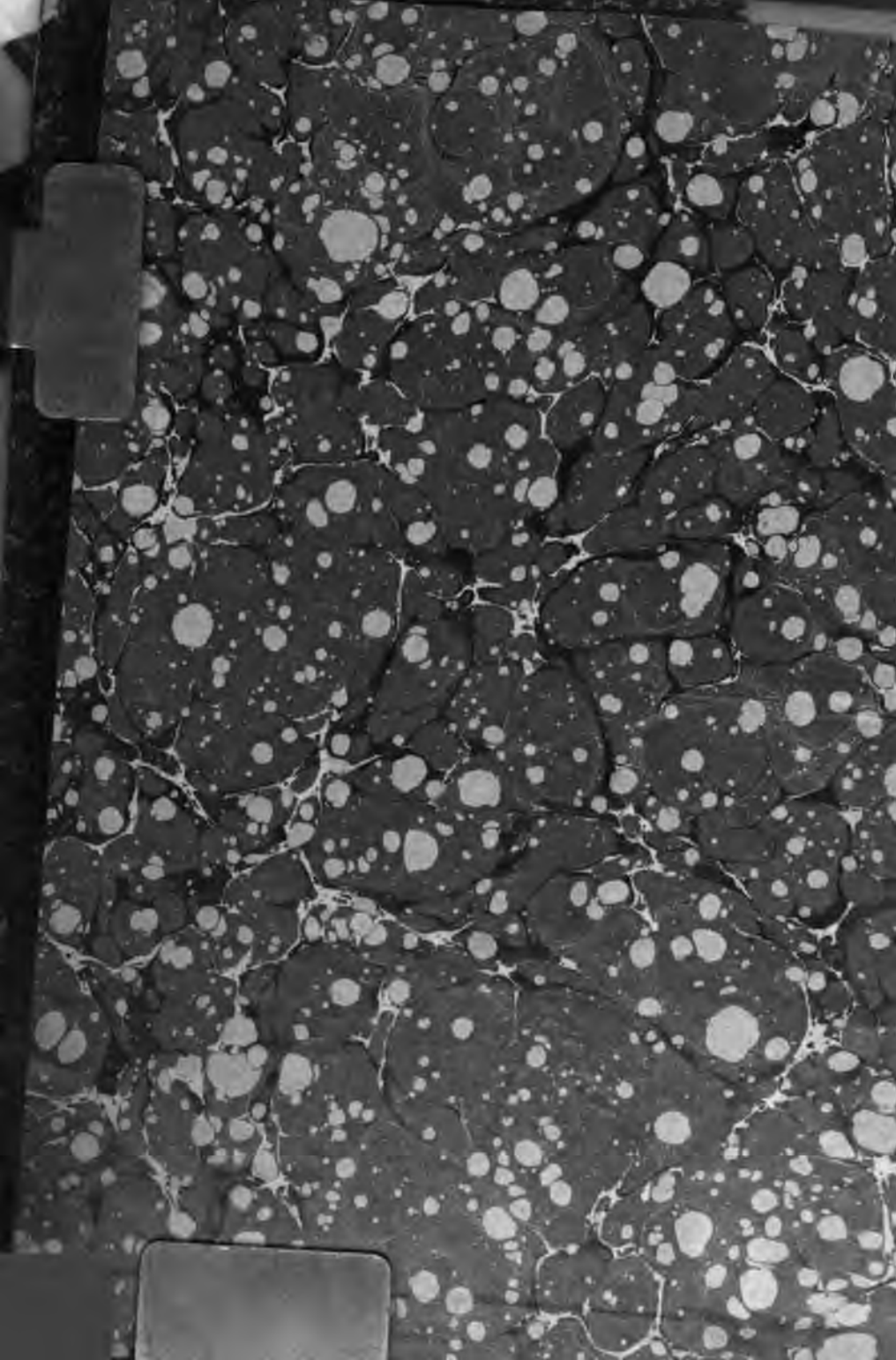

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JANUARY, 1893.

No. CCCLXIII.

ART. I.—1. *Report on Russian Agriculture and the Failure of the Harvest in* 1891. By E. J. F. LAW, Commercial Attaché to her Majesty's Embassy at St. Petersburg. Foreign Office: 1892.

2. *Through Famine-stricken Russia.* By W. BARNES STEVENI, Special Correspondent of the 'Daily Chronicle.' 2nd edit. London: 1892.

3. *Russian Characteristics.* By E. B. LANIN. 8vo. London: 1892.

4. *The New Exodus: a Study of Israel in Russia.* By HAROLD FREDERIC. 8vo. London: 1892.

5. *Das arme Russland: ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der wirtschaftlichen Lage des russischen Reiches.* Von H. ROSKOSCHNY. Leipzig: 1889.

6. *Russlands wirtschaftliche Lage im Jahre* 1891. Von W. HENCKEL. Hamburg: 1892.

7. *Verlumpung der Bauern und des Adels in Russland nach G. J. Uspenski und A. N. Terpigoriew.* Von V. SAMSON-HIMMELSTJERNA. Leipzig: 1892.

FAMINE in Russia is nothing new; indeed, a semi-official paper, the 'Nowoje Wremja,' admitted (October 7, 1891) that there was scarcely a year in which some part of the Empire was not visited by dearth, and this was regarded as an ordinary occurrence. It was only the magnitude of the evil by which forty millions of a population of nearly one hundred millions in European Russia were stricken, and the helplessness shown by the Government in this calamity, that roused general attention. Yet it did not come unawares; already

in May 1891 the Russian press spoke in an alarmed tone of the state of the crops in the most fertile regions, and these fears increased with the general drought of the following months; in June the average price of rye had risen to above 100 copecks from 56 to 63 copecks in former years. The Government, however, not only remained inactive, but sternly rebuked those journals which meddled with matters of which they knew nothing, and many weeks passed before those authorities which claim the exclusive right of initiative in public affairs recognised that something must be done against the impending disaster. Only on August 9 was the export of rye forbidden, but with the clause that this prohibition was not to come into force until the 27th, and thus an enormous export of this article took place in the intervening time. Soon afterwards other measures were resolved upon: the railway tariffs for sending corn to the suffering regions were reduced; the exportation of wheat was forbidden, although that article is not accessible to the lower classes; and some subsidies were granted. But not before the frost had set in, and numerous lives had been lost by the famine typhus, was a committee formed, under the honorary presidency of the heir apparent, for the relief of the suffering districts, which for this purpose established a lottery: ninety million roubles were assigned by the Government and 900,000 roubles sent by the Society of the Red Cross. It must be avowed that the extent of the calamity might have baffled the efforts of a more enlightened government, but the way in which the Russian Government broke down in its exertions to succour the suffering people was startling. First the proverbial corruption of the officials was not above turning a considerable part of the money destined to the purchase of food and corn for sowing into their own pockets. The flour bought by the municipal council of St. Petersburg for the poor was found to be mixed up with indigestible substances. And if this could occur in the capital, where a control was likely to be exercised, how might those distant regions fare where no one cared for the famished, and all those through whose hands the money sent passed only thought of appropriating as much of it as possible to their own use? In December the 'Official Journal' asserted that the corn which remained in the country after the prohibition of export was amply sufficient for the subsistence of the people until the next harvest. In saying so it was assumed that 30 lbs. monthly was sufficient for every adult, which evidently is not the case; but even under this

assumption the assertion soon proved untrue, and above all the inadequacy of the means of transport did not permit the existing provisions to reach their destination. Many thousands of quarters of corn were rotting in the ports of the Baltic and the Black Sea without shelter, because the railways were not able to transport them to the interior; still less was it possible to get the corn from the stations to the villages on the bad roads, rendered worse by the frost. In December there were lying on the Wladikawkas railway 85,000,000 lbs. of corn under the open sky, and it was calculated that for forwarding 40,000,000 lbs. by wagons 34,000 horses would be required, whilst of the horses of that region more than a third had perished. The Czar sent an extraordinary plenipotentiary—Colonel Wendrich—with full powers to establish order in the railway transport, but the disorder which he found was such that he could do little; so tens of thousands of human beings perished from sheer hunger.* The popes who still were able to make their round through the villages found whole families dying in their miserable huts, † and could do nothing but administer to them the sacraments. Parents killed their children, unable to look on at their sufferings, and committed suicide themselves. Everywhere emaciated creatures, vainly endeavouring to stave off hunger by loathsome mixtures, were wandering about in despair. The cattle had gone before from want of fodder, or had been sold at nominal prices; horses were offered in vain for two and three shillings each, colts which resembled mere dogs for fourpence. Private charity did what was possible; foreign aid came in, particularly from America and England, and amongst all the provinces the ill-treated Baltic Germans did most. But the Government did not encourage private organisation; on the contrary, Count Tolstoi, who had established soup kitchens, was ordered to return to his estate; foreign travellers who wanted to see for themselves were looked on suspiciously, as Mr. Steveni experienced, and the newspapers were warned to publish no unfavourable reports.

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* Mr. Law thinks (p. 22) 'there is no reliable evidence recording cases of actual death directly due to starvation.' The reports of Mr. Steveni, whose book is rigidly forbidden in Russia, and those of Mr. Lanin, founded on local papers, which, appearing under strict censorship, are not suspected of overstating the cases, lead to a different conclusion.

† The 'Wolga Bote,' No. 184, quoted by Mr. Lanin.

Now what we propose to show is that this horrible calamity was not, as the Russian and the French press has maintained, the repetition of former famines on an unprecedented scale, owing to an unusually bad harvest, but that the misery which broke upon a third part of European Russia was simply the result of a general economic decline and a progressive impoverishment during the last twenty years; although we agree with Mr. Law that generalisation on Russian questions is, as a rule, to be avoided on account of the immense extent of the Empire and the variety of conditions it includes.

The mere fact that the rural population of European Russia alone exceeds eighty millions proves that the Empire is eminently an agricultural one. Although the attention of the Government seems to have been concentrated of late years on fostering manufacturing industries, these are of comparatively small importance. Mr. Law calculates that of the total population only about 847,000 are employed in various works and factories, and 496,836 in mining and other metallurgical industries. The situation of the agricultural classes, forming 87¾ per cent. of the total population of European Russia, therefore, is decisive. But the natural conditions of the country are not favourable to good husbandry. By far the larger part of the Empire is subject to such a climate that, where there is no other occupation than the tillage of the soil, six months are passed in enforced idleness; and, as Mr. Law justly observes, 'there is nothing 'more certain than that constantly recurring periods of idle-'ness create a general disinclination to work,' such distaste being further fostered by the numerous religious holidays (about ninety-five, and even more), which are all strictly observed, although many of them fall in the busiest agricultural season. These circumstances have always existed; yet it is generally admitted that the condition of the peasantry has been constantly deteriorating since 1860. On this point writers of the most different opinions—Katkow, Koschelew, Engelhart, Mackenzie Wallace, Leroy-Beaulieu, Eckardt, Thun, &c.—all agree. What, then, are the reasons of this decline in the age of railways, which renders impossible what formerly was frequently the case, that corn rotted green, because there were no hands to house it? The reasons are manifold and must be considered separately.

In former times it was the policy of the governing classes to keep the masses in a state of poverty and ignorance, fostered by alcoholism, so that they might not be inclined

to rebel. Alexander II. broke with this tradition by the emancipation of the serfs and other reforms, but it cannot be denied that his generous intentions were marred in the execution by unfortunate circumstances. In the first place, neither the peasants nor their former lords were in any way prepared for such a sweeping change. Serfdom had degraded the rural masses; the peasant was a tool of his master, bound to obey him in everything and without any means of defence against the ill-usage of bad proprietors. This state of things made him idle, ignorant, and void of any foresight to protect himself against the rigour of the climate and bad harvests; being under the absolute tutelage of his lord, he relied upon him in everything, for the counterpart of serfdom was that the proprietors were bound to provide subsistence to their 'souls.' In this condition he was surprised by emancipation. He took it not only as a total change in his situation, as it really was, but as a sudden turn of the wheel which would make him prosperous without an effort. He was well satisfied with the acquired privileges, but wanted to keep those of his former state. The serf was, for instance, entitled to cut wood from the forest of his master; this right having ceased with the emancipation, he nevertheless fetched his wood as before, and, if he was prevented from doing so openly, stole it. The peasant had no idea of the validity of contracts, and tried to evade the payment of the annual emancipation quit-rent as much as possible, so that the Government was obliged to enforce it, much to his dissatisfaction. Above all he had from his former state inherited no conception of responsibility and good husbandry; having sold his corn he spent the money freely, and believed that, as formerly, the master must maintain him when he had nothing to live upon. Many grievous mistakes were committed in the scheme of emancipation. First the proprietors, not the peasants, had the right to demand redemption; many of them found it advantageous not to do so, in order to keep the peasants in dependency. Twenty years after the emancipation there were still three millions in this state, and it was only in 1883 that a ukase of Alexander III. made the redemption obligatory. The Emperor had declared that the aim of this legislation must be 'the amelioration of the condition of the peasantry, not 'in words and on paper, but in reality.' The Government had accordingly calculated the value of the redeemable property in a way which offered to the peasant an immediate advantage; but they had forgotten that the enfranchised

had now to pay taxes to the State and to the village, which formerly were borne by the proprietors; further, the distribution of the land was carried out in a very inadequate way, so that many villages got but little productive soil. All of them got very little wood; whatever they got they cut down, and the proprietors, in order to prevent these larcenies by the peasants, followed in the wake, realising ready money by the sale of timber, but devastating the forests of the country. Finally the former proprietors retained the police and the right of providing for the public safety; they were entitled to revise and to suspend the decisions of the village council; they could in certain cases depose its leaders and arrest peasants for debt or trespass, and they exercised these rights often very roughly. It is not therefore astonishing that general discontent soon prevailed amongst the peasants, who hoped for a new and real emancipation, which would give them gratuitously better and more land.

But all this does not sufficiently explain the economical decline. The emancipation has not made the peasant a rural proprietor, although the law calls him so; in fact, his only individual property is his house, or rather hut, and a little garden; all the land is the collective property of the village community, the 'mir.' This institution has been much praised by Russian and Russophile writers as a panacea against proletarianism; but experience shows that this optimism is unfounded, and the collective property which in the beginning existed equally in other countries belongs to an antiquated state of rural economy, and therefore everywhere else has given way to private property. The condition of the Russian mir is the following:—All the land belonging to a village is distributed every third year amongst its members, every adult twenty years old having the right to an equal lot. The soil is divided into three classes—good, middling, and bad—and every member gets his piece of each. After a lapse of ten to fifteen years there is a general revision of the land register, in order to follow the fluctuations of the population. These operations are presided over by the starosta, the village elder, elected by the heads of families, who besides has the office of a justice of the peace. For partitioning the property of the mir in individual lots a vote of two-thirds of the heads of families is required, which is rarely obtained; therefore peasants with individual property scarcely amount to two per cent. of the whole. The Government does not intervene, but the mir is collectively

responsible for the payment of communal and State taxes, of the redemption money, and for the annual contingent of recruits. The peasant is not free to cultivate his lot as he thinks proper; he must keep to the customary rotation of crops—corn, oats, and fallow. All attempts to change this system have failed. Now it is evident that the peasant, possessing his lot only for three years, is not inclined to improve it by proper tillage and manuring; he would only sow what his successor would reap, and so the soil gets less and less productive. If he is lazy and cannot pay his share of the collective taxation, the others must pay for him; besides, in proportion to the increase of the population the lots of every member must become smaller. Since the emancipation the increase in the number of the lots has been above 30 per cent., the allotments sometimes being reduced to two yards' breadth, so that they are not worth cultivation. This scattering of the morsels implies great waste of time and work; by the boundary paths much soil is lost, and many of the dispersed lots are difficult of access, which begets quarrels amongst the neighbours. With the subdivision of the soil that of agricultural implements goes hand in hand. Many peasants are without proper tools; many more have no cattle, still less capital for successful farming. Although there are in Russia wide uncultivated regions, the villages have rarely any land for new distribution, so that when the lots become entirely insufficient for maintaining their temporary owners, they must work for the larger proprietors, and it is for this reason that emigration to more fertile regions, such as Southern Siberia, is opposed by the Government, because if the sterile lands were abandoned the proprietors would not find labourers, or at least would be obliged to pay higher wages.

Nevertheless the misery is such that whole armies of begging peasants are wandering through Great and White Russia, and the Government has been obliged to organise them in order to prevent graver abuses. Roskoschny, in his chapter x., 'Migrating Russia,' has given a very graphic description of these gangs. With the beginning of the spring a large part of Russia seems to be changed into a gigantic field of nomads, who by hundreds of thousands wander about with the beggar's wallet. This army is divided into regular corps, to each of which, placed under a commander, a certain district is assigned; they start from a central country town, and then spread according to a regular plan of mobilisation. Some, as, for instance, the

Kubraki and Lodyry in White Russia, beg under the pretext of collecting for orthodox Churches. The Government requires that each body should be provided with a certificate from the consistory, but, as the masses are unable to read, the gifts are not properly registered; the consistory gets only a small share of the spoils, the larger part of which goes into the pockets of the beggars, and, as Russians rarely refuse alms for orthodox purposes, their gains are very considerable. Nor do these crafty people confine themselves to fleecing the orthodox population; in the Polish-speaking districts they pretend to be emissaries of the Catholic Church, charged by the Pope to collect for the building of new churches, and they sell to the credulous peasants fabricated relics. South of Moscow we find the Gusljaki, belonging to the Raskol, or old believers, who deal in copper saints' images, to which they give an air of antiquity by putting them into salt water; others beg by making their children cripples for show, in which art the Kaluni, for instance, are masters, or lie before the church doors. Besides there are large bands of irregulars, who swarm even to the plains of Siberia. The Russian peasant by nature is charitable, and gives freely as long as he has anything himself; but it is evident that this enormous mass of vagabonds, not one of whom does any work, must be a heavy drawback upon the productive forces of the country.

However, this is not all: the mir, as we have said, is collectively responsible to the State for all public charges, and there is no more unmerciful creditor than the Russian Government. The taxes must be paid, however miserable may be the condition of the peasants; payment is demanded in cash the moment the harvest is over, and if the peasants cannot pay all their available property is simply seized and sold, the share of land, the house, and certain things considered as absolutely necessary for existence being alone exempted from such seizure. The end of the harvest season is, however, with the majority the time when they are least able to meet the demands of the tax collector; they are generally penniless, and therefore obliged to sell their grain in haste and in a market which is soon glutted at low prices, or to borrow the money required.* The taxes are enormous: the reporter of the very Russophile 'Figaro' writes (October 10) that a peasant told him the produce of his land was 30r., and 22r. were taken by taxes. The consequence

* Law, p. 17. The letter *r* after these figures stands for roubles: about ten roubles go to a pound sterling.

is that the question of taxes is for the village community paramount in the distribution of the land. Therefore, although in principle, as above stated, every member is entitled to an equal share of the three categories of the soil, in fact the richer and stronger get more, because they are better able to contribute towards the public charges. The poor and weak cannot protest, because in the village council the majority decides, which is dominated by the intimidation of the rich, on whom the poor depend. Some of the former, called mirojédy (*exploiteurs*), drive a regular trade of making loans to the poor, which the latter cannot repay, and therefore are obliged to give up their lots to their creditors at nominal prices. But worse than the mirojédy is the 'koulak,' the hated but indispensable village usurer. The tax collector requires cash; the peasant has none, and if the sale of his corn, or even of his cattle, does not realise the necessary sum, he must borrow from the usurer at exorbitant interest, which not unfrequently reaches more than 100 per cent. Yet the Government never proceeds against these blood-suckers, who are not Jews but Orthodox Christians, because they are generally also retailers of brandy, from which it derives a third of its revenue. Under such conditions the fate of the poorer peasant is soon sealed, but even those who are better off suffer grievously from this system of taxation. Of this Mr. Law gives the following striking example:—Certain members of a village having failed to pay their taxes, a descent was made by the authorities, who seized the property of a number of villagers who had already paid their own share but remained collectively liable for their recalcitrant neighbours. The seizure was illegally conducted, and in their petition to the central government the victims stated that one man, to save his cattle, had compounded for a payment of 50r., which sum he had to borrow at 5r. per month interest. Two cows and an ox, valued by a second at 100r., were sold for 50r. 75c., and besides he had to pay 4r. in cash. The cow of a third was sold for 20r., and in addition he had to find 40r., which he was obliged to borrow at 5r. interest per month. A fourth stated that, besides the forced sale of his property, he was called on to pay 50r., which he had to borrow on the security of the corn he had sown. Such facts, which Mr. Law declares are well authenticated, speak volumes, even if the valuations of the peasants may have been exaggerated.

Lanin quotes instances where whole villages were utterly ruined by similar proceedings, without the Government

getting its full amount of taxes. Such was the case, according to the 'Nedeldja' of February 1891,* in the very worst period of the famine, in Petrowska, Werblinska, Werschinskamenka, Spassovo, Nowostarodu, in the district of Cherson, where all the cattle and the agricultural implements were sold; in a miserable village of Wjatka the collectors found, as sole available property, 300 chickens, and sold them at a halfpenny apiece. If the peasants have nothing, it is presumed that they have hidden their money, so they are flogged and imprisoned, as happened to more than fifty in June 1891. To all such oppression the unfortunate victims offer no resistance; for if, as above stated, it is scarcely possible to elicit general opinions on economical questions in this immense Empire, because what is true for the South is not so for the North or the West, one feature is universal—namely, the abject fear in which the moujik stands of the terrorism of the ubiquitous administration. One of the most successful journalists of the day, Nemirowitch Danschenko, has dared to say publicly,† 'Even bears are not 'quite inaccessible to pity, but the tchinownik knows no 'mercy; as he does with the hare, he will skin you five 'times.' There is scarcely any appeal from their sentence, for God is great and the Czar is distant, so that the complaints do not reach him, but are strangled by the bureaucracy. So the moujik mostly submits with a resigned stoicism, very much resembling the kismet of the Muslim. The very sense of suffering is blunted by the belief that it is impossible to struggle against it.

It has always been the policy of the Government to keep the masses in ignorance, because only under this condition is autocracy possible; the one exception was a short period of the reign of Alexander II., but thousands of the schools which were then founded and subsidised by the Semstvos have been suppressed by the late minister Count Tolstoi and

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* The reports of Russian papers on such cruelties are the more trustworthy as the whole press, except that of St. Petersburg and Moscow, is under strict censorship, and the papers of those two capitals can be suppressed after having received three warnings. We borrow these facts from the interesting work entitled 'Russian Characteristics,' published under the assumed name of E. B. Lanin, and consisting of a series of articles which first appeared in the 'Fortnightly Review.' But we do not rely on the authority of an anonymous writer, since M. Lanin gives chapter and verse for all his statements, taken from the principal Russian journals, notwithstanding the censorship.

† 'Nowoje Wremja,' March 7, 1891.

the Procurator of the Holy Synod, Pobiedonostseff, and an Imperial ukase of May 16, 1891, placed all the primary schools in the hands of the clergy, who at the same time received secret instructions to prevent the establishment of new schools. In 1886 there existed in European Russia with 82 millions only 39,000 primary schools, attended by two millions of children. In the province of Wjatka there was one school to every 3,293 inhabitants, so that only one child out of 53 could receive instruction; in the province of Simbirsk the proportion was one school to 2,423; in that of Kiew one to 1,800 inhabitants. The most favourably situated was the province of Cherson, with one school to 1,431 inhabitants; yet the governor reports that 20 per cent. of the boys and 72 per cent. of the girls remain without any instruction for want of schools. On an average 50 to 80 per cent. remain without any instruction in the interior of the Empire. Schools established in some parts by private liberality, after beginning to exercise influence, have been declared revolutionary and stopped. The village popes are nearly as poor and ignorant as those whom they should teach. Their clerical functions are limited to the ceremonies of the Church and learning its prayers by heart. There are no theological chairs in the Universities; the pope is educated in the clerical seminaries, which teach only what is necessary for performing the Orthodox ritual. After receiving his appointment he is bound to provide for the family of his predecessor, and so is often worse off than the poorest of his flock; bound to his post, and without the prospect of bettering himself, his indigence compels him to exact rigidly his perquisites, and at every baptism or burial there is a sharp haggling about the price to be paid. When he makes his circuit through the village for collecting gifts, such as bread, eggs, cabbages, &c., he finds the doors shut. He therefore avails himself of the credulity of his parishioners to cause eclipses of the sun by conjurations, or to procure rain by throwing the bones of the dead into the water, in order to earn a trifling gratuity.*

* Of the prevailing superstition Lanin gives incredible yet authenticated examples. In July 1891, according to the 'Kiewer Wort,' a peasant came to the Fustow Hospital and implored the physicians to give him a testimony that he had no tail, as sorcerers are supposed to have. He was constantly maltreated by his fellows, who believed him to be a sorcerer, and forced him to strip off his clothes in the street to convince themselves that he had got no sorcerer's tail. Other curious examples are related by M. Hehn.

It is not astonishing that, with such ignorance of the masses, the most absurd assertions find credence, as was the case during the late cholera epidemic. To the Russian lower classes the very idea of cleanliness is a chimera; they live in abject filth, and feel comfortable in it. Even the omnipotent Government could not make them tidy. A characteristic proverb says, 'The wolf and the bear never 'wash, yet are healthy.'* Even apart from the cost of sanitation the peasants would consider it a mere waste of time to clean their huts, in consequence, as Lanin says, of their entirely failing to grasp the relation between filth and contagion; so diseases never cease, and not only cholera but typhoid fever and diphtheria are constantly recurring, because the houses have cesspools under the floors and the rivers are polluted by the offal thrown into them.

Like the famine, contagious disease is regarded by the moujik as God's infliction, to which he must submit, and against which only prayers and charms can work. He not only scorns medical aid, but, instigated by interested agitators, rebels against it. Mob excesses are possible everywhere, but such excesses as were witnessed last summer at Astrachan and Saratow, where the populace burned sick men sprinkled with petroleum on a pile, stormed the hospitals, and threw physicians into the river, are only possible in Russia. In one region the cholera was even ascribed to the machinations of English enemies, who last year, under the pretence of distributing alms to the hungry, visited the famine districts and bribed the Russian physicians to spread the infection. Another example of utter want of judgement was given by the 'St. Petersburg Gazette' of October 15, stating that in the district of Kowno the peasants were selling their property in order to emigrate to the regions where cholera had destroyed the population, and the Government was to distribute the vacant land for nothing; and these deluded people, probably seduced by manœuvres of koulaks, who wanted to buy cheaply the deserted lots, did not even know in what direction they were to seek the land of promise.

In the abject condition to which the masses are reduced,

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* This is, however, not limited to the lower classes. The 'Nowoje Wremya' lately stated that the rich Prince Vyazemski never had his linen washed; when he put on a shirt he wore it till it dropped in shreds from his body.

and in which they can only buy food that would seem loathsome to Western proletarians and the cheapest cotton garments, they find their only consolation in drink, which increases their misery. The first Imperial brandy taverns, established by Iwan the Terrible, met with the greatest resistance from the people and the clergy, but the moujik soon learned to like what he then abhorred. Not only does every Sunday or saint's day, every baptism, wedding, or funeral end in general drunkenness, but no purchase or any other business is concluded without vodka libations; there are villages in which no petition is discussed unless the petitioner furnishes a certain quantity of brandy, which is also considered as the only arm against the tax collector, by making him drunk. In 1859 there were 93,000 kabaks, or brandy taverns; in 1864, 273,508, an increase of 200 per cent. The number is now far larger, averaging 1 to 500 inhabitants; and, as mentioned, the licensed publicans are generally the koulaks. The gradual raising of the brandy tax from 4r. to 9r. per wedro has not put a stop to drunkenness: 2,000 persons die annually from delirium tremens in European Russia—1 in 40,000. Lanin quotes an instance of a regiment in which, during its march, half of the soldiers were lying dead drunk in the ditches. The evil is so great that not only the press constantly insists upon measures against it, because it undermines the health and morality of the population, but even some village councils resolved to fine those who were found in the kabak. But those resolutions soon became a dead letter; the movement was not favoured by the Government,* for it derives its principal income from the brandy tax and tavern licences, the total revenue of which now exceeds twenty-five millions sterling.

Can it be wondered at that the masses living in such conditions of utter poverty, ignorance, and vice undergo not only moral but also physical degradation? The average death-rate, which in Western countries varies between 17 and 19 per thousand, is in European Russia 34, and in certain

* It is, therefore, also a grievance against the Raskolnik, or old believers, that they practise entire abstinence. There have been instances enough where kabaks were forced upon villages which had voted for their exclusion. The 'Garashdanim,' September 18, 1889, published a letter of a district police officer, who asked his chief, 'In our region abstinence spreads like an epidemic; the taverns complain of scanty profits. What shall I do? Shall I treat this movement as the spreading of a pernicious sect or as a blessing for the country?'

regions rises to 40–50, exceeding the birth-rate. The want of recruits in a country of 120 millions, with universal service, has become alarming; last year 874,101 males of twenty years were called up and duly appeared, but, according to the 'Moscow Gazette,' March 10, 1892, only 258,763 were found fit for service!

We have hitherto dealt with the condition only of the peasantry, because they form the immense majority of the rural population; but the situation of the large proprietors is, in its way, not much better, as is proved by the simple fact that the official papers publish from time to time lists of estates put up for sale by credit establishments for non-payment of interest, and these estates amount to thousands. Formerly such forced sales were rare, and confined to the sterile parts of the North. Twelve years after the emancipation the evil had penetrated to Middle Russia, where 634 bankrupt estates were offered for sale, and in 1891 the number of those sequestered by one single bank of Moscow amounted to 1,551. At the agrarian bank founded for the nobility the arrears had risen in April 1888 to 109,712,000r. In order to cover these arrears the Government issued a lottery loan, and yet the bank now offers more than three hundred estates for sale on account of unpaid interest. There are still, of course, noblemen who from the enormous extent of their estates are very rich. The property of the late Prince Peter Wittgenstein is said to have been equal to the area of the kingdom of Saxony; yet this magnate was obliged to stop payment of interest for a loan of five million marks contracted with a Hamburgh bank. Estates which are not mortgaged are scarcely to be found, but very often the debts exceed the value of the property. Such estates, of course, find no purchaser, and, as the creditors are not able to manage them on their own account, they can only leave the indebted possessors upon them, so that the arrears of interest increase the capital of the debt. Before the abolition of serfdom things were otherwise: the proprietors had plenty of hands which cost them next to nothing. They were for the most part certainly no benefactors to their serfs, but they were at least residents among them for the greater part of the year, and their obligation to provide for the subsistence of the serfs gave them an interest in their fate. Further, as Mr. Law observes (p. 15), the residence of the proprietors, by their daily wants, led to the training of a number of peasants in such arts as were required to enable these wants to be supplied. Capable

smiths, carpenters, masons, and other craftsmen were to be found in most villages.

All this is now changed; since the emancipation absenteeism has become general. The annual income of the proprietors was diminished, but they got from the Government redemption bonds, which most of them sold, spending the money in the capitals or travelling abroad. When this sum was exhausted they began to cut down their woods. Russia had enormous forests, which in the less fertile regions constituted the most valuable part of the landed property, though formerly the timber was of little avail to the proprietors for want of means of transport. This want is now supplied by the railways; so they have sold the woods to speculators, who exported the timber, and the produce has been spent as if it had been an annual rent. There are very few proprietors who, as is the case in Germany, manage their own estates; nor is there a class of intelligent farmers; most of them leave the land to the administration of stewards, who try to make most of it for themselves during the period of their contract, and are indifferent to improvements. The absence of the proprietors has led to absence of employment for skilled labour, and so the above-mentioned class of country craftsmen has disappeared. Even the few intelligent proprietors who want to improve their estates have to contend with the enormous duties on agricultural implements and machines. The Russian manufacturers are quite unable to meet the demand; for instance, in one year they could furnish only forty threshing-machines of the four hundred which were wanted; the rest were imported from England and Germany, and 8,000,000r. in custom duties had to be paid for them. A plough of the ordinary kind costs in Germany 2r. 72c., in Russia 5r. 30c., while the import of scythes, which are not made in Russia, entails upon agriculture an average expenditure of 311,109r. in duties. There are very few agricultural schools, and even those are scantily attended, because agriculture is not a profitable career, and for the same reason the agricultural societies have little influence. The production of cheese and butter is insignificant, and only the brandy distilleries and, on account of the large export bounties, the beetroot-sugar refineries yield large returns. The profits on the export of corn mostly do not go to the owners, but to speculators, middle men, and usurers.

Is it astonishing that under such conditions Russian agriculture shows a steady decline? As early as 1869 the Privy Councillor and Senator Lilienfeld declared in his book

'Land and Liberty' that, unless energetic measures were taken, peasants and proprietors would be totally ruined. On the estates of one of the largest proprietors of the black-soil region, the most fertile of Russia, the number of horses had decreased by 24–33¾ per cent., that of cattle by 11¾–29¼, that of sheep by 21–53 per cent. In a formerly rich village near St. Petersburg 200 inhabitants possessed only 36 horses and 50 cows. Fifteen years afterwards (1882) an official census of the existing cattle was made in 29 provinces of European Russia, from which it appeared that 1,100,000 peasant farms had no horses or oxen, and that a third part of the farms of five provinces had neither draught animals nor cows. A census of horses, established in the same year for military purposes, showed that 26·7 per cent. of all Russian peasants had no horses at all.* About the same time a proprietor in the province of Smolensk, Engelhart, wrote in a book 'From the Country:'—

'Under the present *régime*, with the ruin of large estates and the regular want of bread corn in spring, every local failure of crops would, without the railways, produce famine prices. Many people in this province have nothing to eat in November, most of them nothing at Christmas. Those who can afford to eat pure bread at Easter are considered to be very well off; in order not to die of famine, and to get money advanced for the payment of taxes, the poor must pawn their future harvest. If the provincial council comes forward with relief, the money is mostly spent in drink. Such was the case in Pskow, where after the distribution of seed corn all the roads swarmed with drunken people, and barley and oats were to be had at nominal prices.'

As to the total production of corn, a report of the secretary of the English Embassy, Mr. Kennedy, in 1885 stated that the area occupied by corn in European Russia fell from 167,000,000 acres in 1879 to 136,000,000 in 1883, and the respective produce from 1,498,000,000 bushels to

* Notwithstanding these authentic statistics the authorities resort to curious practices in order to throw dust into the eyes of the public. Some years ago there was an agricultural exhibition in the province of Smolensk; the department for horses showed in all five entries, of which four came from a Government stud. The attendant being asked whether they were for sale, answered in the negative, because they had been used for eleven years for exhibition purposes. The beasts were in no wise remarkable, two of them broken down; but all five got prizes, and the newspapers observed how gratifying it was that the inland breeds were ameliorated by cross breeds with Ardenners. As to cattle, there were five head, which all got medals, and were quoted as examples of the progress of breeding. Sheep and pigs there were none.

701,000,000, the export remaining about the same—namely, 229,000,000. According to Mr. Law (table iii.) the yearly total for 50 provinces of rye, wheat, oats, and barley was, in 1887, 303,738,500 tchetverts (equal to 2,099 hectolitres); in 1888, 286,143,274; in 1889, 224,143,100; in 1890, 267,035,000; and in 1891, 207,733,300, which shows, with the exception of the unusually good harvest of 1890, a steady falling off. Similar results are shown in table v., which gives details of the yield in each province; and table vi. proves that the production per head of population in the distressed provinces decreased from 24·01 poods in 1890 to 17·34 in 1891. Even the first quantity is insufficient to sustain a man, and in 1889 it had been 20·47 poods; and the previous exhaustion rendered the people powerless to contend against last year's complete failure. It is remarkable that among the distressed provinces those of the black soil stand foremost. Formerly it was maintained that this soil of exceptional fertility did not need manure, but in the long run no soil, however rich it may be, can retain its fertility without any return for the salts extracted from it. In 1889 the yield per head in six of the sixteen provinces suffering from famine in 1891 was below the average of the whole of European Russia, although these sixteen provinces include the finest natural soil in the Empire. In 1890 the difference was still further accentuated. Nine of the sixteen provinces then fell below the general average; and in 1891 only two—Orel and Tula—exceeded the average, whilst the great majority were far below it. Yet the black soil, if properly managed, still gives excellent results, as is shown by some carefully worked estates of large proprietors, and particularly by the German colonies in the south, which flourish amidst the general distress; but they are hampered by the Government because the peasants belong to the Stundists, a peaceful sect that may be compared to the Wesleyans, which is persecuted by the Orthodox Church. Their prosperity has raised the envy of the Slavophiles, who are vociferating against these Germans as a danger to Russia, asking the Government to prohibit them from acquiring more than ten dessjaetines of land per head.

There are two other factors which account for the prevailing distress—first, damages by fire, which, according to Mr. Law, in 1887 (the latest year for which statistics are available) amounted to 6,500,000*l.* sterling, but which of late years have increased; of these losses as much as 78 per cent. falls on the rural population. This is accounted for by the

dryness of the climate in summer, the carelessness of the peasants, and the want of organisation for extinguishing fires, which are simply regarded as a calamity sent by God. But the dryness itself is the result of the second factor, the ruthless forest destruction which has been going on for a long time, and has had a serious effect in reducing the average rainfall. The belts of wood attracted and held the moisture, which was slowly distributed for the benefit of agriculture; now in vast regions, as, for instance, on the black soil, there is hardly a tree to be seen, and the consequence is that the underground rivulets which nourished the soil have disappeared. The forests also broke the force of the fierce east desert winds. Now these winds, piercingly cold in winter and scorchingly hot in summer, burst with full fury on the great plains. In summer their blasts are capable of withering the corn in a few days, and with them come sand storms, which turn fertile land into permanent deserts. The unfortunate experiences of Central Asia, which once was a garden of fertility and now is a desert peopled by nomads only, are repeating themselves. In the province of Astrachan an area of 800 square miles is covered by drift sand; in that of Stawropol whole villages have disappeared, and in 1885 soldiers had to be summoned to clear the sand from the houses. In the province of Tauris the sand now covers 150,000 dessjaetines (= 1·00925 hect.); the same disastrous effects took place in the North, where, after the destruction of the forests in the provinces of Samara, Woronesh, and Tchernigow, hundreds of sandhills arose, which gradually covered the fertile land. A further consequence is that the rivers become shallower. In winter there is nothing to hold the snow, which is blown together into large heaps; these with the thaw dissolve into temporary torrents, washing away acres of tillage and carrying off all moisture before it has had time to soak into the soil. The river beds cannot contain all this water, and inundations occur; but when it has swept down there is no further supply. The Woronesh, on which Peter the Great built his first ships, is now a mere rivulet; the Worskla, which fifteen years ago was a beautiful river, surrounded by woods and pastures, has absolutely disappeared; the Oka has become so shallow that barges coming from Nishegorod were stranded upon its sands. At Dorogobush the Dnjepr can be crossed by carriages; on the Dnjepr the navigation had to be stopped, as its depth was reduced to 2–3 feet; and even on the Volga steam navigation is interrupted in many parts, the

river not being able to carry away the sandbanks; it is calculated that the volume of its water has decreased by 24,000,000 cubic metres. It is evident that even the most costly works for opening the channels will be of little avail; the cause lies in the devastation of the forests; the law by which the Government interdicted the ruthless fall of timber has come too late, and replanting is slow work, although it is the only remedy against the evil.

Given these facts, we have certainly not exaggerated in asserting that the famine of 1891 was the result of a general impoverishment of agricultural Russia, which in the main is Russia itself. We now proceed to consider the inadequate manner in which the Government dealt with the calamity, and at the same time to examine what is the prospect for the future. According to Mr. Law's statement, 1,250,000 tons of grain were provided for the necessities of the people at a cost of 120½ million roubles; besides which considerable public works were authorised to be undertaken, and special assignments made for hospitals and medical assistance. The Government had to take the matter into their own hands, and they did so by granting the relief 'in the form of loans, 'which the recipients entered into formal obligations to 'repay, and which were given only to peasants, who, in 'virtue of their proprietary share in communal land, had 'at least an appearance of security to offer.' Now, for six months, reckoning the food required for subsistence at only 12 poods per annum, the quantity of grain furnished (44,728,000 poods) could only feed 7½ millions out of the total population, exceeding 35½ millions, in the distressed provinces, whilst the deficit of the crops exceeded 175 million poods, which is equivalent to the food requirement for the same period for nearly 30 millions; consequently, as far as Government supplies are concerned, some 23 millions were left unprovided for. Mr. Law assumes that, although great suffering was universal, a large number of those left unprovided for have been fed from the reserve stocks of former years, and that the rest have been maintained by general private charity. He however admits that though its amount was very considerable it was naturally trifling in comparison with the needs of so large a population, and calculates that all contributions, converted into food, would give only 12 million poods. Further, it is a fact that not only the granaries, which by law the provinces are bound to keep as a reserve, but even the military storehouses, were found nearly empty, so that this resource entirely failed. Under

such conditions the outlook for the future can only be most unfavourable.

The official reports on the last harvest are entirely untrustworthy and only manœuvres of the Finance Minister for influencing the foreign money market. The news of the local papers is very different; they stated as early as August that the harvest would be good only in the provinces of Nowgorod, Kasan, Terek, and Kuban; middling in Poland, Simbirsk, Wladimir, Wjatka, Smolensk, Tambow, and the Northern Caucasus; in all other provinces and in the Southern Caucasus the prospects were decidedly bad, particularly in the southern districts of Bessarabia, Cherson, Kiew, and Tchernigow.* Nor is this astonishing; the famine has carried off such numbers of horses and cattle that in the distressed provinces few will be able to plough their fields, much less to manure them. Mr. Law has found it impossible to arrive at even an approximate estimate of the beasts which perished from want, were killed for food, or sold at immense sacrifices, but he states that in a district of Kasan of 42,000 horses only 16,000 were left in June, and that in the province of Saratow from 2,000,000 head in May 1891 the number of horses and cattle had been reduced to 825,000 by January 1892. Further, the seed distributed was only 26,674,000 poods, while the estimated requirement was over 36·6 million poods, so that 25 per cent. was wanting, and consequently the area sown for the harvest must have been greatly reduced. The seed which was bought by agents in bulk was not of the best quality, and not always adapted to local conditions. Some provinces were visited by special calamities, as the Southern Caucasus by locusts, other Southern districts by zisels and worms. Legal enactments work but slowly or not at all, though the Government has framed a law for protecting the peasants against usurers, threatening the latter with imprisonment in case of overreaching. But this provision can be easily evaded. It is evident that the power of the usurer increases with the penury of the peasant, who is driven to his last resources. An attempt has been made to encourage the domestic labour of handicraftsmen and artisans, but with little success. They remain dependent on the speculators, who sell them the materials at high prices and buy the manufactured articles

* Mr. Law's account, relying more on the official information, is somewhat more favourable, but he admits that the harvest of rye, which is the principal crop, is, as a whole, decidedly below the average.

cheaply. According to Roskoschny house industries have been fostered in districts which are not favourable to them. Spinning and weaving are carried on in regions which have no flax, and cannot with their hand looms compete with machinery. The locksmiths and blacksmiths of Pawlovo are in perpetual straits; even children ten years old must share in the work, and the produce of the week must be sold on Saturday at any price. An active workman earns 1½r. to 2r. per week; he sells on market days goods for 5r. to 10r., but is obliged to take part of the amount in tickets for raw materials and victuals. In a report recently read by M. Subohn before the Society for Favouring Russian Industry it is said:—

'The earnings of the house industry go on decreasing, the time of labour is prolonged, the sale becomes more difficult, and poverty increases. The greater part seek employment in the manufactures for fixed wages. The population is degenerating. In Pawlovo the workmen are becoming weak and capable of little exertion; lads of 15 look like boys of 10. The work is done in damp cellars, and the people have not sufficient food. The influence of speculators who draw profit from the indigence of the workmen is stronger than ever; the products as well as the materials pass through the hands of three or four middlemen.'

In the province of Wladimir there are villages in which all the inhabitants are employed in painting saints' images on beech wood. These are paid 1½r. a hundred, and are sold by the pedlars at 5r. to 10r. Girls in the province of Moscow who illustrate sheets of paper with pictures are paid 2 kopeks a hundred sheets. In the tanneries the men work thirteen hours a day in a pestilential atmosphere for 3r. to 4r. a month. A great evil is the prevailing work of women and children. In the glove manufactures of Nishni-Nowgorod 72 per cent. are women. In the weaving trade they earn 10 kopeks to 12 kopeks a day. In the province of Moscow 50 per cent. of those employed in the tinsmith trade are children under 15 years; of the glaziers 45, of the shoemakers 48, of the glass-makers 25 per cent. Among the nailsmiths boys of 12 years must work sixteen hours; the furriers' apprentices get 5 kopeks for a hard day's work. The housing of these workmen is not better than the peasants' huts; they are huddled together in damp courts filled with refuse, and the rooms, without any furniture, with a couch of putrid straw, resemble a stable more than a dwelling for human beings. The labourers in the collieries of the Don live in miserable mud hovels, without

chimneys, in which the water is dripping from the walls and the roof; the people, who have to work twelve to sixteen hours in the pits, are nearly all suffering from fever, and there are no hospitals. The influence which such conditions of existence must exercise on the morality of the workmen is evident; drunkenness and sexual laxity are prevalent everywhere.

The profits of the prohibitive duties, by which the Government tries to foster national industry, go mainly to the manufacturers, who realise enormous gains, but who, protected as they are against foreign competition, neglect all improvements in production. It is curious that, as Mr. Lanin observes, the greater part of these manufacturers are foreigners; in the guild of the Moscow merchants and industrials less than half are Russians. The cost of this system is borne by the consumers and the workmen. When, for instance, some years ago foreign coal was heavily taxed, the Russian producers raised their prices accordingly, but, being unable to supply the required quantity, many manufacturers were reduced to a standstill. The premium accorded for Russian exported sugar increased the produce enormously, but by far the larger part went to foreign markets glutted with cheap sugar. The misrule in the administration of railways has already been alluded to. These abuses were some years ago exposed in a book by Mr. Kotlubay, which caused a great sensation, and has not been refuted. The author proves that the number of railway accidents in Russia is larger than in any other country, and that this is mainly due to the negligence of the lower officials, who are overworked and underpaid; the porters get only 20r. to 40r. a month for a service of twenty-four hours, whilst the directors enjoy a salary of 1,200r. The consequence is that the officials try to make money by every means. They pocket the funds destined for removing the snow from the rails, and if a merchant wants to have his goods promptly forwarded he has to bribe the principal agents. Factories for renewing the plant are yearly paid for, but exist merely on paper. The shareholders thus contrive to get good dividends, but it is the public who suffer. Nevertheless there are many lines worked at a loss, the cost of constructing and maintaining them being too large in comparison with the enormous distances and a thin population; others, built mainly for strategical purposes, and passing through vast tracts of uncultivated land, are still less able to give even a low interest on the expended capital. Commerce

also is suffering from the prohibitive system, and this has been particularly the case during the last year, in consequence of the prohibited export of corn. The export fell from 2,000,000 tchetverts to 400,000, timber being nearly the only article left for export. Yet the corn which was rotting in the ports for want of means of transport might have been much more profitably sold to foreign countries. This state of things has compelled the Government to make overtures to Germany for a treaty of commerce, as Russia is excluded from the benefit of the reduction of the German corn duty; but the interest of the classes favoured by the prohibitive customs is so strong, particularly in the ministries of St. Petersburg, that little hope is entertained of arriving at a favourable result, particularly as the advantages accorded to Germany would accrue to all most favoured nations.

In the meantime the Russian Government, which ought to develope all the living forces of the country, knows no better than to persevere in the persecution of all nationalities and creeds which do not belong to orthodox Russia. The details of this persecution have been set forth in a former number of this Journal; * it may, therefore, suffice to say that the Russification in the Baltic provinces is carried on wholesale; that Poland has been reduced by General Gurko to a cemetery in which the Russian tyrant walks between national tombstones. Catholic bishops are deposed or exiled; whole dioceses have been suppressed. Catholics are excluded from every public employment and placed between misery and apostasy; thus the Church annually loses thousands of its flock. Nevertheless the Pope, forgetting the proud language which Gregory XVI. used towards Nicholas I., winks at all this in the hope of helping by his connivance the Franco-Russian alliance, and has lately called Alexander III. 'the Patriarch of the North.' On the persecution of the Stundists in Southern Russia Mr. Lanin has lately given eloquent and authentic information.† Pobiedonostseff, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, has issued a circular for the support of the civil authorities for suppressing this sect, as 'dangerous to the safety of the Orthodox Church,' and the Czar is said to have sanctioned this mandate with the marginal observation, 'All measures for accomplishing this 'purpose must be taken.' Non-orthodox subjects are at most

* No. 351, 'Religious Persecution in Russia,' July 1890.

† 'The Czar Persecutor,' Contemporary Review, January 1892.

allowed a private existence, subject to the interests of the national Church. Russia is to belong exclusively to the real Russians. Tolstoi had already in the last years of Alexander II. gagged the Universities; his Armenian disciple Deljanow has continued this system by making the gymnasiums establishments for breaking in the youth. The press is under strict censorship; no paper dares to comment on matters which, by a police ordinance, are excluded from public discussion; but it is free to attack Protestant Germans, Catholic Poles, and the English as the enemies of Russia, or to abuse the outlaw Government of Bulgaria. The corruption pervading the whole bureaucracy is proverbial, and for the most part is hopeless, because it has its roots in the insufficient pay of the tchinowniks; if it has not become worse it is surely as bad as under Nicholas, who once in despair exclaimed, 'My son and myself are the only persons 'in this country who do not steal.'

Such are the results of Alexander III.'s endeavours to re-establish autocracy. Nicholas I. also was an autocrat, but, warned by the military conspiracy of Russian nobles in 1827, he promoted to the higher employments Baltic Germans, who then were called 'the Mamelouks of abso-'lutism.' The failure of his apparent omnipotence in the Crimean war led his son to inaugurate an era of reform; he broke the resistance of the nobility, but his measures were not sufficiently matured and were inadequately executed. The Polish insurrection of 1863 roused the national feeling, which, under the leadership of Katkow, rose to Slavophile fanaticism. An era of reaction followed, and when later on the Emperor, with the help of Loris Melikoff, tried to inaugurate a constitutional system he was assassinated. Terrified by the Nihilist movement, Alexander III. resolved to revert to Nicholas's rule, with the important modification that he chose as the main stays of his absolute power, and for suppressing liberal tendencies, the orthodox Church and nationalism to the exclusion of all foreign elements. Thus the excellent administration of the Baltic provinces was revolutionised, Poland reduced to a Russian province, the independence of the courts of justice suppressed, self-government replaced by officials, the standard of education lowered, the lower classes ground down by taxation and brutalised by drink, stupefied into acquiescence with the state of things; and the benighted Slavophiles, formerly inclined towards democracy, found a substitute for this retrograde policy in what they considered victories

of the national cause. To what a standard intellectual life in Russia must be lowered under such a régime is evident: everyone is suspected who is believed not to share the opinion that Russia is a terrestrial paradise, even if he prudently holds his tongue. Persons who are suspected of evil tendencies are without any formality seized and sent to Siberia, and what is the fate of the political exiles has been sufficiently shown by Mr. Kennan's volumes. But there is a later instance to which we would direct attention. Vassily Jaksakow, the last descendant of a noble family and a professor of philosophy, was on the eve of his nuptials seized by the police, accused of having participated in the assassination of Alexander II., sentenced to death, and in commutation of this judgement sent for life to the lead mines of Algaszi. And what were the reasons alleged? In an old coat he had left a letter from a student, Kisbalcsics, whom he scarcely knew, but to whom he had promised a waterproof, and who in this letter reminded him of his promise in the words, 'Please to send me the object you 'know of.' This young man later on had turned Nihilist, and had something to do with the plot to which the Emperor succumbed; and on the evidence of this letter, found in the coat of which he had made a present to his porter, who betrayed it to the police, Jaksakow was condemned as a would-be assassin. He died after two years of penal servitude, the horrors of which he committed to scraps of paper left to a fellow-sufferer, Baikaliew, who succeeded in escaping from the mines and has now published the heart-rending tale of his friend, which by far exceeds anything that Mr. Kennan witnessed.

The atrocities committed against the Jews are known. Now we admit that a Russian Jew may not be a particularly amiable being, and that many of them are usurers. But whose is the fault? For the most part the Jews are a legacy of the partition of Poland. The Empress Catherine II. made pales of settlement for them, which at that time were sufficiently large, but have become far too small with the increase of this particularly prolific race; so they immigrated into Russia proper, and, not being allowed to till the soil, they turned to trade as middlemen, paying largely for trade licences. The authorities took their money, but have now suddenly resolved to enforce the old laws by compelling them to return to the old pales, which of course are overcrowded. So they are looking for other abodes; but emigration is a costly thing, they having to pay for passport

and railway fare. They realise their property at a heavy discount, and flood London and New York with unskilled labour. The poor, however, are compelled to stay, and are herded together forcibly in such numbers that they prevent each other from gaining a livelihood.* This subject is too large to be treated in this place; but we invite our readers to read the very powerful work, entitled 'The New Exodus,' by Mr. Harold Frederic, an American writer, which contains full and authentic particulars of this atrocious persecution of the most thrilling interest.

The hatred against the Jews is, however, but one instance of that against all foreigners, and particularly against the Germans. A ukase of 1887 excluded all foreigners from owning land in Russia, and these foreign proprietors are mostly German, who were forced to sell their estates at nominal prices. The superintendents of the Russian proprietors and the great manufacturers in the Polish provinces are mostly Germans. They were expelled ruthlessly if they could not bribe the authorities to connive at their stay; but even when nationalised they are harassed in a way which renders it impossible for them to carry on their business. Near Odessa there is a German colony a hundred years old. Its mills are now brought to a standstill by the petty tyranny of the tchinowniks, although there is no law against them, and no one will buy their property. Even speaking German is considered an offence. Mr. Poultney Bigelow, who was lately expelled from Russia for his irreverent criticisms, tells us that, when last year he took leave of a German friend at a station, he was accosted by an official, who reminded him, 'This is 'Russia, not Germany. You would do well not to forget 'this.' Just now the Government has under consideration an administrative system for limiting the number of foreign residents in Russia; no foreigner is to be allowed to follow agricultural pursuits; those already established will be forbidden to enlarge their property. And the Government under the authority of which all this is going on aspires to figure as the protector of the oppressed Christians in Turkey, and aims at gathering all Slavs under its mild sway!

This sketch of the present situation of the Empire of the Czars, limited as is our space, would be incomplete without

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* According to the 'Odjemosti' there were in the Polish provinces 1,134,268 Jews, 15·9 per cent. of the population, mostly predominant in the towns; in Warsaw they amount to 37·7 per cent. In the last four years, 1888–91, 263,135 have emigrated.

some observations on the financial condition of Russia. It must be acknowledged that its Government hitherto, under the most critical circumstances, has rigidly observed its obligations towards its foreign creditors, yet English capitalists have sold nearly all their property invested in Russian securities, and this for the simple reason that the finances of a country which goes on borrowing annually, even in times of profound peace, deserve no confidence. The Germans have followed, and France, having bought most of these bonds, is now the foremost creditor of Russia, M. Lévy estimating the sum total of Russian securities in French hands at five milliards of francs.

From 1872 to 1882 Russia nearly doubled her debt. In 1842 the debt payable in gold was 6,000,000*l.*; in 1852, 12,000,000*l.*; in 1862, 41,000,000*l.*; in 1872, 105,000,000*l.*; in 1882, 189,000,000*l.* The internal debt had risen within this period from 230,000,000r. to 2,730,000,000r. Since 1882 the debt has been continually increasing: in 1883 gold rentes at 6 per cent. were issued to the amount of 50,000,000r.; in 1884, 20,000,000r. in gold and 84,000,000r. in paper; in 1887, 96,000,000r.; and in 1889, a metallic loan of 125,000,000r., besides 100,000,000r. for railways. So that in the budget of 1890, amounting to 888,800,000r., 266,146,192r. were absorbed by the public debt, while the inconvertible paper money amounted to 1,044,295,384r., of which only 211,472,495r. was covered by a metallic reserve.

For January 1, 1893, a Russian paper, the 'Nowosti,' computes the total debt at 1,426,472,133r. in metallic currency and 2,511,273,579r. in paper. The inconvertible bank-notes amounted on February 13, 1892, to 855,000,000r., with a cash reserve of only 211½ millions, and this enormous sum in paper during the course of the year has been increased by 150,000,000r. Under the Ministry of M. de Bunge Russia had to contract a gold loan at 6 per cent. This was considered excessive, and his successor, M. Vishnegradski, was working hard to ameliorate the financial condition. Apparently he succeeded in re-establishing the equilibrium, but by very questionable measures. In his report of 1855 Mr. Kennedy was of opinion that the limit of taxation was practically reached. He was right, according to Western principles, but M. Vishnegradski undertook to squeeze out considerably more from the country, by applying the harshest measures for collecting arrears and by enforcing the payment of the present heavy taxes. He has thus helped to complete the ruin of agriculture, yet with what result?

In table vii. of his Report Mr. Law shows the growth and the present amount of arrears; it was on January 1, 1892, 89,000,000r. These have been increased beyond the arrears of the present year, by the advances for famine relief, by 120,000,000r., and it is evident that the liability entered into by the recipients to refund them cannot be met in the present state. Mr. Law estimates that the peasants of the sixteen distressed provinces alone will be owing at the end of the year at least 250 millions, not to speak of the considerable local taxes.

The second measure by which M. Vishnegradski tried to restore the equilibrium of the budget was the conversion of former loans into loans paying lower interest. But on what conditions did he achieve this? With us a conversion consists in giving to the creditor the alternative of being satisfied with lower interest or of taking back his capital. But Russia, in her late operations, while reducing the rate of interest has vastly enlarged the capital, and extended the period of the sinking fund from twenty-five to eighty-one and a half years. Take, for instance, the conversion of 1888. A 5 per cent. loan of 81,300,000r., requiring for interest and sinking fund 5,688,000r., was converted into a 4 per cent. loan of 97,250,000r. The former would have been paid back in twenty-five years, the present will be extinguished only in eighty-one and a half years. The total of these conversions shows that the capital of 508½ million roubles, at 5 per cent., was exchanged for one of 582,644,000r. at 4 per cent.—an increase of 15 per cent. The reduction of interest is, in the first twenty-five years, 3,630,477r. annually, in all 90,761,925r., while for the ensuing fifty-six and a half years 448,689,149r. more will have to be paid; for it is only in 1970 that the 4 per cent. loans will be redeemed. It is conceivable that the French bankers who undertook to float these loans received an enormous commission. But surely such proceedings do not ameliorate the Russian finances; on the contrary, a Government which consents to such terms shows that it must raise money at any price.

Much was made by the Russian and French press of the brilliant result of the last loans concluded at Paris, that of 500,000,000fr., of December 22, 1888, being covered two and a half times; that of 700,000,000fr., of April 10, 1889, ten times; that of 1,242,000,000fr., of June 5, 1889, eight times; finally, that of 500,000,000fr., of October 14, 1891, seven and a half times. But the bankers who floated these loans and realised large profits by them will not be the

ultimate losers, and it is very questionable whether the capitalists, who sold other securities in order to place their money in Russian funds, will not bitterly repent of it. Certain it is that the French market appears to be glutted by Russian bonds; the last loan, largely as it was subscribed, was not taken by the public, and the market price going constantly down, the Finance Minister felt obliged to take back 200 millions in order to arrest a further decline. When he was obliged to resign on account of bad health, as it is generally said, but, as some think, because he was no more a *persona grata*, he left to his successor a financial situation which, as the 'Moscow Wjedomosti' of September 26 acknowledges, is infinitely more difficult than that which he found on entering upon his functions. Such is indeed the case; according to the report of the Comptroller of the Treasury of October 23 last year's (1891) ordinary revenue was 52 millions less than in 1890. The extraordinary expenses, estimated at 63½ millions, amounted to more than 240 millions, for which only 59 millions were available. Thus the expenditure exceeded the revenue by 180,900,000r. The deficit for the current famine year cannot be less than 200 millions. M. Witte's efforts for a new loan have hitherto proved in vain; the English and the German markets are closed to him, and the French bankers ask terms to which he will not submit. Thus nothing remains but stamping money by the paper press and increased taxation; it is said that he contemplates the introduction of a salt tax, which will, of course, weigh principally upon the lower classes. In curious contrast to the Comptroller's report, the 'Journal de St.-'Pétersbourg' of October 31 boasted of the gold hoarded by the Finance Minister at home and abroad, the former alone amounting to 604½ million roubles. The alleged reason that this gold is to cover the newly issued notes is evidently a pretext, as these notes are as little convertible into cash as the old ones. The cause of this extraordinary policy can only be that the Finance Minister wishes to hold a stock of gold in foreign countries in order to have cash for sudden emergencies. A full and, we believe, accurate statement of the amount of the debts of Russia will be found in the 'Statesman's Manual' for 1892, p. 875. The gross amount is given at 5,521,791,220 in paper-roubles, which we believe to be about equal to 550 millions sterling.

But although, as we have shown, the economical condition of Russia is one of progressive impoverishment, there is from the European point of view at least one consolation—namely,

that it makes the Government incapable of any aggression on a large scale. The internal weakness of the Empire is the guarantee of European peace. France will not attack Germany or Italy without being sure of Russia's assistance, and the latter is unable to indulge in any extraordinary military effort. It may continue to plot against the established order in Bulgaria, and address rude notes to the Porte, but it cannot risk a conflict which might bring about war. One of the most intelligent Russian reviews, the 'Westnik Jewropy,' has acknowledged that after the experiences of last year Russia must renounce all active foreign policy for a number of years, until the defective administration of the railway system has been reorganised. The mere fact that the railways, which in case of a mobilisation are to transport hundreds of thousands of soldiers through immense distances, were not able to carry corn to the distressed provinces is conclusive. Russian generals are, perhaps, of a different opinion, and we admit that penury in the economic condition of the people, which would be of paramount importance in Western countries, has never arrested Russian aggressiveness; * yet the state of the country, unparalleled perhaps in its history, is such that even the hottest panslavist cannot deny that Russia is in a most precarious situation, and that it is of no use to speak of her natural riches unless there are intelligent hands to turn them to profit. Above all, we are convinced that Alexander III. is quite aware of this state of things, and therefore is strongly opposed to war as a means of escape from internal difficulties, because, as the experience of the Crimean war and of the war of 1877–78 amply proved, such a remedy would only aggravate the present evil condition of the Empire.

What, then, is his object in maintaining an army which amounts to 843,000 men and 137,000 horses on the peace establishment, and costs the State 228,907,132 roubles a year? Of all the abuses and anomalies to be found in Russia this is the most extraordinary—a starving people, an exhausted exchequer, and a colossal military expenditure! No power on earth has the slightest interest or intention to attack Russia. Her territory is practically unassailable. Such an army could only be needed to carry out a highly aggressive policy, which the Czar disclaims; but it is the terror of Europe, largely contributing to the oppressive

* Just now the Minister of War has decreed the formation of four new reserve regiments.

military system in other countries which is the curse of our times, and it causes the ruin of the people and the State. The Russia of the present day is not the Russia of Catharine II., who played so great a part in the politics of the world. It is not the Russia of Alexander I., who led her armies to Paris and dictated the peace of 1814. It is not the Russia of Nicholas, whose arbitrary rule laid even Germany at his feet. It is not the Russia of Alexander II., whose generous policy excited the sympathy of mankind. Burdened with debts, with calamities, and with excessive armaments, the present Czar counts for less than any of his predecessors in the politics of the globe. His very life is insecure. He is without an ally on whom reliance can be placed. His barren conquests in Central Asia have only increased his embarrassments and added nothing to his resources or his power. The penury of the Empire has materially lessened its influence; and we can only conjecture that the army is maintained at its present enormous strength because he is afraid to reduce so formidable a power.

ART. II.—*Life of John Ericsson.* By WILLIAM CONANT CHURCH. 2 vols. London: 1890.

'ALL ingenious and accurate mechanical inventions,' wrote Bacon,* 'may be conceived as a labyrinth, which, by 'reason of their subtilty, intricacy, and the apparent resem- 'blances they have among themselves, scarce any power of 'the judgement can unravel and distinguish, so that they 'are only to be understood and traced by the clue of experi- 'ence.' These words explain, in one aspect, the fascination of the life of the inventor, who, with infinite patience and unstinted labour, successfully threads the maze. Frequently missing the clue, or deceived for the moment by 'apparent 'resemblances,' he will yet retrace his steps, and with unerring instinct resume the lost trail. Other inquirers will cross his path, journey by his side, perhaps pass him for a time, to lose themselves inextricably in the dark passages. The splendid triumphs which success holds out, the infinite possibilities of failure, and the apparent accidents which determine success or failure, combine to invest the career of the inventor with a peculiarly dramatic charm. In another aspect, this career is scarcely less full of stirring interest.

* 'Wisdom of the Ancients,' Dædalus.

It is not merely matter which has to be subjected to the directing will. It is not merely necessary to achieve mechanical success, but to demonstrate the achievement to dull minds. Mechanical success will, in the long run, enforce acquiescence; but the inventor must spend the greatest part of his energies in a long struggle against the tyranny of custom, or rest content with posthumous fame, certain to be disputed.

The life of John Ericsson exactly illustrates both aspects of the inventor's career. No one ever penetrated more successfully into the intricacies of the labyrinth. No one met with more opposition. Men, with their ingrained prejudices, proved more intractable than matter, subject only to inexorable laws. Science, with a free hand, revealed innumerable secrets to her favoured son, whose greatest difficulties lay outside her realm. A life of eighty-six years, unwearying toil, and some exceptional opportunities were required to secure the ultimate triumph.

The *rôles* of the inventor and the engineer are dissociable. The inventor may be no engineer; the engineer may be hampered by the genius of invention. The one investigates scientific laws, and by experiments attains specific results; the other grasps the uses of those results, and applies them, under widely varying conditions, to the service of mankind. Edison cannot, strictly speaking, be called an engineer; the second Brunel was not an inventor. The distinction between these functions will be more marked in the future than has been the case in the past, although points of contact will necessarily remain. Ericsson united both *rôles*, and could invent a sounding apparatus, or design and construct an armour-clad navy. The profusion of his creative genius was as marvellous as its versatility. 'It was estimated by 'Isaac Newton, the first engineer of the "Monitor," that 'she contained at least forty patentable inventions.' The inventor of the 'caloric' engine was also one of the pioneers of the locomotive, the introducer of screw-propulsion, and the designer of a type of warship which has left its mark upon the navies of the world.

Among the secluded mountains of the rugged district of Vermland John Ericsson was born in 1803. His father Olof was 'a clever mathematician, and possessed an excellent 'mechanical judgement;' but to his mother, and her Flemish and Scotch descent, he seems to have owed the most striking features of his character. Olof Ericsson was ruined in 1811, and compelled to break up his home and seek

employment on the Göta Canal, then recently started. The great project of a navigable waterway across the Swedish peninsula had long slumbered. Originally proposed in 1526, it was warmly espoused by Swedenborg, who surveyed the route, and in 1718 obtained authority from Charles XII. to undertake the work. The king died shortly afterwards, and little progress had been made when, in 1755, the locks were destroyed by masses of timber maliciously sent down the river. More than fifty years passed before the project was revived by Count von Platen, who called in the assistance of Telford, then engaged upon the Caledonian Canal. The grant of a new constitution brought internal tranquillity to Sweden, and opened an era of progress. The military aspects of the scheme impressed themselves upon Bernadotte as upon Charles XII., and from this time the work was steadily carried through to completion. Later projects, involving far greater commercial and military possibilities, have effectually diverted attention from the Göta Canal; but, as an engineering work, the latter ranks considerably above the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez, and rivals the Nicaragua scheme now in progress.

To young Ericsson the new era was pre-eminently auspicious. Living in the wilds of Sweden, he was yet brought from boyhood into close contact with 'the latest results of English 'engineering experience,' and gained practical insight into the countless contrivances, expedients, and applications of science involved in a great undertaking. No better training could have been provided for the future inventor.

'To a friend who once said to him, "It is a pity you did not graduate from a technological institute," Ericsson replied, "No, it was very fortunate. Had I taken a course at such an institution, I should have acquired such a belief in authorities that I should never have been able to develope originality and make my own way in physics and mechanics as I now propose to do."'

The 'technological institute' is at best merely an attempt to bring within the reach of the many some approximation to the training which the exceptional individual, under exceptionally favourable circumstances, secures for himself. From the officials employed upon the canal Ericsson quickly learned mechanical drawing, surveying, algebra, chemistry, and English. At nine years of age he had succeeded in making working models of a sawmill and a pump, and the poverty which prevented him from procuring tools served thus early to develope his resourcefulness.

'His home was in the depths of a pine forest . . . nothing

'was to be bought, and he had nothing to buy with.' Keenly anxious to be able to colour his drawings, he succeeded in making two small brushes of hair abstracted from his mother's fur cloak. What institute training could so effectually teach the great lesson of self-reliance? At fourteen the boy was superintending the labour of six hundred troops, 'though he was still too small to reach the 'eyepiece of his levelling instrument without the aid of a 'stool carried by an attendant.' After seven years of hard work on the canal a fit of restlessness seems to have taken possession of him. He was now seventeen; he had come in contact with several officers of the army employed on the works; Napoleon's career was still fresh and vivid; a French general occupied the throne of Sweden. Fired with a temporary outburst of military ambition, and chafing under the hopeless seclusion of the remote pinewoods, young Ericsson determined to be a soldier. Vainly his powerful patron, Count von Platen, endeavoured to change his decision, leaving him in much irritation with the final admonition to 'go to the devil.' As an alternative, Ericsson became ensign in the Jemtland Field Chasseurs, and describes his early experiences to his mother in a letter which the young Von Moltke might have written. 'During 'that time' (seven weeks of manœuvres) 'I have learned 'tolerably well what it means to be a soldier, and am inspired 'with an unchanging love for the military profession.' Like Von Moltke, also, he explains his small pecuniary difficulties, and asks assistance. 'I think I can defray most 'of the charges myself, but if you can spare fifty rix-dollars 'early in the winter, without inconvenience, I should be 'glad to have them.' 'I am studying Euclid,' he adds. 'Later on I am going to practise plotting under the sur-'veying-general.' The 'unchanging love' seems to have quickly died out. Inexorable fate had ordained a very different career, and scientific pursuits continued to engross the young officer, who was 'always inventing, designing, 'constructing.' His brief army service brought new opportunities of learning. He studied artillery, and acquired an insight into naval and military subjects which was destined to bear rich fruit. He mastered the art of engraving with the intention of publishing a book, never to be completed, on the machinery employed in the Göta Canal works. Already an expert surveyor, he mapped fifty square miles of Jemtland so rapidly that he 'was carried on the pay-roll as 'two persons, in order to avoid criticism and charges of

'favouritism.' Parallel proceedings are not unknown even now, and will probably survive wherever a Treasury department, governed by rigid rules, requires to be outmanœuvred. Meanwhile the marked ability of the young chasseur had been brought to the notice of the king, who disinterestedly advised him to seek a wider career abroad.

One romance marked the brief period of Ericsson's service in the army. He became betrothed, with all the formalities of the time and the country, to a Jemtland girl of good family, by whom he had a child. The circumstances are veiled in oblivion, and Mr. Church is merely able to record the facts. The union was dissolved, and for forty-eight years Ericsson held no communication with his only son, for whom nevertheless he seems to have made provision as soon as his circumstances permitted. Untroubled by parental responsibilities, and apparently untouched by regrets, 'with a 'thousand crowns' (provided by a brother officer) 'in his 'pocket, and a substitute for the steam-engine among his 'baggage,' he landed in England on May 18, 1826, never to return to the land for which to the last he professed the tenderest affection.

The 'Flame Engine,' as it was inaptly termed, soon gave rise to difficulties. The attempt to provide a substitute for steam broke down for the time, and Ericsson, compelled to seek regular employment, became junior partner in the firm of John Braithwaite. Having outrun his leave, and neglected to tender the resignation of his commission, he was 'technically in the position of a deserter.' The Crown Prince was, however, able to arrange the matter, and a captaincy was conferred upon Ericsson, who retired from the army on the same day. Either the circumstances attending his promotion, or the desire to retain the visible mark of his youthful connexion with the Swedish army, caused Ericsson to use his military title to the end of his life. The failure of the original flame engine led to an attempt to combine steam with the gases arising from the combustion of coal, and later to utilise those gases in connexion with heated air. Neither of these expedients led to satisfactory results, but the investigations paved the way to the subsequent success of the hot-air engine. A system of mine-draining, by raising the water to a series of cisterns, from which the air was successively exhausted, was also patented, and in 1828 the principle of the transmission of power to a distance by means of compressed air was successfully applied at some tin mines near Truro. This seems to have been the first attempt to

utilise air pressure for this purpose. The method still possesses certain advantages, and has recently been tested for the working of heavy guns in one of the Spithead forts, where the air motor proved simple and noiseless, while the drawbacks of steam and water and the dangers of electricity were avoided. The air, having performed its work, is simply discharged into the casemate, which it keeps well ventilated.

More important inventions were soon to follow. The adoption of steam propulsion for ships was rapidly progressing, and the steam fleet of Great Britain already numbered about 200 vessels when Ericsson landed. An enormous field for ingenuity was thus provided, of which the young Swede was quick to take advantage. Engines and boilers were alike clumsy in the extreme, and ample scope for improvements remained. In 1828, Ericsson patented a system of artificial draught by the employment of blowers, and at the same time introduced the tubular principle for boilers, thus anticipating Stephenson. The Braithwaite firm was at this time largely engaged in constructing refrigerators for the great breweries and distilleries of London. The experience thus gained immediately suggested applications to the steam-engine, where the elementary method of condensing waste steam by contact with a jet of water was still employed. Writing to Mr. Bourne in 1868, Ericsson states: 'I claim to be 'practically the inventor of surface condensation applied to 'steam navigation.' Later advances have been gradual; but the introduction of the surface condensation unquestionably marks a long stride in the evolution of the marine engine. The first practical application of the improved machinery was, however, eminently unfortunate. In 1827, Captain John Ross succeeded in obtaining 18,000*l.* from Mr. Felix Booth to equip a second expedition for the discovery of the North-West passage. The project was kept a secret, and the arrangements applied to the 'Victory' seemed to have been designed by Ross and Ericsson without any sufficient consultation, while the latter was kept in total ignorance of the service for which the vessel was destined. A ship intended for Arctic exploration was not a fit subject for experiments in new machinery. 'In experimenting,' justly said Ericsson, 'complication is not regarded, since the intention 'generally is to ascertain facts and effects never known, for 'guidance in future practice.' The expedition of the 'Victory' failed. The machinery, condemned as unsuitable, was consigned to the depths of the Polar Sea, and Ross, in the published narrative of his voyage, threw the blame of his

failure on Ericsson. Bitter mutual recriminations followed, which nearly led to a duel.

In 1828, Ericsson also invented the steam fire-engine. Although London had suffered severely from fires, and most of the great theatres had been several times burned, the appliances of the time were of a rude description, and even included apparatus brought over from Holland by William III. in 1688. Here evidently was an open chance for inventive genius. A steam fire-engine must at once come into general use. An opportunity for testing the new machine was soon available, and its superiority was made evident at the burning of the Argyle Rooms. 'The night was cold, and the 'hand-engines became quickly frozen and useless; but the 'steamer worked incessantly for five hours without a hitch, 'throwing its stream clear over the dome of the building.' A great fire at Barclay's Brewery furnished a further practical illustration of the efficacy of the steamer, which was then taken on a tour through France, and subsequently to Russia. A second engine was built for the Liverpool Docks, and a third, in 1832, for the King of Prussia. In London, however, numerous objections of a well-known order were raised, and the invention met with uncompromising hostility. The engine must always be kept under steam, or it would take too long to bring into operation. It was alike too powerful and too heavy. It required too much water. Even if water were available, the quantity thrown would cause immense injury to property. Obstruction triumphed for the time. A floating steam fire-engine was constructed in 1835; but no land engine was used in London till 1860; yet the engines of the present day differ little from that designed by Ericsson sixty-three years ago. The genius of the inventor had taken a leap in advance; but the authorities responsible for the extinguishing of fires declined to follow his lead, and the force of public opinion in such cases is usually slow and uncertain in action. This was Ericsson's first experience of official inertia, and of the prejudice which was 'never 'reasoned into a man, and for that reason can never be 'reasoned out of him.'

It was inevitable that Ericsson should play a part in the evolution of the locomotive. England, in 1826, had nearly reached the limit of the possibilities of horse transport. Twenty thousand miles of turnpike roads had been constructed; the breed of horses had been sedulously improved, and the Falmouth mail-coach achieved an average speed of eleven miles an hour. Three thousand miles of canals were

available for heavy transport. These facilities, however, by no means satisfied the rapidly growing demand, and already George Stephenson, at Killingworth, was absorbed with the idea of steam locomotion. The tramway had been in existence for many years, and had been applied to meet the needs of the northern collieries. Watt, in 1749, had conceived the feasibility of applying steam to vehicles running on ordinary roads, and many attempts had since been made to carry out the project. The progress of steam locomotion was thus delayed; the problem could not be satisfactorily solved by this means. In the tramway, introduced for a mere limited local purpose, lay the germ of the railroad. The employment of fixed engines for haulage thus constituted a small step in advance; but to George Stephenson is due the credit of having been the first to recognise that the true solution of the great problem lay in the application of the locomotive to the iron road. His persistent efforts, in spite of every discouragement, led to the public competition at Rainhill in 1829, when a prize of 500*l.* was offered to the engine which best fulfilled certain conditions. Five engines were entered; but the contest lay between Stephenson's 'Rocket' and Ericsson's 'Novelty.' The one was the outcome of years of study and of experience with the 'Puffing Billy;' the other, wrote Ericsson, 'was planned and built ready for 'transport to Liverpool in *seven* weeks. But for a letter 'received from a friend in town at the end of July, 1829, 'informing me, merely as news, that a "steam race" 'was expected, the "Novelty" would never have been 'constructed.' The prize was, probably with justice, awarded to the 'Rocket.' 'The "Novelty,"' wrote Mr. Scott Russell, 'had to be withdrawn, through a series of 'unfortunate accidents, which had no reference to the 'character or capabilities of the engine; and we well re-'collect that it made a powerful impression on the public 'mind at the time.' In speed, the 'Novelty' easily beat the 'Rocket,' running on one occasion at the rate of fifty miles an hour, according to Messrs. Vignoles and Cowper. In design, also, there were points of marked superiority, especially the courageous introduction of springs. 'The '"Novelty,"' stated the 'Times' (October 8, 1829), 'was 'the lightest and most elegant carriage on the road 'yesterday, and the velocity with which it moved surprised 'and amazed every beholder. It shot along the line at 'the amazing rate of thirty miles an hour! It seemed, 'indeed, to fly, presenting one of the most sublime spectacles

'of human ingenuity and human daring the world ever 'beheld.' Ericsson's name is now, thanks to Dr. Smiles's misleading Life of Stephenson, almost forgotten in connexion with the history of the locomotive; but the extraordinary success of the engine 'planned and built' in seven weeks at once established his reputation among English engineers. The 'Rocket' was, in fact, the result of careful thought brought to bear upon much previous experience; the 'Novelty' was an inspiration of genius. Yet Ericsson built two subsequent locomotives, which, as he frankly admitted, 'proved utter failures for want of steam;' while Robert Stephenson, profiting to the utmost by the experience gained from both the 'Novelty' and the 'Rocket,' continued steadily to advance the progress of railway engineering. Ericsson's connexion with the locomotive was unquestionably a brilliant incident in his career. He seems to have contented himself, however, with supplying new ideas for others to utilise; and fresh schemes quickly suggested themselves, which absorbed his whole energy, and effectually diverted him from further researches into a branch of science which he might almost have made his own.

The science of thermo-dynamics was non-existent at this period. The investigations of Joule into the mechanical equivalent of heat, which were published in 1849, laid the basis of the modern theory of the relations between heat and force. The old-world idea of the presence of a substance termed 'caloric'—an idea which, as Professor Rankine stated, 'has been the chief impediment to the 'progress of the accurate knowledge of the laws of the 'relations between heat and motive-power'—still held sway. To this long-enduring fallacy may be traced many of Ericsson's difficulties in connexion with the so-called 'caloric engine,' to which he returned after his abandonment of the locomotive. Anticipated by an Ayrshire clergyman in the principle of the regenerator, he was nevertheless the first to construct a successful motor based on the variation of pressure of air at different temperatures, and a five-horse-power engine exhibited in 1833 aroused great interest. Professor Faraday undertook to lecture upon the invention; but, to Ericsson's mortification, just as he was preparing to 'appear upon the platform, he came to the conclusion that he 'had made a mistake as to the principle . . . upon which 'the action of the machine was dependent. He accordingly 'commenced his lecture . . . with the announcement that 'he was unable to explain why the engine worked at all.'

Although Ericsson failed at this period to secure the practical success of the hot-air motor, he was able some years later to turn it to account. Hot-air engines have been largely used for light work in America, and to some extent in this country. They are cheap, simple, economical, as safe as a hall-stove, and the reason of their working remains, to most people, as great a puzzle as it was to Faraday. The problem of finding a substitute for the still wasteful steam-engine has yet to be solved.

The use of the regenerator, intended to give out to the incoming air the heat already utilised, suggested to Ericsson the idea of employing super-heated steam, and an engine which proved economical was constructed on this principle. Again, however, practical difficulties asserted themselves in the high temperatures involved. Within ten years of his arrival in England, Ericsson had patented thirty inventions, among which were a sounding apparatus differing only in the method of recording from that introduced by Sir W. Thompson, two rotary engines, an automatic machine for cutting files, an apparatus for obtaining salt from brine, and a delicate hydrostatic balance. In 1833 he married an English lady named Amelia Byam; but, although Mr. Church wisely draws a veil over the domestic relations of the pair, the union cannot have been a happy one, and after a short stay in America the wife returned to England, where she died without ever again seeing her husband.

One of the first results of the inauguration of the railway system of England was a strenuous effort on the part of the old methods of transport to compete with the new. The canal interests especially were threatened, and Ericsson with characteristic energy attacked the question of boat-propulsion. Experiments begun in 1833 on the London and Birmingham Canal seem to have led to a rotary propeller, patented in 1835, and stated by Ericsson to have consisted of 'a series of segments of a screw, attached to a thin broad 'hoop supported by arms so twisted as also to form part of 'a screw.' Earlier attempts in the direction of screw-propulsion had been made in England, France and America, and Francis Pettit Smith, experimenting at the same time as Ericsson, stumbled upon important results, subsequently turned to account in the 'Archimedes.' To no one mind can be credited the sole distinction of having invented the screw; but to Ericsson is unquestionably due the immortal honour of having brought screw-propulsion to practical success. Such success, in fact, depended mainly

upon a revolution in marine engines which he alone, at this period, was able to carry out. From the first also he seems to have grasped the immense importance of the propeller to ships of war.

Thanks to the friendship of Mr. Francis B. Ogden, he was enabled early in 1837 to place upon the Thames a vessel 45 feet long driven by a screw, and, emboldened by the marked success of this little craft, Ericsson determined to experiment at once upon the Lords of the Admiralty.

'The "Ogden" was taken to Somerset House, the headquarters of the British navy (*sic*), and lashed alongside the Admiralty barge containing the First Lord, Sir Charles Adam;* the Surveyor of the Navy, Sir William Symonds; the Hydrographer, Captain Beaufort, and Sir William Edward Parry, the hero of five expeditions to the Arctic Seas, who had recently assumed the duties of the newly created office of "Comptroller of Steam-machinery for the Royal Navy." Other gentlemen of scientific or naval distinction accompanied this party.'

The result of this experiment upon the official mind was amusingly described in a lecture given at the Boston Lyceum in 1843 by Mr. John O. Sargent, 'the friend of Ericsson for 'half a century:'—

'In the anticipation of a severe scrutiny from so distinguished a person as the Chief Constructor of the British Navy, the inventor had carefully prepared plans of his new mode of propulsion, which were spread on the damask cloth of the magnificent barge. To his utter astonishment, as we may well imagine, this scientific gentleman did not appear to take the slightest interest in his explanations. On the contrary, with those expressive shrugs of the shoulder and shakes of the head which convey so much to the bystanders without absolutely committing the actor, with an occasional sly, mysterious, undertone remark to his colleagues, he indicated very plainly that, though his humanity would not permit him to give a worthy man cause for so much unhappiness, "he could an' if he would" demonstrate the entire futility of the whole invention.

'Meanwhile, the little steamer, with her precious charge, proceeded at a steady progress of ten miles an hour . . . toward Limehouse and the steam-engine manufactory of the Messrs. Seaward. Their Lordships having lunched and inspected the huge piles of ill-shaped cast-iron intended for some of His Majesty's steamers, with a look at their favourite propelling apparatus, the Morgan paddle-wheel, they re-embarked, and were safely returned to Somerset House, by the disregarded, noiseless, and unseen propeller of the new steamer.

'On parting, Sir Charles Adam, with a sympathising air, shook the

* A mistake. Sir Charles Adam was First *Sea* Lord. Lord Minto was First Lord in 1837.

inventor cordially by the hand, and thanked him for the trouble he had been at in showing him and his friends this interesting experiment, adding that he feared he had put himself to too great an expense and trouble on the occasion. Notwithstanding this somewhat ominous finale of the day's excursion, Ericsson felt confidence that their Lordships could not fail to perceive the great importance of the invention.'

This hope was quickly disappointed, for the inventor received an official letter which stated that their lordships 'had been very much disappointed' at the result of the trial. Considering that the 'Ogden' attained a speed considerably exceeding that of any paddle-wheel steamer of her size, and that she had at the same time demonstrated her handiness on the difficult tideway of the Thames, this letter must have been incomprehensible to its recipient. An explanation was, however, given shortly afterwards at a private dinner-table, where Sir W. Symonds innocently remarked that, 'even if the propeller had the power of propelling a 'vessel, it would be found altogether useless in practice, 'because, the power being applied at the stern, it would be 'absolutely impossible to make the vessel steer.'

The preposterous decision of the Admiralty to ignore the screw, which must have cost this country an immense sum, was virtually the turning-point in Ericsson's career. The determined opposition thus manifested led him to transfer the field of his genius to the United States, and was the indirect cause of the building of the 'Monitor' and the successful action in Hampton Roads. The whole story is eminently typical. In all ages there have been minds so constituted as to be incapable of seeing advantage in anything new, of discriminating between a theorist's toy and a demonstrated mechanical triumph, or of recognising the clear proof of a scientific revolution. Where such minds are permitted to direct an Admiralty or a War Office, a nation will inevitably be called upon to pay heavily for their idiosyncrasies. The adoption of steam-propulsion for ships of war was stoutly resisted. As Captain Eardley-Wilmot states, 'There was a 'strong prejudice to overcome in the minds of those who re-'tained a vivid recollection of the glories accomplished in the 'past under sail.' 'The predominancy of custom,' wrote Bacon, 'is everywhere visible, in so much as a man will wonder to 'hear men propose, engage, give great words, and then do 'just as they have done before, as if they were dead images, 'moved only by the wheels of custom.' Yet the want of motive power independent of the winds must have been

keenly felt; since, in 1829, a 42-gun frigate was actually fitted with paddles worked by men. 'About two-thirds of 'the crew were required to work them efficiently, and a 'speed of three knots in a calm could be obtained.' In 1830, five steam paddle-wheelers—the 'Dee,' 'Phœnix,' 'Salamander,' 'Rhadamanthus,' and 'Medea'—were laid down. Steam frigates followed, and the 'Terrible' of 1,830 tons rendered useful service in the Black Sea during the Crimean war. In retarding the inevitable introduction of steam into the British navy Sir W. Symonds played a considerable part. So late as 1845, he wrote to Lord Auckland, 'I consider steamers of every description in the greatest peril 'when it is necessary to use broadside guns in action; not 'alone from their liability to be disabled from shot striking 'their steam chest, steam-pipe, machinery, &c., but great 'probability to explosion owing to sparks from funnel.' It was natural, therefore, that he should have failed utterly to appreciate the vast possibilities revealed by the performance of the 'Ogden.' The objections to the paddle-wheel, with its completely exposed machinery, were to some extent justified; and though Ericsson proved that they could be entirely removed by the adoption of a new form of propeller, it must be remembered on behalf of the Admiralty Board of 1837 that eminent English engineers affected to regard the screw as unpractical. The tendency of which this Board furnishes a memorable illustration still survives, as the history of British ordnance plainly shows. The War Office officials who opposed the breechloading system and retarded the introduction of steel-built guns were only less disastrous to the country than those who effectually obstructed the creation of a steam navy and the adoption of the screw. Fortunately for England, she has been involved in no war in which her failure to keep abreast of artillery progress—a failure since rectified at great cost—could have affected the issues. But in the Russian struggle the steam fleet which might have been would unquestionably have played an important part.

The failure to produce any impression upon the Board of Admiralty seems to have led to a crisis in Ericsson's affairs. The investments of his genius were largely locked up for the eventual profit of others. The firm of Braithwaite failed, and the junior partner, 'for a time, enjoyed the hospitalities 'of the "Fleet," as a foreign debtor.' The remarkable performance of the 'Ogden' had, however, attracted the attention of Captain Stockton, of the United States Navy, a

man of some fortune and influence, possessed of a shrewd knowledge of affairs and wholly untrammelled by prejudice where commercial advantage was in prospect. 'A single 'trip' in the 'Ogden,' 'from London Bridge to Greenwich, 'was sufficient to induce him to at once order from the in- 'ventor two iron boats for the United States, to be fitted 'with his steam-machinery and propeller. "I do not want," 'he said, "the opinions of your scientific men; what I 'have seen this day satisfies me."' The 'Stockton' was accordingly launched from the yard of Messrs. Laird on the Mersey in July, 1838, and publicly tried on the Thames on January 12, 1839. The 'Times,' in reporting the results obtained, again did justice to Ericsson's achievement, and pronounced the trials to be 'quite conclusive as to the success 'of this important improvement in steam navigation.' Of the engines the 'Times' stated:—

'Their construction is extremely simple, and evinces a knowledge of steam-machinery by the inventor which is calculated to give additional confidence in the success of his propeller in all the varieties of its application for the canal, river, or ocean navigation.'

Meanwhile in the winter of 1837 the Ericsson propeller was successfully applied to a boat called the 'Novelty,' plying on the London and Manchester Canal, and in 1839 a second was placed upon the Ashby-de-la-Zouch Canal. These were the first applications of the screw to commercial purposes; but, states Mr. Bourne, the 'experiments were not 'repeated, and it required a struggle of years to persuade 'the British public and British officials of the value of 'the screw.' 'As far as the British navy is concerned,' writes Captain Eardley-Wilmot,* 'Mr. F. P. Smith, who succeeded 'in rousing the Government to action after that splendid in- 'ventor Captain Ericsson had failed, is indisputably the 'father of screw-propulsion.' The 'Archimedes,' of 232 tons, to which Mr. Church does not refer, was built in 1840, and shortly afterwards the Admiralty ordered the 'Rattler' to be constructed to receive the screw. The success of the new propeller in America seems to have induced the French Government to apply it to the 'Pomone' frigate in 1843, and in 1844 the Admiralty followed suit with the 'Amphion.'

Buoyed up with the hopes inspired by Captain Stockton, Ericsson landed in New York from the 'Great Western' on November 23, 1839. Although he seems to have contem-

* The Developement of Navies.

plated only a short stay, with a view to establish the screw for the purposes of warships, he never recrossed the Atlantic. 'Before May 26, 1826,' he wrote in 1875, 'I hailed from 'Sweden; after that date, up to November 1, 1839, I hailed 'from England; and since November 23 same year, I have 'been a steady New Yorker.' The difficulties encountered in England were reproduced in the United States, although the American navy at this period possessed no steam vessels of any kind, and there was no paddle-wheel to supplant. 'A powerful service sentiment resisted innovation of 'any sort, as it always has done, and always will do.' Stockton's confident statements as to the influence he wielded proved highly coloured, and not till the autumn of 1841 were arrangements made for the building of the 'Princeton.' In the meantime Ericsson won the gold medal of the Mechanics' Institute of New York for the design of a steam fire-engine, and private enterprise, more enlightened than the Navy Bureau, quickly placed screw vessels on the great lakes. In all, twenty-four commercial craft were being driven by the propeller before the U. S. warship 'Princeton' was commissioned. Into the building of this vessel Ericsson threw all his energies. The direct-acting engines, roundly condemned by the Franklin Institute and the greater part of the profession, were placed well below the water-line. Coal armour, since re-invented, was introduced. Moreover, Ericsson had brought from England a 12-inch wrought-iron gun designed by himself, which, with a 35-lb. charge and a 212-lb. projectile, proved capable of penetrating 4½ inches of iron. It is to be remembered that this remarkable result was obtained in 1842, and that the conversion of the 'Napoleon' two-decker into 'La 'Gloire,' the forerunner of the 'Warrior,' was not commenced till 1857. In artillery, as in everything else, Ericsson appears to have taken a bold step in advance. This gun, named the 'Oregon,' supplemented by the 'Peacemaker,' designed by Captain Stockton, formed the armament of the 'Princeton.' The names had an historical significance, for at this period the Oregon boundary question between Great Britain and the United States had reached a somewhat critical stage in President Tyler's hands, and the prospect of war was a principal cause of the tardily manifested enterprise shown by the Navy Bureau in building the 'Princeton.' Though war was happily averted, tragedy was not wanting to the new vessel. On February 28, 1844, during a trial trip, when the vessel was crowded with guests, Captain Stockton's

gun burst, killing two cabinet ministers and three other persons.

The 'Princeton' was a splendid success, described in grandiloquent phrase by a select commission of the American Institute as 'a sublime conception most successfully realised, 'an effort of genius skilfully executed, a grand, unique 'combination, honourable to the country, as creditable to all 'engaged upon her.' Unquestionably the 'Princeton' marks an era in ship-building. It was a long step from the canal and lake vessels to this warship—no adapted frigate, but an entirely new conception. The triumph was Ericsson's; the screw-propeller was thenceforth firmly established, but to the inventor the immediate results were only disappointment and vexation. His moderate costs for unspared time and labour were, apparently, never paid by the American Government. He was driven into endless and wearying correspondence. His treatment at the hands of Stockton was atrocious. This would-be patron of genius, after describing the great inventor, in a moment of expansion, as 'the 'most extraordinary mechanical genius of the present day,' found, shortly afterwards, that he was 'merely a mechanic 'of some skill,' the useful tool in the patron's hands. Ericsson's experience is not uncommon. Others have viewed with astonishment the ready appropriation of their ideas by their official superiors. Time has, in this case at least, brought its revenge, and Stockton will be known to posterity merely on account of his temporary connexion with the great inventor.

By the end of 1843 there were forty-two screw steamers afloat in the United States waters, and this year saw the first application of the twin screw in the 'Marmora.' Thus early did Ericsson grasp the advantages of the system which has become universal in the mastless battle-ships and cruisers of the present day. Freed from his connexion with Stockton, Ericsson's affairs seem to have slowly improved. In 1846, a Committee of the 29th Congress considered the question of armoured vessels, and received from Ericsson a proposal to build a vessel of 1,200 tons provided with a system of water-tight bulkheads, 'so distributed that less than one-'fortieth of the ship's displacement could be occupied by 'water entering through a shot-hole.' The suggested arrangement of the armament was curiously similar to that adopted in modern ships, and was far in advance of the early armour-clads. In 1848, the Government vessels 'Alabama,' 'Edith,' and 'Legaré' were fitted with condensing apparatus

designed by Ericsson for the supply of fresh water; but, although the system proved completely successful, galvanic action caused the destruction of the tubes, and retarded further applications. By this time Ericsson's ties to the United States had become numerous and intricate. The bitter sense of injustice aroused by the rejection of the 'Princeton' claims seems to have subsided, and on October 28, 1848, he became a naturalised citizen of the Republic. The fascinations of the 'caloric' engine survived through the years expended upon the screw, and led after many experiments to majestic failure. The 'Ericsson,' of 2,200 tons, was built complete for trial in nine months. Her 'caloric' engines had four working cylinders 14 feet in diameter. Nothing approaching these dimensions had ever been constructed, and that the machinery should have proved capable of driving the ship from New York to Washington through a stormy sea is a striking proof of the genius of the inventor. 'The age of steam is closed,' wrote a misguided enthusiast; 'the age of caloric opens. Fulton 'and Watt belong to the past.' Only the 'Scientific American' seems to have expressed scepticism. The 'Ericsson,' in fact, was the boldest conception in marine engineering ever carried into execution. It was a mechanical *tour de force*; but, as the inventor admitted in later years, a practical failure. The enormous size of the engines, and the difficulties arising from the application of high temperature to the working parts, proved insuperable objections; and, although this unique vessel is stated on one occasion to have made eleven miles an hour with moderate coal consumption, commercial success proved unattainable. After being sunk by a tornado in New York Bay, she was raised and converted into a steamer, subsequently employed as a transport during the Civil War.

Ericsson's labours were not, however, thrown away. Although the 'caloric' ship was a failure, the small hot-air engines which followed proved an immediate success, and a much-needed source of income; while, in 1862, the rare distinction of the Rumford medal was conferred upon their inventor. 'The working of heat-engines without the inter-'vention of water,' said Sir F. Bramwell before the British Association in 1888, 'is now not merely an established 'fact, but a recognised and undoubtedly commercially econo-'mical means of obtaining motive-power.' But the substitute for steam, in the case of the marine engine, has yet to come.

Although the politics of the United States had no interest for Ericsson, the contest between the North and South aroused his strongest feelings. Like many another American, he regarded the war from the slavery point of view, and slavery in any form was to the mind of the sturdy Swede a thing abhorrent. Warship-building had long stimulated his inventive genius; in the artillery knowledge of the day he was an adept. The Crimean war had called forth the sentiments of his race. Russia, the natural enemy of his country, the despoiler of her Finnish province, was to be injured as much as possible; and on September 26, 1854, Ericsson—remembering his experiences of the Admiralty—sent to Napoleon III. the sketch design of an armoured Monitor. This design, he wrote to Mr. John Bourne, 'was the result 'of my study from my youth. An impregnable and partially 'submerged instrument for destroying ships of war has been 'one of the hobbies of my life. I had the plan matured long 'before I left England. As for protecting war engines for 'naval purposes with iron, the idea is as old as my recollec-'tion.' Louis Napoleon was as little accessible to revolutionary ideas in naval matters as had been Sir W. Symonds. He 'himself examined with the greatest care the new system of 'attack which you have submitted to him . . . but the 'Emperor thinks that the result to be obtained would not be 'proportionate to the expenses or to the small number of 'guns which would be brought into use.' The design appears to have been unquestionably the first in which the turret or cupola principle was introduced, although Captain Eardley-Wilmot gives the credit of priority to Captain Cowper Coles, with whom the 'idea seems to have originated in '1855.' The point is not of great importance. The great idea was independently arrived at;* but while Captain Coles steadily laboured to secure the adoption of the principle, which he had roughly tried on rafts in the Sea of Azof, Ericsson, engrossed with other schemes, allowed it to sleep for seven years. And it is certain that no efforts would have availed to carry conviction to the Navy Bureau of the United States but for the inexorable demands of war.

The initiative came from the Confederate Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Stephen R. Mallory, who, unlike his opponent Mr. Gideon Welles, knew something of naval matters. The

* The credit of being the first to suggest the employment of a revolving turret seems to be due to a sea officer of the seventeenth century.

former, in a letter of May 8, 1861, to the Chairman of the Confederate Naval Committee, stated:—

'I regard the possession of an iron-armoured ship as a matter of the first necessity. Such a vessel at this time could traverse the entire coast of the United States, prevent all blockade, and encounter, with a fair prospect of success, their whole navy. . . . Inequality of numbers may be compensated by invulnerability, and thus not only does economy, but naval success, dictate the wisdom and expediency of fighting with iron against wood, without regard to first cost.'

This vigorous opinion was quickly followed by action, and the raising and conversion into an armour-clad of the sunken frigate 'Merrimac' was taken in hand with such limited appliances as the South possessed. Meanwhile Mr. Welles, following the usual course of the official when out of his depth, had appointed a committee, which prefaced its report with a delightfully frank confession of incapacity: 'Dis-'trustful of our ability to discharge this duty, we approach 'the subject with diffidence, having no experience and but 'scant knowledge in this branch of naval architecture.' More than a month previous to the issue of this report, Ericsson had addressed President Lincoln direct, and had laid before him proposals—'so simple indeed, that within 'ten weeks after commencing the structure I would be 'ready to take up a position under the rebel guns at Norfolk; 'and so efficient too, I trust, that within a few hours the 'stolen ships would be sunk and the harbour purged of 'traitors.' The project was ultimately discussed at the Naval Bureau, several unofficial naval officers being present. 'All were surprised with the novelty of the plan. Some 'advised trying it, others ridiculed it.' Mr. Lincoln, however, terminated the proceedings with the characteristic remark: 'All I have to say is what the girl said when she 'stuck her foot into the stocking. It strikes me there's 'something in it.'

Within a hundred working days the 'Monitor' was completed and under steam. Considering that the vessel was entirely new in conception, that difficulties of all kinds had to be overcome, and that there was no possibility of experiment, the achievement is unparalleled. The triumph was, however, that of design rather than construction, and in all Ericsson's brilliant career nothing surpassed the 'Monitor' as a scientific success. The Britannia Bridge was, in comparison, a step taken on assured ground. The courage and the self-reliance evinced by this apparent plunge into the

unknown were simply admirable. The 'Monitor' was another *tour de force*, comparable only to the 'Novelty' locomotive. Yet the worry experienced by Ericsson from Commodore Joseph Smith during the period of construction must have been maddening. This 'noble sailor, who had 'grown old in the service, which he entered as a midship-'man in 1809,' seems to have listened to every objection raised by prejudice, and duly conveyed it to the sorely harassed engineer. 'I am in great trouble,' he wrote, 'from 'what I have recently learned, that the concussion in the 'turret will be so great that men cannot remain in it.' 'I 'understand,' he observed a few days later, 'that computa-'tions have been made by expert naval architects of the dis-'placement of your vessel, and that the result arrived at is 'that she will not float with the load you propose to put 'upon her. . . . But if the whole thing is to be a failure, 'this will be of little consequence.' Four days afterwards arrived a further letter, stating: 'Excuse me for being so 'troublesome. . . . I have been urging the Ordnance 'Department to finish the guns of your vessel, but the 'knowing ones say that the guns will never be used on her.' Then the ventilation was questioned: 'Sailors do not fancy 'living under water without breathing in sunshine occasion-'ally. I propose, &c. &c.' After remarking pleasantly: 'We shall see; I have nothing more to say on the subject, 'but that the Government will fall back on the contract in 'case of failure,' he wrote two days later: 'The more I 'reflect upon your battery, the more I am fearful of her 'efficiency.' Finally, 'I shall demand money forfeiture for 'delay over the stipulated time of completion. You have 'only *thirty-nine days left.*' All such letters the hapless inventor, struggling with innumerable and intricate designs, was obliged to answer. The idea that Ericsson's reputation was at stake, that he was fighting against time to secure it, and that, having been entrusted with the work, the only reasonable course was to leave him a free hand, does not seem to have occurred to this irrepressible official.

The Confederate 'Virginia,' *née* 'Merrimac,' left the workshop on her brief career of destruction; the 'Cumber-'land' was rammed and sunk; the 'Congress' taken and burned.

'In the early morning [wrote a Confederate soldier] Jones gets under way to finish the "Minnesota." We soon descry a strange-looking iron tower, sliding over the waters towards us, and we dart at it. It is the "Monitor" which during the previous night, had come

in from the sea, and which, by the light of the burning "Congress," had been seen and reported by one of our pilots.'

Commissioned by Lieutenant Worden, with a crew of forty-three volunteers, on February 25, 1862, the 'Monitor' fought her memorable action in Hampton Roads on March 9, three days after leaving New York, where she narrowly escaped counter-orders directing her to Washington.

Circumstances have given an importance to this action far beyond its real significance. The 'Virginia' was in truth a wretched vessel. As pointed out by the Confederate writer above quoted, she

'was not weatherly enough to manœuvre in Hampton Roads at all times with safety, and she never could have been moved more than three hours' sail from a machine-shop. She drew 22 feet of water, and was in every respect ill-proportioned and top-heavy; and what with her immense length and wretched engines . . . she was little more navigable than a timber-raft. . . . Most of the men had taken, as they supposed, a last farewell of wives, children, and friends, and had set in order their worldly affairs. All the lieutenants (Catesby Jones excepted) had several weeks previously partaken publicly of the holy Sacrament.'

Even when allowance is made for the bias of one of the crew of the beaten ship, this description does not appear exaggerated.

The action was fought at close quarters, and the 'Monitor' only fired forty-one rounds. Her light draught, and comparative handiness and speed, combined with greatly superior armour protection, secured the victory, even though she was not fought to the best advantage by officers totally unaccustomed to the conditions in which they were placed.

It is desirable to recall the circumstances which conferred undying fame upon Ericsson and his 'Monitor.' The advent of the 'Virginia' and her easy triumph over the wooden vessels of the Northern States caused a veritable panic. McClellan's peninsula campaign was gravely compromised. On receipt of the news of the destruction of the 'Cumberland' and 'Congress,' Mr. Stanton, the Federal Secretary of War, appears to have completely lost his head, and at a cabinet meeting, hastily called by Mr. Lincoln, he is reported to have said:—

'The "Merrimac" will change the whole character of the war; she will destroy, *seriatim*, every naval vessel; she will lay all the cities of the seaboard under contribution. I shall immediately recall Burnside; Port Royal must be abandoned. . . . I have no doubt that the monster is at this minute on her way to Washington, and not unlikely we shall

have a shell or a cannon-ball from one of her guns in the White House before we leave the room.'

Considering the kind of vessel that the 'Merrimac' really was, the above effusion would appear childish, but that similar exaggerations of the possibilities open to ships of war are not uncommon. Mr. Robert T. Lincoln, when Secretary of War, is reported * to have stated:—'I was in 'trepidation for some time that she [Chile] should send an 'ironclad up the coast, and exact a heavy tribute—millions 'of dollars, in fact—from San Francisco under threat of 'laying the city in ashes, which she could easily have done. 'Many of the great naval Powers of the world could do such 'a thing—along our Atlantic seaboard, for instance—in 'case of trouble.' Not long ago a London evening paper, combining gross indiscretion with crass ignorance, hinted at the ease with which British armour-clads could overawe the United States by appearing before their Atlantic ports. It is scarcely necessary to point out that such imaginings are entirely opposed to fact. Bombardments of this nature are effective against an African village, but to assume that the 'Merrimac,' or a Chilian armour-clad, could make any real impression upon Washington or San Francisco is simply ridiculous. From the arsenal of Foochow, heavily bombarded for hours in perfect security by the French squadron, a vessel was launched a few weeks later. Alexandria gave ample evidence of the maximum results attainable by the monstrous shell of the 'Inflexible,' and 'An Englishman in 'Paris' has recently pointed out the contemptible effect of the bombardment of the French capital in January 1871.†

If throughout the North the 'Merrimac' caused the utmost consternation, the triumph of the 'Monitor' caused no less dismay. The hopes of the Confederates centred on the rickety and unwieldy craft which their engineers had improvised. The 'iron diadem of the South' was 'counted 'the equivalent of an army of fifty thousand men in defence 'of the Confederate capital.' When the inadequate 'monster' of Mr. Stanton's imagination was blown up, the people of Richmond were so maddened with anger and fear that riots were expected.

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* Lectures delivered before the U.S. Naval War College by Brigadier-General H. L. Abbot, U.S. Engineers.

† 'I can only say this: if Marshal von Moltke took the "moral effect" of his projectiles into his calculations to accelerate the surrender of Paris, he might have gone on shelling Paris for a twelvemonth without being one whit nearer his aim.'

Although Mr. Church admits the natural exaggeration of the time, his whole treatment of the 'Monitor' incident and its results suffers from a want of proportion. His desire to glorify his hero not only leads him to miss the true significance of the new departure, but to mete out palpable injustice to Ericsson's ill-fated rival, Captain Cowper Coles. The 'Monitor,' though well adapted for the purpose for which she was built, was not a sea-going vessel, and actually foundered off Cape Hatteras a few months after her action. Of her principal features most have altogether disappeared. Her overhang, accounted as a special advantage, was never reproduced in the British navy, and quickly vanished. To the employment of armour she may have given a fresh impulse; but no initiative. The 'Gloire,' with her continuous side-armour, was completed in 1859. Her sisters quickly followed, and the 'Warrior' was finished in 1861. For general fighting purposes—not, perhaps, for an action in Hampton Roads—these great vessels were far more powerful than the 'Monitor,' of 776 tons. In one respect, unquestionably, the latter marks an era in war ship-building. The turret principle, which Napoleon III. rejected, is now widely represented in all navies, and is likely to remain. Ericsson's design of 1854 was a spherical structure, similar to that proposed in the following year by Captain Coles; but difficulties of construction probably led both to adopt the cylindrical form. While the 'Monitor' was the first turret-ship ever built, it is to be remembered that Captain Coles was at this very time urging the principle upon the Admiralty, and that the 'Royal Sovereign,' a three-decker cut down, armoured with 5½-inch plates, and carrying four turrets, mounting in all five guns, underwent successful trials in 1864. Ericsson's original conception was, in fact, a vessel which cannot be regarded as seaworthy; while Captain Coles, at an early period, devoted his energies to a sea-going turret-ship, which alone could be of real service to the British navy. To state that, 'whatever the idea was, Coles was unable to present it in a 'practical shape until the "Monitor" appeared,' is unjust. Coles's design for a 'cupola ship,' cut down from a three-decker, was presented in 1860, and the delay in producing the 'Royal Sovereign' was solely due to the hopeless conservatism of the then Board of Admiralty. The 'Royal 'Sovereign' was a far more powerful ship than the 'Moni-'tor' for all the general purposes of war. It is equally unjust to state that 'he (Coles) sought to graft his crude

'notions upon a system complete and perfect in itself. His 'punishment was dramatic in its promptness and severity.' Except for the special and peculiar needs of the moment, the 'Monitor' did not in the least represent 'a system com-'plete and perfect.' Ericsson's first armour-clad, like the ill-fated 'Captain,' foundered at sea, but the loss of the latter was due entirely to her masts and sails. At this period, it was an article of faith in this country that a sea-going ship must carry spars.

The opportune is necessarily extolled beyond its intrinsic merits, and to the Northern cause in March, 1862, the 'Monitor' was pre-eminently opportune. Now that time has lent perspective, the natural exaggeration of the moment must not be permitted to sway the judgement. Thus the following statements, which Mr. Church quotes with apparent approval, might well have been relegated to the limbo of hallucinations:—

'All the previsions of the Federals [wrote the Comte de Paris in his history of the war], grounded upon the superiority of their magnificent fleet of wooded vessels, would have disappeared with the "Cumberland" and "Congress." The war would have changed front, and the Confederate flag, opening a new era in marine warfare, would easily have raised the blockade which prevented the Slave States from freely procuring supplies in Europe.

'The immediate results of the conflict between the "Monitor" and the "Merrimac" [wrote Mr. Swinton*] were obviously the overthrow of the great projects conceived by the latter vessel, the salvation of the Union squadron, and the preservation of the blockade.'

Nor were the results confined to America, for—

'In England, on hearing the news of the battle, the House of Commons, in obedience to general sentiment, stopped at once the great military project of building forts at Spithead for the defence of Portland' (*sic*).

Remembering what the 'Merrimac' really was, and that the Federals, with their great manufacturing power, could have easily copied her at the rate of twenty to one, even panic appears scarcely to account for the above effusions. Outside of her little sphere of action, the 'Merrimac' would have been utterly powerless. She could no more have broken a commercial blockade than could our helpless 'Hydra' or 'Hecate' break one maintained by modern unarmoured cruisers. The injury she inflicted upon the Union was incomparably less than that caused by the unarmoured

* Twelve Decisive Battles.

'Alabama.' Broadly speaking, sea-going navies alone can sustain and advance the causes of nations.

To Ericsson the action in Hampton Roads brought well-merited distinction. However we may now estimate the real significance of the incident, he had successfully met the needs of the moment. 'I am one of the admirers of the '"Monitor" and of Ericsson,' said Catesby Jones, the commander of her defeated antagonist. 'The delight of the 'Swedes,' wrote the United States consul at Stockholm, 'is 'manifesting itself . . . by the raising of a subscription for 'a large and splendid gold medal' to be presented to the inventor. From London Sir C. Fox transmitted warm congratulations, and a touching letter arrived from Mrs. Ericsson. 'My gratification at your triumph all over 'the world,' wrote the separated wife, 'makes my nights 'sleepless with excitement, and though in *reality* I am not '*tangibly* identified with it, I am in heart and soul made 'happy.' The thirty-seventh Congress and the Chamber of Commerce of New York passed laudatory resolutions. World-wide recognition came at last to John Ericsson. The war, which appealed strongly to his sympathies, had, however, yet to be fought out, and he was immediately engrossed in fresh enterprises.

The six Monitors * of the 'Passaic' class, with turrets 11¾ inches thick, were at once commenced, and in June 1862 orders were given for the construction of the large vessels 'Dictator' and 'Puritan,' of which the latter was never completed on the original design, and the former was never in action. The record of the 'Passaic' and her sisters is part of the history of the Civil War. They were eminently adapted to the inland waters, on which alone the exceptional naval contest was fought out; they would have been absolutely useless to the British Empire. Frequently engaged with land batteries, their armour protection proved effective. On the other hand, their slow rate of fire precluded all permanent result. They could pass works on shore, but they could not inflict any real injury, and at Charleston, where obstructions existed, or were supposed to exist, they proved wholly ineffective.

Unaided, and happily without interference, Ericsson had produced the 'Monitor' just in time to meet the needs of the Union. Unaided, he was prepared, as the vessels of the 'Passaic' class proved, to develope his idea. Governments,

* Four were added later.

however, as Sir J. Gorst pointed out on a memorable occasion, always hate and discourage 'independent and 'original talent.' It was, therefore, inevitable that officialism should assert itself, and the miserable history of the so-called 'light-draught Monitors' strikingly illustrates the practical results of the tendency which the late Under-Secretary for India feelingly described. The need for craft of light draught, able to penetrate the many rivers of the States, and to carry the power of the North into the heart of the Confederacy, was manifest. On August 8, 1862, Mr. Fox, the Under-Secretary of the Navy, wrote: 'I rely on your skill 'in this matter, and leave you to turn over a six-foot gun-'boat in your mind for all kind of shore and river work.' On the following day, a Saturday, Ericsson replied: 'By 'Monday's mail I will send you a general plan of a swift 'and powerful Monitor ram for the Mississippi, of ten-feet 'draft. Also a general specification that will enable you to 'advertise.' The specification for vessels of six-feet draught duly followed, and passed into official keeping. In February 1863 the contracts were given out, and in order to meet political exigencies, powerful even during a national crisis, they were distributed broadcast over the building yards of the Northern States. Twenty light-draught Monitors were ultimately constructed under official supervision. The 'Chimo,' built 'under the immediate direction' of the chief engineer of the Navy Bureau, proved to have an average freeboard of 3 inches in place of the calculated 15 inches; the 'Tuxis,' with half her coal supply on board, was 1½ inch out of the water, and the rest of this hapless fleet was similarly incapacitated! The cost of the *fiasco* was 2,800,000*l.* In the Parliamentary inquiry which subsequently took place the following remarkable evidence was given:—

'*Q.* Were they not all failures, so that they could not carry their guns?

'*A.* Totally and entirely, without an exception, so far as I know.

'*Q.* Were any of them of any value as naval ships?

'*A.* Not of the slightest; and hardly valuable as old material.'

The Monitor idea having emanated from Ericsson, it was natural that the indignation which this colossal blunder called forth should be partially vented upon him. Mr. Church proves conclusively that he was not merely blameless, but that he gave emphatic warning of what must occur. 'Permit me to say that the leading principle has been 'frittered away by changes,' he telegraphed to the Secretary

of the Navy when first he saw the Bureau designs. Mr. Fox afterwards candidly summed the whole history:—

'You furnished the original idea and sent it to the department. Admiral Smith proposed the hollow chamber, and other suggestions were made, principally by Stimers; and as your hands and head were full, it was agreed to let Stimers prepare detailed plans, consulting with you so as not to get off the track. It was not known that Stimers was going off on his own responsibility, and through lack of information and his gross blunders, the department has suffered in reputation, and the country has lost the service of these vessels.'

Confronted with a brass plate on board the 'Tuxis' recording his achievements as a designer, Mr. Stimers was discovered in the act of obliterating his name with the aid of a cold chisel. The whole story of the light-draught Monitors is eminently instructive. The Navy Bureau, in its hour of dire necessity, had the good fortune to secure the services of a man of 'independent and original talent.' The ill-assorted union could not last, and after unsuccessfully attempting to spoil the design of the 'Monitor,' officialism triumphed in securing the construction of twenty worthless vessels. The case of the light-draught Monitors has numerous parallels. 'At the time of our great Civil War,' writes Mr. Church, 'the navy suffered, as it suffered before, 'and as it still suffers in lesser manner, from what is known 'as the "Bureau system."'

The period of the war was one of great strain to Ericsson, who threw himself into the cause of the Union with characteristic earnestness. Ship-building was not the only object of his attention. In August, 1862, he urged upon Mr. Lincoln the adoption of a repeating rifle: 'The time has come, 'Mr. President, when our cause will have to be maintained, 'not by numbers, but by superior weapons.' And, recognising fully the enormously superior manufacturing powers of the Northern States, he asserted as 'susceptible of demon-'stration, that if you apply our mechanical resources to the 'fullest extent, you can destroy the enemy without enlisting 'another man.' How far these splendid resources were wasted for want of scientific direction is shown by Mr. Church's statement that '61,781,684 dollars were spent on 'the hulls and engines of 121 vessels which had to be con-'demned and broken up within a short time.'

In 1866 Mr. Bourne attempted to render Ericsson's genius available for the British navy. The effort failed, as 'my 'Lords Commissioners' were 'not prepared to accept the 'proposal of Mr. Ericsson to afford their lordships the advan-

'tages of his services in regard to the construction of turret 'vessels.' This laconic epistle irritated Ericsson, who, in allowing his name to be used, had yielded only to Mr. Bourne's solicitations, coupled with the statement that Mr. (now Sir E. J.) Reid favoured his views. 'Please . . . inform my 'Lords Commissioners,' he wrote, 'in a positive manner, that 'I offered my services free of charge, merely from a motive of 'being useful to England, without the friendly aid of which 'my native country will sooner or later become a Russian 'province.'

In the same year the 'Miantonomoh' crossed the Atlantic and created a profound impression. The usual tendency to exaggeration at once manifested itself, and the 'Times,' which had uniformly decried the progress of American warship-building, seems to have immediately regarded the whole navy of England as suddenly reduced to impotence, and her vessels fit only to be laid up and 'painted that dirty yellow which is 'universally adopted to mark treachery, failure and crime.' Thus powerfully does an idea presented in a concrete form affect the human mind. Dire national need had driven the United States to move at a speed which was unattainable in peace-time. This was all, and in this country the 'Royal 'Sovereign' and 'Prince Albert' turret-ships had already been built; while more than twenty years were to elapse before the United States could boast of a sea-going armour-clad navy. The impulse given by the inexorable demands of war quickly spent itself.

The effects of the visit of the 'Miantonomoh' may perhaps be traced in the 'Devastation' of 1871, and the 'Thun-'derer' and 'Dreadnought' which followed. These three vessels are low-freeboard armour-clad turret-ships enormously superior to anything produced in the United States till quite recently, and even now effective and extremely formidable. They constitute a type of battleship distinctly in advance of the 'Admiral' class of later date. The pendulum of progress swung backward in this country, and the inexplicable mania, now happily ended, for following Italian models produced evil results.

Mr. Bourne's well-meant efforts on his behalf drew from Ericsson a striking letter, in which, for once, he appears on the arena of international politics, and again gives evidence of the strong sentiment which the cause of the Union had evoked.

'Could English statesmen,' he wrote, 'have seen the folly of treating America as a commercial rival, and the futility of attempting

to arrest her onward course by committing the crime of helping to perpetuate slavery, England and America, the Anglo-Saxon race, would now rule the world. . . . What you say of Russia compels me to observe that the unfriendly course of England has driven America into the hateful embrace of the executioner of Poland. We had no other friend during the late fearful war. Deluded by English misrepresentations, all civilised Europe was on the side of slavery. But pray do not for a moment suppose that the liberty-loving subjects of the United States have any genuine sympathy for the semi-barbarians east of the Baltic.'

To this day the feeling to which Ericsson referred exercises a powerful influence in embittering the relations of the two greatest nations of the world. For, in determining international relations, it is not the real sentiment of a foreign people which counts at such a crisis as the Civil War, but the attitude of its officials, and of what is erroneously regarded as its representative press.

Relieved from the stress of the war, Ericsson turned his thoughts to the defence of his beloved Sweden, whose salvation he believed was to be found only in a Monitor flotilla. 'With an adequate number of gunboats carrying 15-inch 'guns,' he wrote, 'we can destroy an enemy's vessels and infallibly defend our shores.' To Sweden, accordingly, he supplied designs of vessels and a liberal contribution. At the same time he warned his countrymen against wasting money upon submarine mines. Writing to his friend, Captain Aldersparre, of the Swedish navy, he stated: 'The 'assertion that torpedoes prevented the Union forces during 'the late war from capturing any desirable place is simply 'untrue.' Of Charleston he added: 'Had General Grant 'said to the fleet, "Go and bombard the city; I want it, '"and can hold it," the thing would have been done. . . . 'As to torpedoes, Admiral Dahlgren never for a moment 'hesitated to pay a visit on their account. It was the piles 'and the rope entanglements which alone restrained him.' In view of the fact that the experiences of the Civil War—misinterpreted—have led to a wholly exaggerated and largely mischievous employment of submarine mines in this country, this opinion on the part of a close observer of events is remarkable.

The Cuban revolt of 1868 made new calls upon Ericsson as a ship designer. The naval impotence of Spain enabled the insurgents to receive arms and supplies from their American sympathisers. Provided with a limited sum of money, Captain Raphael de Aragon, of the Spanish navy, arrived in the United States early in 1860 to negotiate for

the building of war vessels. 'One shipbuilder proposed to 'expend the entire sum at his disposal on a single craft; 'another proposed two.' Ericsson, however, suggested a cordon of light twin-screw gunboats, each armed with a 100-pounder gun, and carrying coal for six days' steaming at moderate speed. In thirty-four working days from the laying of the keel the first boat was launched, and in three months and a half the whole flotilla of thirty was afloat.*

The preoccupations of much ship-building probably prevented Ericsson from contributing to the progress of gun-construction, which he was well qualified to advance. Gun-carriages, however, owe much to his genius. Those provided for the 'Princeton' in 1842 were vastly superior to any previous designs, and embodied the plate compressor for checking recoil, which, after being duly re-invented, still survives in this country, though superseded by the hydraulic buffer.

Old age is naturally unpropitious to inventive power, and Ericsson's best work ended with the Civil War. Succeeding years have witnessed a stupendous developement of marine engineering, in which he bore no direct part. Others built largely upon the solid foundations he had created. Evolution followed upon revolution. In one respect, however, little or no advance has yet been made. The screw remains practically as Ericsson left it. Dirigible torpedoes, and the sub-aquatic attack, which occupied his later years, yielded results only to others. The Patrick, Sims-Edison, and Brennan torpedoes, though by no means perfect weapons, have gone far beyond the idea of providing motive power by means of air supplied through a flexible tube. The invention of Mr. Whitehead quickly eclipsed the submarine gun of the 'Destroyer,' on which Ericsson expended much time and money. Wisely, as kindly, wrote Mr. Delamater in 1882: 'My old and dear friendship prompts me to follow what I 'have said with humble advice to abandon the whole subject '—to let the 'Destroyer' lie as she is in the navy yard and 'unnoticed, and devote your energies to genial and pleasant 'themes and experiments.' But the dogged determination of the inventor survived the enfeeblement of his judgement, and to the last Ericsson continued to urge his system of submarine attack upon the United States Government. The closing years of his long life were largely given up to investigations into solar radiation, and a small solar motor was

* Eleven of these gunboats were on the Spanish navy list in 1889.

his last work. Thus were youth and age linked, for the motor of 1889 had its prototype in his 'flame engine' conceived in Jemtland seventy years previously.

Working to the last with indomitable strength of will, Ericsson passed away on March 8, 1889. He had outlived the age in which he ruled. A new era had dawned—that of electricity, of which he knew little, and of triple and quadruple expansion, which he condemned. Others had caught up the clues of the labyrinth, and were being swiftly guided where he could not follow. There is something pathetic in the thought that the great innovator, the sturdy rebel against prejudice, would not read a type-written letter or permit the use of a copying press, doubted the phenomena of the telephone, never rode on the elevated railway, and was taken to see the great Brooklyn bridge by stratagem. Conservatism was avenged for his many onslaughts.

It is difficult to separate Ericsson as a man from the inventor and engineer. Few lives were ever so completely dominated by the devouring passion for work. Leisure there was none. The world of art and literature was crowded out. Friendship, in a few instances, found root; but it was based mainly upon business associations. For social and domestic relations there was no time. Writing to his brother in December, 1867, he states:—

'But I have long forgotten this [his wife's death], as well as many other unpleasant things. My future, and my success in the world, required that I should not be troubled with children or with a wife who had a full right to live with me. Fate, by means of this misalliance, made it possible for me to devote twenty-five years of undivided, undisturbed attention to my profession, and I am grateful to Providence, because if I had lived in what is called a happy marriage, I should not have gone to America.'

Nothing could more perfectly show how completely the passion of work had taken possession of his life than this expression of thankfulness for an unhappy marriage. In a letter of condolence to a lady who was suffering from a great loss, he quite characteristically enclosed a picture of the 'Destroyer.' The absorbing interest which he found in this abortive vessel must—he probably thought—communicate its consoling influence to another. Imperious and uncompromising in his judgements, hasty in temper, eminently combative, and unaccustomed to measure language when his fighting instincts were aroused, it was inevitable that Ericsson should make many enemies. A nature less unbending would have been better able to overcome the prejudices of which

he bitterly complained. That there was another side to his character is certain. His love for his native land was deep-seated. He seems never to have completely severed the ties of relationship, although his mother alone retained his affection. His unobtrusive charities were endless, although their distribution was often peculiar. He could forgive and forget an injury. Intensely ambitious, he was yet wholly indifferent to moneymaking. To turn out the best work, not to secure the utmost profit, was invariably his first object. A scientific success in his judgement infinitely outweighed the pecuniary loss it often entailed. Thus, through the greater part of his long life Ericsson was a poor man, and in the end he attained only a competence. The nobler side of the man peeps out through the intense preoccupation of his crowded career. The gentler attributes, all that makes life beautiful, remained undeveloped. For, in all the eighty-six years, there was no time.

Mr. Church's volumes do not fully rise to the level of his subject. The arrangement of his matter is not entirely satisfactory. There are some irritating repetitions. The technical knowledge of the author is occasionally over-strained. He has nevertheless succeeded in producing a book replete with interest. It is a strange life that is here depicted. Immersed in great affairs, Ericsson was yet in a measure isolated from his fellow-men, and latterly almost a recluse. A Swede of the Swedes, retaining to the last the enthusiastic patriotism of youth, he was a voluntary exile for more than sixty years. He had apparently intended to return to his native land at eighty, but when the time came he could not break with his ingrained habits. Wide in his scientific interests, he was narrow in his experiences—of men especially. Possessed of much natural kindliness, he was harsh in his judgements, and intolerant of the opinions of others. A very iconoclast in innovation, he resented the innovations of other men. The secret of many apparent contradictions was that work became the one absorbing passion of his life, jealously excluding all else. Mechanical science exercised an unbroken tyranny, claiming and obtaining more than was her right, leaving the human side of the man half-developed and wholly starved. And, perhaps strangest of all, this tyranny was not recognised. To the last, science seems to have satisfied all aspirations, and stilled all regrets. In spite of brilliant successes, of triumphs deservedly won, and of undying fame well merited, the life of John Ericsson leaves a painful impression of incompleteness. He achieved much, but at what a cost!

ART. III.—*Publications of the Palestine Pilgrim Text Society.* Printed for the Subscribers. Nos. 1–19. London: 1884–1892.

FOR more than a thousand years the thoughts of men, throughout Europe, were turned continually to the Holy Land; and the history of events in Palestine was bound up with the history of Christian peoples of the West. The accounts of pilgrims and palmers were eagerly heard in the monastery and the baron's hall, and the written tractates were copied and recopied, abstracted or enlarged, until it is often impossible to tell the name of the original author, or to decide upon the exact text of his manuscript. Such literature side by side with the romances and gesta, the legends of Saints, and the true histories of Troy and of Alexander, formed the popular reading of many centuries, and had an interest, not only as representing adventures in a far country—and that country Palestine—but also because a man, for his sins, might be commanded to perform the pilgrimage himself, or might take the cross in some impending crusade. The Society above noticed has been employed for eight years in issuing a uniform edition of translations of such pilgrim texts, with annotations by competent scholars; and the majority of their numbers, though well known in their original Latin or Greek, have never before been rendered into English, while some, such as the journey of St. Sylvia, are from manuscripts only recently discovered.

The main object of the Society appears to be geographical, as the main subject of the pilgrim accounts is the description of the geography, sacred sites, and buildings of the Holy Land; but the series has a wider interest, because we find scattered through these pages curious and interesting notes, which cast light on the contemporary beliefs, superstitions, prejudices, hopes, and customs of East and West alike, during the early times, when the nations of Europe were slowly advancing from the barbarism which succeeded Roman rule, to the feudal civilisation of the Middle Ages; and it is to this aspect of the pilgrim writings that it is here proposed to call attention. The maps and plans, the historical and geographical notes and appendices, and the allusions to existing inscriptions and monuments, which the Society offers, enable us to form a very accurate idea of the work done by the pilgrims, and of the sights they saw; and the addition of two Muhammadan accounts of

the country, before the time of the First Crusade, gives us the reverse of the picture from the Moslem point of view.

The period included—from the establishment of Christianity by Constantine in 326 A.D., to the loss of Acre by the Franks in 1291 A.D.—is naturally divided into three: the first including the Byzantine domination, when the Greek Church was all-powerful; the second from Omar's conquest of Jerusalem in 637 A.D., down to the taking of the city by Godfrey of Bouillon, in 1099 A.D., during which time the Moslems were masters of the Holy Land; and the third age of the Frankish rule, when the Latin Church dominated those of the Eastern sects, until Saladin again established the rule of Islam. During all these ten centuries there was a constant stream of pilgrims from all Christian countries, from Russia and Norway and Spain, but yet more often from Italy and Germany and France, and at times from England, especially in the latest period—that of the last crusade of Richard Lion Heart.

As early as the third century two pilgrimages are mentioned—one of Alexander, a Cappadocian bishop, and the other of a lady, as noticed by Cyprian; and even in 315 A.D. Eusebius speaks of Christians coming from all regions to Jerusalem. But the visit of Helena, Constantine's mother, in 326 A.D., was of greater importance, and, together with the recognition of Christianity as the State religion, it served to bring into fashion, among all classes, the custom of pilgrimage, and the belief in its efficacy. Twenty years later Cyril attracted crowds to the new Cathedral of the Resurrection by his sermons, and at the close of the century Chrysostom was yet more popular in Antioch, and St. Jerome was studying in his secluded cell at Bethlehem. In 370 A.D., Gregory of Nyssa, who had gone on a mission of conciliation to Syria, returned full of indignation, on account of the follies and scandals which he had witnessed amid a crowd of ignorant pilgrims. It was an age when the great churchmen were not afraid to raise their voices against individual sinners, even in very high places; and in which Gregory of Nazianzen even accused the bishops (as did also Chrysostom) of being ignorant and time-serving, peasants, and deserters from the Imperial army. The energy, not to say acrimony, of Jerome's controversial writings is well known; yet we should hardly have expected to find him stigmatising the great city of Rome by the name of the 'Scarlet Lady,' although it was through disgust at the luxury of the court of Damasus, the Roman pontiff, that

he was led to fix his abode in the cave at Bethlehem. In the account of the travels of Paula (which is No. 12 of our series) we find, however, the following very remarkable passage, in which he contrasts his adopted home with that which he had left:—

'This place, I think, is holier than the Tarpeian rock, which, having often been struck by lightning, is evidently displeasing to God. Read the Revelation of John, and consider what he says of the scarlet woman and the blasphemies written upon her brow, of the seven hills, of the many waters, and of the fall of Babylon. . . . There is the Holy Church, there are the triumphs of the apostles and martyrs, there is the true confession of Christ, the faith preached by the Apostle and despised by the Gentiles, there the name of "Christian" is daily exalted. But worldliness, authority, the life of a great city, meetings and exchanges of salutations, praise and blame of one another, listening to others or talking to them, or, even against one's will, beholding so great a congregation of people—is foreign to the ideal set before monks and their quiet seclusion; for if we see those who visit us we lose our quiet, and if we do not see them we are accused of pride. Sometimes also, that we may return the calls of our visitors, we proceed to the doors of proud houses, and amid the sneers of servants enter their gilded gates. But in the Village of Christ, as we said before, all is rustic; and, save for psalms, is silent. Wheresoever you turn yourself, the ploughman, holding the ploughhandle, sings Alleluia. The sweating reaper recreates himself with psalms, and the vine-dresser sings some song of David's while he trims the vine with crooked knife. These are the ballads of the land; these its love songs, as they are commonly called; these the shepherds whistle; and these are the husbandman's tools. We think not, indeed, of what we do, or of how we look, but only see that for which we long.'

This letter is indeed attributed to Paula herself, writing to Marcella, but it presents all the vigour and eloquence of the epistles of her friend and adviser, Jerome, whom she followed to Palestine, as well as his bitter feeling against the Papal capital. The style is that of Jerome's account of Paula's journey, and its power over the Latin language, and picturesqueness, contrast very forcibly with the dry and incorrect phrases of the average pilgrim. The opinion of the great father as to the city of the Popes seems to have been now forgotten by the orthodox guide-books to Palestine, in which he is extolled by such authors as Père Lievin; but it seems not improbable that, in a country where in Jerome's day more than half the population was pagan, the contrast he has drawn is somewhat overcoloured.

From the same tractate we gather that the country was already full of pilgrims, and of monks and nuns. 'Whoever

'be the first men among Gauls hasten hither. The Briton, 'separated from our world, if he have made any progress in 'religion, leaves the setting sun, and seeks a place known 'to him only by fame and the narratives of Scripture. Why 'mention the Armenians, the Persians, the nations of India 'and Ethiopia, and the adjoining land of Egypt (full of 'monks), Pontus and Cappadocia, Cœle-Syria and Mesopo-'tamia, and all the multitudes of the East?' Such was the zeal for pilgrimage, only fifty years after Christianity was established as the State religion.

The visit of Saint Helena took place just before the Council of Nicæa, and the letters of Constantine (as given in No. 15 of our series) mention only two chapels which she built—one on Olivet, where the footprints of Christ were shown, and one at Bethlehem, the oldest of existing orthodox churches, which Constantine completed and adorned. No contemporary author speaks of her finding the Holy Cross; and Eusebius says that, after Constantine had destroyed a temple of Venus, on what was afterwards regarded as the site of Calvary, he caused the earth to be removed to a great depth, when, 'contrary to all expectation,' the Holy Sepulchre was found. He does not tell us how it was identified. The Holy Cross, however, was shown to pilgrims at least within twenty years of these events, for Cyril* speaks of its wood as 'filling all the world;' 'distributed from hence 'piecemeal over all the earth.'

To those who are acquainted with these facts as set forth in contemporary records, it must appear clear that, however honest the conviction, the evidence on which the site of the Holy Sepulchre was fixed by Constantine and Bishop Macarius was of the slightest, while the legend of St. Helena's 'invention' of the true Cross belongs to the time of the next generation. Once, however, fixed, and consecrated by the building of a splendid *Marturion*, the traditional site was universally accepted by Christians of every Church—by the Latins as well as by the Greeks, and by all the smaller Oriental sects. It was not until about 1738 that it was called in question by the German bookseller Korte and a century later by the famous American traveller Robinson. It has been reserved for the closing years of the nineteenth century that an attempt should be made to establish a rival site, at a spot chosen in exactly the same way in which that now generally accepted by Catholics was fixed—namely, by

* Lectures iv. 10, xiii. 4.

the sudden adoption of a conjecture, which is not based on either historical or antiquarian knowledge.

On the north side of Jerusalem, beyond the limits of ancient and modern walls alike, stands the low hillock with a precipitous southern cliff which, according to Jewish tradition, is the site of that 'House of Stoning' mentioned in the Talmud (Mishnah, *Sanhedrin*, vi. 4), where all executions took place before the time of the destruction of the city by Titus. Those who were stoned, after having been thrown from this cliff, were afterwards crucified on this hill; and it is not unnatural that, since the identification of the site in 1878, it should have come to be very generally regarded as the probable site of the Crucifixion of Christ and the actual hill of Calvary. Not less certain does it appear that the sepulchre in the garden, where the Crucified Christ was laid, is to be sought in the immediate neighbourhood. But here our researches are brought to a sudden stop, not because there is no tomb to be found near the hillock, but because there are so many in the rock-cut cemetery which has been excavated immediately to the west.

When General Gordon was in Palestine he became a fervent adherent of the new views as to the site of Calvary, and eagerly sought for the Holy Sepulchre, which he satisfied himself was to be found in a tomb, cut in the precipice itself, below the hillock. His opinion was soon adopted by many earnest and enthusiastic persons, who relied on the following arguments as justifying their belief: first, that only one person was ever buried in this tomb; secondly, that the tomb was Jewish; thirdly, that it was marked by a cross which might be as old as the first or second century of our era; lastly, that the tomb of a pious deacon, which adjoined, bore the inscription, 'Buried near his 'Lord.'

The fallacy of each of these arguments became apparent as soon as the question was brought to general notice by an appeal for the unnecessary sum of 6,000*l.* for purchase and restoration of the site; and the original proposition is now reduced to the feeble plea that 'not impossibly' this tomb may have been that of Christ. It is to be feared that not even this smaller concession can be granted. It has been shown that the tomb, when excavated twenty years ago, was found to have belonged to the crusading hospice of the Asnerie; that it was used for the burial of pilgrims, or after some great battle, and piled high with human remains; and that it has not the form of a Jewish sepulchre

of the Christian era. The cross, which was never used in Christian tombs till after the recognition of the Faith, was, till the twelfth century, of the square or Greek form in all Syrian districts. The painted crosses in the 'garden tomb' are Latin patriarchs' crosses, which could not have been used before the crusades, and which are accompanied by mediæval letters. Finally, the inscription of the neighbouring deacon's tomb is not only clearly a Greek text of the fifth or some later century, but it speaks of the *Martyrion* of the *Anastasis*, which (as scholars know well) was the name of Constantine's church over the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre. The text itself bears witness to the fact that it was written after the traditional site had been universally accepted; and 'buried near his Lord' could therefore refer only to the traditional site, which was within half a mile of the spot.

The site of the Holy Sepulchre will, perhaps, never be certainly known; and it is to be hoped that so wild a theory of its identification will not find believers among the intelligent public.

The earliest of the pilgrim texts now extant is the itinerary of the famous nameless pilgrim of Bordeaux. What he safely accomplished many, no doubt, perished in attempting —wrecked at sea, murdered by robbers, or sinking under fatigue and fever—but this sturdy traveller seems to have traversed nearly the whole distance on foot, about the year 333 A.D., and reached Jerusalem while the splendid Cathedral of the Resurrection was still unfinished. He passed through Toulouse and Arles, Avignon and Susa, Turin, Milan, and Padua, and by Petau and Belgrade reached Byzantium; he traversed Asia Minor from Ismid to Angora; and by Tarsus and over the Beilan Pass he crossed to Antioch. After traversing the Holy Land as far south as Hebron, he returned by the sea coast, and, at Cæsarea, perhaps, took ship to Macedonia, passing westwards by land, and crossing the Adriatic to Otranto, and thence home by Capua, Rome, Bologna, and Milan. The journey would be regarded as remarkable in our own times, and what it must have been in the fourth century is easily imagined. The pilgrim, however, who has given so complete an account of every mile of distance, and every halting-place or post along his way, was probably a poor man, and as such offered little temptation to brigands. The main roads were also guarded and in good condition, and marked by milestones, set up, some century and a half before, by the Antonines—

at least, in the more civilised regions. The main dangers of his journey must have been encountered in Asia Minor and Macedonia, but of these he tells us nothing.

The Bordeaux pilgrim was a somewhat ignorant and superstitious person. He saw with awe a cave where Solomon had tortured demons. He places the Transfiguration on Olivet, and the battle of David and Goliah in Galilee; but it is remarkable that neither he nor Paula mentions any of the numerous relics noticed by later pilgrims, and that these steadily increase in number in the later accounts. Paula speaks of the Cross and of the Pillar of Flagellation, the Bordeaux pilgrim only of the latter. Neither mentions the footprints on Olivet; and, considering how both strove to realise the events which consecrated the various sites, such silence can hardly be accidental. As yet the organisation of the Church was incomplete. The Bordeaux pilgrim found Hadrian's statue still erect on the site of the Temple, and the ruined wall of the outer enceinte standing up as a 'pinnacle.' Jerome found the cave at Bethlehem (which is mentioned much earlier by Justin Martyr and Origen) surrounded by a grove (which Paula caused to be cut down) and consecrated to the worship of Tammuz; and he mentions the idolatrous worship of the oak of Abraham by the peasantry, while Constantine, in one of his letters, orders the idols round it to be destroyed. There were many temples still standing—at Gaza, Ascalon, Paneas, and on the summit of Hermon, for instance—and we know, from an extant Greek text in Syria, that new ones even had been built just before the Council of Nicæa.

The knowledge of the Holy Land possessed by men like Eusebius and Jerome was extremely minute, and, on the whole, very accurate. In the great Greek work of the former (called the 'Onomasticon'), translated into Latin by the latter, the mile distances along the roads are given very correctly, and all the important places, as a rule, well fixed. Speaking of the nomenclature of the country, Jerome says that the names 'vel immutata sunt postea, vel aliqua ex parte corrupta;' and this holds true to our own times. Yet in the fourteenth century Palestine was much less known to Europeans than in the fourth, and the crusading topography is hopelessly incorrect, where that of the earlier descriptions is full and accurate.

Some of the allusions to the customs and sights of the time are so brief that they would be unintelligible without the help of other studies. Such, for instance, is the spectacle

which Paula witnessed before the supposed tomb of John the Baptist at Samaria, of which Jerome says:—

'Here she trembled at many wonders, for she beheld demons roaring with various torments, and before the sepulchres of the saints men who howled like wolves, barked with the voices of dogs, roared with those of lions, hissed like serpents, bellowed like bulls; while others turned round their heads and touched the ground behind their backs with the crowns of their heads, and women hung by their feet, with their clothes flowing over their faces.'

This half-heathen ceremony, which in many of its features resembles the *Zikr* of the howling dervishes of the present day, was, no doubt, one of those commemorations at the tombs of saints which were a scandal of the age. Chrysostom condemned the feasts at these sites, and Ambrose suppressed them at Milan. Augustin at Hippo speaks of revels and drunkenness at the martyrs' graves; and the Agapæ or love feasts, being forbidden in churches, were performed in cemeteries, which in the seventh century women were forbidden to visit at night. The performers of these crazy orgies were mostly ascetics, whose ideas were borrowed from the earlier pagan hermits of Syria and of India.

Paula was a Roman matron of good birth, who, giving up her property to her children, and having met the Bishop of Salamis from Cyprus at a council held by Damasus in Rome, set out with her daughter Eustochium for Palestine, and after two years' travel settled near Jerome at Bethlehem, and died at the age of fifty-six, after twenty years of ascetic life. She started in 382 A.D., going by sea to Rhodes, Cyprus, and Seleucia, where she landed and visited Antioch. After traversing all Palestine, she went by land to see the famous hermits in the Egyptian desert, and returned by ship to Gaza, and thence by land to Bethlehem. Jerome seems to have met her at Jaffa and travelled with her, being apparently an old friend in Rome. Her sea passages were made in sailing ships, which also had oars, and which were apparently very swift with a good breeze. On land 'the 'noble dame, accustomed to be carried by the hands of 'eunuchs, set out in the midst of winter, sitting on an ass,' as Jerome informs us.

The riches bestowed on the Church even in these early days were very great, and the bishops lived in luxurious palaces. Constantine's great Basilica, which occupied the site of the present cathedral of the Holy Sepulchre, was some 400 feet in length. The roof of panel work was gilded throughout, the pillars were of marble; and silver,

gold, and precious stones were lavished in adornment, according to the Byzantine style, which dealt largely in the precious metals. 'Embroydered curtains' are also mentioned, probably those which closed in the apse and concealed the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist. These were never withdrawn until all unbaptised persons had been sent from the churches, and only the communicants remained.

Another great lady of the same age, who came to Palestine two years after Paula, and who travelled much further than Jerome's pious friend, was Sylvia of Aquitaine, sister of Rufinus, who was Prefect of the East. The record of her journey was discovered only in 1883, at Arezzo in Tuscany, and published by Signor G. F. Gamurrini in the following year. It is No. 16 of our series, and never before translated into English. The travels extend over Sinai, Palestine, beyond Jordan, and as far as Edessa beyond the Euphrates. A long account of the ceremonies at Jerusalem is said to present interesting information to students of liturgy, and the account of the Holy Cross is specially detailed. The Latin is a peculiar and crabbed dialect, said to present the character of that written in the same age in the South of France. Sylvia travelled so surrounded with priests that one would be led to suppose there were none but Christians in the country. Yet we know that, while in some villages all had professed the faith, in many other parts of the country at least half the population was pagan, even later than the time of her visit. In Sinai she found the country guarded by detachments of the Imperial army, as a defence against the Saracens, or pagan Arabs, who had been known by that name in yet earlier times. The poor lady was much troubled by the ruggedness of the desert mountains, and was carried to the top of Sinai in a chair. She, however, ventured over Jordan to Mount Nebo, and was assured that the church there (which is still traceable in ruins) contained Moses' tomb, in spite of the fact that it was unknown to the author of Deuteronomy. A little to the north she saw the 'rock stricken by Moses' (at the place now called 'Ayûn Mûsa, where there is a fine stream), and does not appear to have reflected that the site should have been sought in the Sinai desert. We thus see that places were already being shown by the clergy in situations altogether impossible, and accepted without question by the pilgrims. But of the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was converted she says: 'Believe me, 'venerable ladies, the pillar itself is not visible; only the 'place is shown.' This is interesting, because we shall find,

in a later age, that the pillar had reappeared. This pillar was very famous in early times, and a long Latin poem concerning its remarkable properties is to be found in collections of the works of Tertullian and Cyprian.

Another site which she, like others, visited was the stone against which Job rubbed himself, in the middle of the plains of Bashan. This also was an impossible site, because Job's home was in Edom (as Jerome knew); but the place she visited contained a church which Amr I. had built, it is believed, in the third century A.D. It is still shown and the pillar remains—much rubbed by pilgrims. The bishop here told her that there was no doubt of the identity, because in digging they had come across a stone with the word 'Job' on it, probably one of the Greek texts abounding in this region and belonging to the early church of Amr.

The journey to Edessa was undertaken for the purpose of seeing the original of the letter said to have been sent by King Abgar to our Lord, which was the glory of the city. It was a longer version of two well known, and not the shorter one preserved by Eusebius. The bishop also showed her a statue of Abgar 'very like (they said), of marble 'which shone as if it were of pearl.' How it was known to be a good likeness, some three hundred years and more after the death of the supposed monarch, we are not told. The credulity of Sylvia, indeed, contrasts throughout with the simple but sincere piety of Paula; but then the latter had a man of learning and genius for her guide, and Sylvia was altogether in the hands of ignorant monks and priests.

The account of the Jerusalem ceremonies is tedious in its details, but contains some interesting facts. Lent was observed for no less than eight weeks, and the only food taken during the fast, by strict observers, was a kind of water gruel. The annual baptism was performed at Easter; and was a rite of total immersion for adults. During this service the account of the treason of Judas was received with loud groans, and the sermon was applauded loudly. This applause in church is also mentioned by Chrysostom. The bishops always spoke in Greek, but a priest interpreted in Syriac for the native congregation, and another in Latin for the pilgrims from the West. The ceremony of showing the Holy Cross is fully described as follows:—

'A chair is placed for the bishop in Golgotha, behind the cross, which stands there now; the bishop sits in the chair; a table is placed before him, covered with a linen cloth, the deacons standing round the table. Then is brought a silver-gilt casket, in which is the

wood of the Cross; it is opened, and, the contents being taken out, the wood of the Cross, and also its inscription, are placed on the table. When they have put it there the bishop, as he sits, takes hold of the ends of the holy wood with his hands, and the deacons standing round guard it. It is thus guarded because the custom is that every one of the people, faithful and catechumens alike, leaning forward, bend over the table, kiss the holy wood, and pass on. And it is said that at one time a person fixed his teeth in it, and so stole a piece of the holy wood. It is now guarded by the deacons standing round, so that no one who comes may dare to do such a thing again. And so all the people pass on one by one, bowing their bodies down, first with their forehead then with their eyes touching the Cross and the inscription, and so kissing the Cross they pass by, but no one puts forth his hand to touch it. When they have kissed the Cross and have passed by the deacon stands and holds Solomon's ring, and the horn with which kings were anointed: they kiss the horn and touch the ring.'

With regard to this curious account of very early Christian practices and beliefs, it should be noted that the sale of relics had developed into a regular trade in the fourth and fifth centuries. The terrible person who thus carried off a piece of the true Cross in his mouth may have desired to keep it, but it is quite as likely that he meant to sell it for an enormous sum to some church in Italy or elsewhere. In addition to the relics above mentioned, others were shown in 530 A.D., or perhaps earlier—the sponge, the spear, and the Holy Grail or cup of the Last Supper. This latter was of onyx; but in 637, when the Cross was taken to Constantinople, the Grail also disappeared, for in 670 A.D. it was of silver. In the eleventh century it was shown at Cæsarea as a 'green flagon,' discovered by the Genoese. These notices somewhat conflict with one more familiar to us, telling how this same cup—

> 'Arimathean Joseph journeying brought
> To Glastonbury, where the winter thorn
> Blossoms at Christmas, mindful of our Lord.
> And there a while it bode.'

From Paula and Sylvia we pass on half a century to Antony of Piacenza, whose narrative is fuller of marvels than those that precede, and than most of those written later. There can be little doubt that this pilgrim was very credulous, and we can hardly feel secure that he is always telling us the truth; but his narrative contains several interesting notes as to the customs and conditions of the time, which was in the first years of Justinian's reign, or, according to Dr. Tobler, at the close of the same reign, or in that of the usurper Phocas; it was, at any rate, after the building of

Justinian's church of St. Mary, on the site now occupied by the Aksa Mosque, in which Antony saw the 'footprint of 'Christ,' which is still there shown. He ascribes also to this Emperor the construction of a church of St. Sophia, still existing in the barracks north of the Temple inclosure, but says nothing of the site of the Temple itself, which still, no doubt, remained in ruins, occupied only by the Sacred Rock which, according to the Bordeaux pilgrim, the Jews used each year to visit and anoint. The country appears to have been in a somewhat ruinous condition, Beirut having been destroyed as well as Tripoli and Byblos, by earthquakes; and this points to either 526 or 551 A.D., when such shocks are known to have occurred, as being the earliest possible date. Silk was also being manufactured at Tyre, and the introduction of the silkworm from China by Justinian is well known.

In this account, and in several others, we note the great influence, on the beliefs of the pilgrims, of the various Apocryphal Gospels, which (in their present forms at least) belong to the fifth and sixth centuries of our era—such as the pseudo-Matthew in Latin, the Protevangelium in Coptic, the Latin Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, which quotes the Vulgate and is often placed with Jerome's works, the History of Joseph the Carpenter in Coptic, and the older Gospel of Thomas in Greek and in Syriac, and others well known of the same period. The wild legends of these works, which were known also to Muhammad, are sometimes quoted by our pilgrims down to the twelfth century as equally to be believed with the incidents of the four Gospels. Thus, at Nazareth, Antony was shown 'the book from which our 'Lord was set to learn A B C'—a story from the Gospel of the Infancy; and, like others, he speaks of Tabor as the site of the Transfiguration, following the lost 'Gospel of 'the Hebrews.' He was struck with the beauty of Jewish women at Nazareth, said to be a special favour granted by the Virgin; and the Christian women of the town are still celebrated for their good looks.

Passing through Samaria, Antony remarks that—

'In the streets along which we passed the Jews followed us with straw, burning our footsteps. These people have such a hatred for Christ that they will scarcely give an answer to Christians, and their custom is that you must not touch anything that you wish to buy of them before you have given them its price; but if you touch it, and do not buy it, they are offended immediately. And outside their city (Sebaste) they have a building in which is a person who answers

visitors. Also they will not take coins from your hand, but you must cast them into water. And this they announce to you when you enter into their city. Do not spit, for if you spit they will be offended. In the evening they cleanse themselves with water, and so enter their village or city.'

It is to the Samaritans, rather than to the Jews, that this appears to refer. They have always been more exclusive than the great Jewish trading nation, and about this time were very turbulent: in the fifth century they massacred the Greek bishop Terebinthus; and they rose throughout Palestine in 529 A.D., plundering the churches and firing the villages, torturing Christians, especially round Samaria, and killing another bishop, Ammones. They had only recently been put down by Justinian when our pilgrim arrived.

Another curious passage in this itinerary refers to the Epiphany festival on the Jordan:—

'The priest descends into the river, and, at the hour when he begins to bless the water, at once Jordan with a mighty noise rolls back upon itself, and the water stands still until the baptism is completed. And all the men of Alexandria who have ships, with their crews, holding baskets full of spices and balsams, at the hour when the priest blesses the water, before they begin to baptise, throw these baskets into the river, and take thence holy water, with which they sprinkle their ships before they leave port for a voyage.'

The miracle—like others mentioned by Antony—he had not witnessed: the offerings to the river savour of the old paganism. We do not sneer at those who had travelled by land and sea so far to visit the holy places, and who so eagerly desired to touch and to see what Christ had touched and seen; but we regret that 'pious fraud' continually presented to these simple folk forged documents and pretended miracles, which have ceased to be believed in less imaginative times. Antony believed he could see the tracks of Pharaoh's chariot wheels in the Red Sea when the tide was low. He was shown Mary's girdle, and the chain in which Judas was hanged, and the handkerchief with the face of Christ (in Egypt), and many other wonders. At Jerusalem he speaks of the Golgotha chapel as covered with gold and precious stones, and near the Holy Sepulchre he saw hanging from iron rods—

'armlets and bracelets, chains and necklaces, coronets, waistbands, swordbelts, and crowns of the emperors made of gold and precious stones, and a great number of ornaments given by empresses. The whole tomb, which is shaped like the goal of a racecourse, is covered with silver; an altar is placed before the tomb under some golden suns.'

All this hoard of wealth, due to the piety of every class, was swept away in 614 A.D., when the Persian fire worshippers, under Chosroes II., took Jerusalem, and burnt the great cathedral of Constantine to the ground.

More interesting to the student of history are the notes which tell us that at this time the patrols of the Imperial army were stationed throughout the Sinaitic desert, and that ships from India were anchored at the head of the Red Sea Gulf at Akabah.

We cannot, however, fail to notice how shifting were the legends of the age. Antony speaks of the 'Pillar of Salt' as follows: 'But as for what they say about Lot's wife—'that she is diminished in size by being licked by animals, 'it is not true; but she stands just in the same condition as 'she originally was.' In St. Sylvia's time, it will be remembered, she no longer existed at all, but had now been rediscovered or re-invented a century later.

In 637 A.D. the stern and ascetic Omar took Jerusalem; and the new pilgrimages were undertaken under different conditions. The Moslems did not persecute the 'People of the 'Book,' whom they reduced to tribute; and the Khalifs of Damascus, and their successors the Abbasides, at Baghdad, were tolerant. It was only when the Turks and Egyptians made Syria a battlefield that the troubles of the pilgrims really began. Under the Arab Khalifs—from the seventh to the eleventh century—they suffered very little from interference, when accredited by local governors.

The first known visitor under this new *régime* was Bishop Arculph from Gaul in 670 A.D. He was caught, after his return, in a storm, which drove him to Iona in the Hebrides, where Adamnanus, abbot of the monastery of Hy, became his host (according to Bede), and wrote down on wax tablets the account of the holy places by Arculph and of his adventures, transcribing them, as he tells us, afterwards on parchment. At the time of Arculph's visit, the Khalif of Islam had his capital at Damascus, being Muawiyah, who was the son of Abu Sofian, Muhammad's enemy, whose conversion saved Mecca from a terrible conflict. No descendant of the Prophet was recognised, for Hasan had just abdicated in favour of his Syrian rival. As yet the building of stately Moslem mosques and oratories, such as Abd el Melek raised in 688 A.D. over the Holy Rock where once Herod's temple stood, had not commenced, and Arculph thus describes the site:—

'But in that amous place where once the Temple had been

magnificently built, placed near the eastern wall, the Saracens now frequent a square prayer-house, which they have rudely built, constructing it by raising boards and beams on some remains of ruins. This house can, it is said, hold three thousand men at once.'

This temporary building seems to have been the mosque built by Omar. The Holy Rock had been cleansed and excavated, and Omar placed the mosque purposely on the east, so that Moslems should not be thought to turn to the Temple in prayer rather than to Mecca as the Prophet had given command.

Arculph's account, though very sober and valuable, does not materially add to our knowledge. The Holy Cross, recovered from the Persians by Heraclius, had been carried away to Constantinople when Omar approached Jerusalem. The Holy Grail was replaced by a silver cup, and new relics were shown—such as the napkin from Christ's tomb and the cloth which (as related in the Apocryphal Gospels) Mary wove in the Temple; and of these many marvels were believed. Jerusalem was now supposed to be the 'centre of 'the world,' and Arculph says that the sun casts no shadows there at the solstice. One very remarkable statement of this pilgrim is, that a pine wood existed north of Hebron which supplied Jerusalem with firewood; for this forest, the existence of which is quite possible, has now entirely disappeared in the progress of disforesting the country. Abraham's oak was now a flourishing tree, having been only a stump in Jerome's time, of which chips were sent all over Christendom; but a later pilgrim explains the difficulty by supposing that it had grown again from the roots.

It was not until about 754 A.D. that the first English pilgrim who has left us a record reached the Holy Land. This was Willibald, afterwards Bishop of Eichstadt, whose mother's brother was Boniface the English apostle, who converted the Germans. The mother—Winna—was related to Ina, King of Wessex, and Willibald's father, Richard, is also said to have been a petty king. An interesting note of the customs of Saxons is contained in this record.

'And when his parents, in great anxiety of mind, were in suspense as to the death of their son, they made an offering of him before the Cross of our Lord and Saviour. For it is the custom of the Saxon race that, on many estates of the nobles and of good men, they are wont to have, not a church, but the standard of the holy Cross, dedicated to our Lord and reverenced with great honour, lifted up on high so as to be convenient for the frequency of daily prayer. There they

laid him before the Cross . . . and the former health of the child was restored to him.'

Equally interesting is the notice of Willibald's reception by the Pope (Gregory III.) as showing that the English monk little expected the Papal pretensions: 'Then Willibald 'promised obedience if he got leave of his abbot. The 'supreme pontiff at once said, "If I were pleased to send '"the Abbot Petronax himself anywhere, he would certainly '"have no liberty or power to object."' Willibald was a monk of Waltham—probably Bishop's Waltham, in Hampshire—and he set out from the 'Hamelmuth,' or mouth of the Hamble, near Southampton, crossing over to the Seine, where he pitched a tent near Rouen, and thence proceeded to Rome and to Syracuse in Sicily. Sailing to Ephesus and Cyprus, he landed at Tortosa, and went inland to Emesa north of Damascus, where he was arrested by order of the 'Mirmumni,' or *Emîr el Mumenîn*, 'Prince of the Faithful.' The Damascus dynasty had just been overcome by the descendants of Abbas, the uncle of Muhammad, and the new comers were regarded as spies. Fortunately a Spaniard had a brother in the governor's service, and these two stood the friends of the pilgrim and his companions, saying: 'From 'the western shores, where the sun sets, these men have 'come, and we know not any land beyond them and there is 'nothing but water;' and the prince answered and said to them, 'Why should we punish them? They have committed 'no offence. Give them liberty and let them depart.'

Such was the Arab tolerance, in strict accord with their Prophet's teaching as to Christians. In the midst of his captivity Willibald was allowed to go twice weekly to the bath house, and on Sunday to the famous and ancient church of Emesa. As yet we do not read of any such enmity between Greeks and Latins as is to be noticed in the twelfth century, when an English pilgrim would not have visited a Greek church; or of any persecution, such as the Egyptian Khalif Hakem inflicted on Christians somewhat later.

Willibald travelled in all for seven years, visiting Damascus and going through Palestine to Jerusalem. He returned to the north and to Constantinople, and thence to Rome. One curious passage may be noted in his journal.

'Bishop Willibald, when he was in Jerusalem, bought himself some balsam, and filled a calabash with it. He took a cane which was hollow and had a bottom. He filled that cane with petroleum, and put that inside the calabash, and cut that cane even with the calabash, so that the edges of both seemed alike even, and then he closed the

mouth of the calabash. And when they came to the city of Tyre, the inhabitants of the city took them, bound them, and examined all their baggage, in order to find out if they had anything contraband hidden; and if they had found anything, they would at once have martyred them with punishment. But when they examined everything they found nothing, except the calabash which Willibald had, and they opened it and smelled what was inside. And when they smelled the petroleum, because it was in the cane above the balsam which was in the calabash, under the petroleum, they found nought, and so they let them go.'

It would seem that fraud upon the custom-house was not considered wrong by a bishop, who became afterwards a Saint—at least, in paynim countries.

Another curious superstition is also only noticed by this writer, in connexion with two pillars in the church on Olivet. 'The man who can creep between the wall and the pillars 'is free from his sins,' says Willibald. This superstition existed among Moslems down to the present century in connexion with two columns in the Aksa Mosque, and still survives in the Mosque of Kairwan in Tunis. It reminds us of the old rite of 'threading the needle' in Ripon cathedral and of many customs of squeezing through ring-stones or under cromlech tablestones in many parts of the world.

The good bishop lived to eighty years of age after these adventures of his youth, and died at Eichstadt, where his body rests in his own cathedral.

In the first century of the decline of the great Khalifs of Baghdad, Bernard, a Breton monk from the celebrated monastery of Mont St. Michel, set out for the Holy Land, travelling first to Rome. He found the Saracens in possession of Bari and transporting thousands of Italian Christians captives to Egypt and Barbary. After a month's sailing he reached Alexandria, where heavy tolls were levied, and so entered Palestine from the south by Gaza. His account contains the first known notice of the miracle of the Holy Fire, which must have been a recent custom, or Antony and Willibald, Sylvia and Paula, would not all alike have been silent on the subject. He also speaks of the hospice for pilgrims erected by Charlemagne in Jerusalem, near the site afterwards famous as the Hospital of the Knights of St. John. Charlemagne had been on terms of friendship with the great Baghdad Khalif Harûn-er-Rashîd, and it was indeed believed in the eleventh century that the famous emperor had visited the Holy City in the ninth, as is shown

by the song or ballad called 'Chanson du Voyage de 'Charlemagne,' dating about 1075 A.D. :—

'Mult fu liez Charlemagne de cele grant beltet,
Vit de cleres colurs le moustier peinturet
De martirs e de virgenes e de granz majestez,
E les curs de la lune e les festes anvels
E les lavacres curre, e les peisons par mer.'

It is remarkable that this custom of painting oraries in churches continued much later, as may still be seen in the Church of the Cross near Jerusalem. But the legendary visit of Charlemagne is not noticed by Bernard, who speaks only of the hostel and of a noble library in Jerusalem as given by the 'glorious Emperor Charles,' as he calls him. Bernard was not admitted into the mosque on the site of the Temple enclosure, but he speaks very well of the Moslem government under El Mut'azz :—

'The Christians and the pagans have there such a peace between them that if I should go a journey, and in the journey my camel or ass that carries my baggage should die, and I should leave everything there, without a guard, and go to the next town to get another, on my return I should find all my property untouched. The law of public safety there is such that, if they find in a city, or on the sea, or on the road, any man journeying, by night or by day, without a letter or some mark of a king or prince of that land, he is immediately thrown into prison, till the time he can give a good account whether he be a spy or not.'

In spite of the piratical attacks on the Italian coast, the Moslem empire, in these palmy days, presented a civilisation very far superior to any in Europe. The Arab rule had been just and tolerant for more than two centuries, and extended from India to Spain, and owned a single Khalif at Baghdad. Charlemagne's library could probably not compare with the rich collections of works on science, religion, philosophy, geography, and history, which Baghdad could boast; and the triumph of Islam over the gross tyranny and superstition of the Byzantines preserved for Europe a wealth of learning which was as yet only kept from the knowledge of the Western peoples by the veto of the Popes against the Arabic language.

In the tenth century this peaceful condition of Syria gave way to furious strife between contending powers, until, in 969 A.D., Muez, the Egyptian Sultan, who claimed descent from Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, and whose fathers had ruled in the sacred city of Kairwan, in Tunis, advanced from his capital at Cairo, and seized on Palestine. In the north

the Seljuk power was already arising, and the old tolerance was to give place to bitter Christian persecutions, until the wrath of Europe was raised by Peter the Hermit. Hence we have no records of pilgrim journeys at all between the time of Bernard's visit and the first years of the Frankish rule, although pilgrims did again begin to crowd into the country, after the conversion of the Hungarians (about 1050 A.D.), when the northern road through Constantinople became open.

During this period, however, Moslem pilgrims took the place of Christian palmers, and two valuable accounts—one in Arabic, one in Persian—have been published in the series under consideration, belonging to the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The first of these is the geography of El Mukaddasi, dating about 985 A.D., at a time when Islam was divided under three Khalifs, at Baghdad, Cairo, and Cordova. The author, whose real name was *Shems-ed-dín*, 'the Sun of the 'Faith,' was called El Mukaddasi, or the 'Man of the Holy 'City,' because born in Jerusalem in 946 A.D. His mother's family was Persian, and he was himself a traveller in other countries, and had been well educated in law and philosophy. He seems, however, to have shared much of the credulity of the age, and some of his legends surpass any told by the pilgrims. His geography is fuller and more interesting than most Arab works of the kind, and contains a very good account of the products and revenue of Syria, and of the condition of its cities and their inhabitants. He is also naturally the first to describe the beautiful Dome of the Rock, built by Abd el Melek, and now very incorrectly called by tourists the 'Mosque of Omar,' since it is not a mosque, and was not built by Omar. The true builder is, however, mentioned yet earlier by the historian Y'akûbi, in 874 A.D.

The most interesting indications in the work of El Mukaddasi are those concerning the Moslem relations with Christians in the tenth century, before the rise of the crusading spirit. Of this he says:—

'Throughout Syria there dwell men of wealth and of commerce, and those neither rich nor poor; also lawyers, booksellers, artisans, and doctors. But the people live ever in terror of the Byzantines, almost as though they were in a foreign land, for their frontiers are continually ravaged, and their fortresses are again and again destroyed. Nor are the Syrians equal to the Persians in either science, religion, or intelligence. Some have become apostates, while others pay tri-

bute to the infidels, thus setting obedience to created man before obedience to the Lord of Heaven. The populace, too, is ignorant and seditious, and the Syrians show neither zeal for the Holy War, nor honour to those who fight against the infidel.'

'Into this harbour (at Tyre) the ships come every night, and then a chain is drawn across, whereby the Greeks are prevented from molesting them.'

'All along the sea-coast of the province of Syria are the watch-stations, where the levies assemble. The war ships and the galleys of the Greeks also come into the ports, bringing aboard of them the captives taken from the Moslems: for these they offer ransom—three for the hundred dinars' [the old Babylonian price of a slave, about 16*l.* per head].

'You will not find any baths dirtier than those of the Holy City (Jerusalem), nor in any town are provisions dearer. Learned men are few, and the Christians numerous, and the same are unmannerly in the public places . . . also the schools are not attended, for there are no lectures. Everywhere the Christians and the Jews have the upper hand, and the mosque is empty of either congregation or assembly of learned men.'

It is also remarkable that this Moslem writer speaks of Samaritans in all parts of Palestine. From the 'Samaritan 'Chronicle' we know that this interesting people, after having been long at enmity with their Byzantine rulers, began to flourish after the victory of Omar, perhaps because the Moslems specially hated the Jews. They spread over the whole country, and to Egypt and Damascus, and remained so spread in the twelfth century, as the Norman chronicles inform us. Even within the nineteenth century they had synagogues in Gaza, Alexandria, and Damascus, and only recently died out in all parts of the East, except the few survivors at Shechem.

The Persian account of Palestine, by Nasr, son of Khusrau, in 1047 A.D., is much less interesting, except for its topography. The churches of the various sites round the Holy Sepulchre had been burned by the insane Egyptian Khalif Hakem, in 1010 A.D., and great indignation arose in Europe when Bishop Radulph brought the news. In 1031 the Emperor Romanus obtained leave from the Sultan of Egypt to rebuild them, and the work was nearly finished when Nasr visited Jerusalem. William of Tyre says that the new buildings were very small; but Nasr, intending probably the whole enceinte of the various chapels, calls it large.

'At the present day the church is a most spacious building, and is capable of holding eight thousand persons. The edifice is built with

the utmost skill, of coloured marbles, with ornamentation and sculptures. Inside the church is everywhere adorned with Byzantine brocade, worked in gold with pictures. And they have portrayed Jesus—peace be upon Him!—who at times is shown riding upon an ass. There are also pictures representing others of the Prophets, as, for instance, Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac, and Jacob with his sons—peace be upon them all! These pictures are overlaid with a varnish of the oil of *Sandarûs*, and for the face of each portrait they have made a plate of thin glass, which is set thereon, and is perfectly transparent.'

In the mosque Nasr speaks of Hamzah's shield, which still exists; and he mentions several Moslem shrines in other parts of the country, which are still revered. His travels were of very great extent, for he started from Merv, and came by Lake Van and Harrân to Syria and Egypt, and so, crossing to Jeddah and Mecca, went to Basrah, and back to Merv, and finally to Balkh. At this time the Fatimite Khalif of Egypt was holding both Mecca and Jerusalem, and thus possessed one of the chief claims to the Khalifate—namely, the lordship of the two sanctuaries, which gave the title *Hâmi el Haramein*, or 'guardian of the two sacred 'places,' which is still a title of the Sultan of Turkey.

The various travels so noticed give a fairly continuous account of the condition of Syria from Constantine to Peter the Hermit, and the genuine and contemporary character of the documents renders them of high importance. With the Crusades we enter on a new epoch, in which pilgrim accounts have only a secondary importance, because the materials for history become so much more abundant. In addition to regular histories, like that of William of Tyre, and to elaborate guide-books and geographies, we have now the cartularies of various orders and churches, with descriptions of their lands, and even, as we shall see, royal letters in the original. The customs of the age are as well known as the history of the Frankish kings, and the boundaries of the fiefs held by the various barons under the King of Jerusalem can be laid down very exactly, while the topography becomes minute, and the existing churches and castles with inscriptions on their walls, and tombstones, pictures in mosaic and in fresco—often with long inscriptions—mottoes and Latin hexameter epitaphs, seals of kings and bishops, coins and medals, Arabic inscriptions with dates, and other materials, make the two centuries of Frank domination abundantly intelligible. Even the laws of the kingdom and the rules of the great orders of the Temple,

the Hospital, St. Lazarus, and the Teutonic Knights are known, with full details as to crusading armour, ships of war and of trade, engines and the composition of Greek fire, the amusements of the baronial halls of Palestine, and the relations of the barons to their native Christian and Moslem vassals.

Into this interesting subject—the Norman rule from the taking of Jerusalem in 1099 A.D. by Godfrey down to the final loss of Acre in 1291 A.D—we cannot enter, and must confine ourselves to the pilgrim diaries and descriptions, which now become numerous and far more detailed than before. The most remarkable points are the enmity of the Greek and Latin Churches; the gradual encroachment on the royal power by the religious and military orders, which was one of the causes of the final catastrophe; and the numerous changes in the sacred sites and legends, which were caused by the ignorance of the western invaders; together with the organisation of the country for the benefit of the hosts of palmers and knights, on whose assistance the Christians of the kingdom so much depended in their contests with the Egyptians and with the Turks and Persians led by Saladin.

The earliest of the crusading diaries is that of Sæwulf in 1102–3 A.D. He was an Anglo-Saxon merchant of Worcester, who in his old age became a monk in the Abbey of Malmesbury. He set out from Bari on an unlucky, or, as he calls it, 'an Egyptian day'—the 13th of July—and was wrecked, but finally reached Jaffa, after passing Corinth, Smyrna, Rhodes, and Cyprus. At this time the seas were full of vessels of war and of trade, 'dromunds, gulafres, cats,' and 'busses;' and at Jaffa he describes a terrible storm and general shipwreck, from which he escaped by going early on land. He is the first to speak of the Palmers, so called from the palms which they bought in Jerusalem, in Palmer Street, near the cathedral of the Holy Sepulchre, which was then just beginning to be built on its present plan, being mainly Norman workmanship throughout.

Not long after Sæwulf, Sigurd, King of Norway, came to Palestine—in 1107 A.D.—and, as William of Tyre tells us, was present at the siege of Beirut in 1110 A.D. The Saga describing his adventures does not, however, contain much of interest, and the travels of the Russian abbot Daniel (between 1106 and 1125 A.D. as variously dated) are more important. The Russians had only become Christians about the close of the tenth century, and pilgrims began to come

from Russia about 1022 A.D. The Abbot Daniel came from the province of Tchernigov, in Little Russia, and compares the Jordan to the River Snor in that province. He was astonished at the ruggedness of the Syrian mountains—no doubt, as contrasted with the plains of Southern Russia. He is not conspicuous for an accurate knowledge of Scripture, and makes several new and curious mistakes, confusing the narratives of Deuteronomy and Joshua and making Saul the 'King of Judah.' He is the first to mention the Convent of the Cross, west of Jerusalem, the centre of all those famous legends of the middle ages, which traced the Cross throughout history, from the time when it grew out of Adam's skull from a shoot of the tree of life which Seth brought from Paradise. It appears from his narrative also that the ceremony of the Holy Fire was then celebrated by the Latins as well as by the Greeks, and he exults because, on the occasion of his visit, it only lighted Greek lamps and left the Frankish lamps unignited.

Another account belonging to the early crusading period (about 1130 A.D.) is generally named after Fetellus, and was apparently much in request and often copied and republished. Leon Allatius published it in 1653 A.D., and Fetellus seems probably to have lived two generations later than the original author, for the choir of the Holy Sepulchre Cathedral is described by the latter as still building. This tractate adds several new marvels, which later writers repeat, such as the account of the 'Cradle of Christ' (which is still shown in the S.E. corner of the Temple enclosure, and is a niche for a Roman statue laid flat), and the 'Field of Red Earth' at Hebron, out of which Adam was made and which we learn the pilgrims used to eat. The cities of Sodom and Gomorrah could then be seen under the waters of the Dead Sea (which Père Lievin still believes in the present century), and no bird can fly, says Fetellus, across these waters—an idea which the observations of explorers have disproved, if, indeed, disproof were wanted. The account of Fetellus is valuable only for its topography, and his marvellous tales of Sinai show that he never visited that region.

The description of the Holy Land by John of Würzburg (a priest) is more valuable than the preceding, and especially as regards his account of Abd el Melek's building over the Holy Rock, as it appeared in about 1160–1170 A.D. He could not decide what was the origin of this beautiful chapel, and says that it was variously ascribed to Constantine, Heraclius,

Justinian, or an 'Emperor of Memphis'—apparently a Fatimite. It was, however, regarded as occupying the site of the Temple, and the frescoes painted on its walls by the Franks (which still remain, though covered over with a marble casing) presented subjects from the Apocryphal Gospels. The 'footprint' on the sacred rock, called in our own times that of Muhammad, was in the twelfth century adored as that of Christ, in addition to the older one in the Aksa mosque and to that on Olivet.

William of Tyre was equally at a loss as to the history of the Dome of the Rock, for he tells us (Hist. i. 2 and viii. 2):—

'There are in this same Temple-building, both inside and outside, very ancient records in mosaic work, in letters of the Arab idiom, which are believed to be of his (Omar's) time, in which are clearly given the builder's name, the time when the work was done, and its cost.'

These texts were first read by De Vogüé, and give the date of the building in the time, not of Omar, but of Abd el Melek. The reason why the chapel was thought to be Byzantine is that pillars first hewn for churches of the fourth and sixth centuries were used in its erection; but neither the texts nor the pilgrim accounts in any way countenance the idea that the Dome of the Rock existed before 688 A.D.

The account by John of Würzburg also gives us a glimpse of the growing jealousies between the Greek and Latin Churches. By the law of the kingdom all the Eastern bishops—Armenian, Greek, Syrian, Georgian, Coptic, &c.—were made suffragans to the Latin bishops, under the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch. They felt, however, very bitterly the intrusion of the foreign prelates from the West and the loss of their power and wealth. The account given by John of Würzburg omits all mention of the sacred sites held by the Eastern Churches, and this rule is observed by later Norman writers as well. It is also interesting to find that, even thus early, the Templars were regarded with suspicion. Speaking of their new church and palace (now the Aksa mosque), this writer says:—

'It gives a large amount of alms to the poor in Christ, but not a tenth part of that which is done by the Hospitallers. The house has also many knights for the defence of the land of the Christians, but they have the misfortune, I know not whether truly or falsely, to have their fair fame aspersed with the reproach of treachery, which, indeed, was clearly proved in the well-known affair of Damascus under King Conrad' (of the Romans).

The Templars somewhat later gradually bought up the lands of various ruined barons, and became as powerful as did the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre and other great orders of ecclesiastics, whose lands—widely spread over the best of the conquered districts—were for the most part gifts of kings or of pious nobles. The Hospitallers also acquired such possessions, but escaped the odium of which the Templars became the object, especially after the loss of the kingdom, in consequence of the bad advice of their Master before the Battle of Hattin. The Order was suspected to aim at exclusive possession of the Holy Land, and to be in league with the Saracens. It can hardly be doubted that an intimate knowledge of the Moslem belief and character had much undermined the old narrow fanaticism, and led at times to scepticism among the educated Norman nobles, who could often read and write Arabic. We must not, however, forget Joinville's account of his adventures with the Templars, during the unlucky Crusade of St. Louis. He had left the greater part of his money in the charge of the Grand Master, and found it very difficult to get it back till he threatened to make an exposure of the Order.

'The Grand Master of the Templars (on the fifth day after) accosted me with a smile, and told me he had found my money—to my great joy, as I was in very great need of it; and I took care in future not to trouble these monks with the keeping of my cash.'

It appears from John of Würzburg's account that there was great national jealousy in his time between the French and Germans. He is indignant that the credit of the conquest should be given to the former.

'Although, however, Duke Godfrey and his brother Baldwin, who was made king in Jerusalem after him—which the duke through humility refused to be before—were men of our country; yet, since only a few of our people remained there with them, and very many of the others, with great haste and home-sickness, returned to their native land, the entire country has fallen into the hands of other nations—Frenchmen, Lorrainers, Normans, Provençals, Auvergnats, Italians, Spaniards, and Burgundians, who took no part in the crusade; and also no part of the city, not even in the smallest street, was set apart for the Germans.'

In these troubles and jealousies we see already the seed of the dissensions which ruined the kingdom of Jerusalem. The Italians had the best right of any to a share in the prosperity of the Latins, for they were the first to open a way, through their ancient trading relations with the country. In the tenth century the merchants of Amalfi had founded the

monastery of St. John Eleemon in Jerusalem, and they had a quarter of their own in Antioch before the first crusade.

Another valuable tract by Theodorich—about 1172 A.D.—has very much in common with the preceding account, and it is also connected with Würzburg, though nothing is certainly known as to its author. In this account, as in others of the twelfth century, we find that it was thought necessary to explain how the site of Calvary was in the middle of the city, seeing that the Epistle tells us that 'Christ suffered 'without the gate.' The objection was met by a theory of the growth of the ancient city, which, however firmly believed, had no foundation in fact; for the traditional site was as much within the walls in the time of our Lord as it was in the times of the later pilgrims. The influence of the opinions of twelfth-century writers is, however, not quite exhausted even now.

By far the most complete and valuable account of the Holy City is, however, that written after the conquest by Saladin, and known as the 'Citez de Jherusalem' by an author whose name is lost. Here we learn the position of all the churches (of which there were twenty in an area of 200 acres within the walls, not counting the chapels of the Eastern sects); of the markets; the names of the streets and gates and quarters; of the pools; and the time of their construction. Few cities of the twelfth century can be as minutely studied as can the Jerusalem of the time of Saladin. With this account the Society publishes a description of the whole country, also in Norman-French, which dates about 1220 A.D., or some thirty years later. At this time the whole of Palestine had been lost except the shore plains and the seaports, which were held by the Templars and Hospitallers just before the arrival of St. Louis. The English Crusade under Richard Lion Heart, of which we have so full a history by Geoffrey de Vinsauf (one of the most vivid and accurate writers of the age), had failed in 1191 A.D. It began badly, with the enmity between Richard and Philip of France, which had its origin in the jilting by the former of the latter's sister, whom Richard had promised to marry. It was abandoned because of the French retreat, the illness of Richard, and the bad news from England, after the castles in the sea plains had been rebuilt, but without any conquest of the mountain country. The treaty with Saladin was as favourable as could have been hoped under such circumstances, as Vinsauf clearly shows, adding: 'Whoever entertains a different opinion as

'to this treaty, I would have him know that he will expose 'himself to the charge of perversely deviating from the 'truth.'

It is to be feared that the Templars are open to the charge of deceiving pilgrims as to the Holy Places during these times of defeat, when many of the old places of pilgrimage could no longer be visited, except by treaty with the Saracens. Regular pilgrim routes had long been established, with forts and castles at the distance of an easy day's journey apart; and the frontiers of the kingdom were protected in the twelfth century by a chain of mighty castles, which still remain in ruins. But in the thirteenth century all these had fallen into the hands of the Egyptian Saracens, and Jerusalem could only be entered by paying toll and tribute. It is certainly suggestive that at this time we find Capernaum transferred from the Sea of Galilee to the Mediterranean, and shown to pilgrims close to 'Pilgrim Castle,' the fortress on the shore under Carmel, which the Templars built in 1218 A.D.

The love of the marvellous was, however, not less remarkable in this age than in those which had preceded it. In the old French account we read of new wonders, not mentioned before; and of the Sinai Convent we learn that—

'There lies Saint Catherine, Virgin and Martyr, in a very fair marble tomb, which tomb is so holy that a sort of oil from it heals many ills; and the grace of God is shown, in that many wild beasts, which are on that mountain, live on nothing save by licking the tomb of my lady Saint Catherine, and by the manna which falls on the mountain.'

At Tortosa also was now shown St. Luke's portrait of Our Lady; and at Sardenai, a Syriac monastery, on a rock north of Damascus, was the miraculous image of the Virgin, which distilled oil from its breast. By special treaty the Templars were allowed to visit the shrine, and collect the oil, which was in high repute, and sold for a great price in Europe. It is often mentioned in the inventories of churches in France, as one of the treasures of the church.

All these crusading accounts were written by Latins; but there is a single short tract, dating about 1185 A.D., by John Phocas, a monk, from Crete, which gives an account from the Greek point of view. It was discovered in the seventeenth century by Leon Allatius, and was written in small characters in Greek on silk. It is remarkable as showing that the Stylite hermits, who imitated the famous St.

Simon, of the sixth century, were still to be seen standing on pillars, in various parts of the country, in the twelfth century; and also for the dislike of the 'intruding' Latin Bishop of Lydda, and other indications of the complete split between the Greek and Latin churches, in the last years of Frankish rule, over all Palestine.

We must not here diverge to dwell upon the ever delightful pages of the Sieur de Joinville, who, in his youth, attended St. Louis on his unfortunate crusade in Egypt and in Palestine. With the break up of this expedition the last hopes of the Latin Christians faded away in 1254 A.D., though the seaports were held for nearly forty years after. In conclusion, however, we must notice an interesting number of the Pilgrim Text Society's publications (No. 7), which is one of the latest in point of date in the series, and on which the writings of Joinville and those of Rubruquis throw light. This number includes two letters, written in 1281 and 1282, communicated to the Society by the late W. Basevi Sanders, Esq., from the collection of the 'Royal Letters' in the Record Office, and translated by him from the Norman French, in which they are written. The first, from Sir Joseph de Cancy, Knight of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, was written in Palestine, to 'The most high and puissant 'Lord my Lord Edward' (the First); and the second letter is the king's reply. Sir Joseph belonged to a distinguished family in England, having lands in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; and Edward, as Prince of Wales, had taken the cross, and reached Acre in 1270, remaining abroad nearly four years. For it was here that the Princess Eleanor sucked the poison from the wounds made by an arrow. 'Whereby,' in the words of Speed, 'they perfectly closed, 'yet she herself received no harme; so soveraigne a medi-'cine is a wife's tongue, anoynted with the vertue of lovely 'affection.'

De Cancy wrote, hoping to induce the King to return for the conquest of Palestine, and to describe a battle between the Tartars, aided by their Christian vassal, the King of Armenia, on the one side, and the Egyptian Khalif Kelaun, successor of the terrible Bibars, on the other. It was, according to his account, a victory for neither; but it led to the retreat of the Tartar invaders. In one remarkable sentence he says: 'Neither we nor the Prince (of Antioch, 'Boemund VII.)—the King of Cyprus (Hugh III.) not 'being yet come up—could join the Tartars, nor they send 'help to us, as they had settled to do.' So that we here

find the Christians in league with the Mongols, against the Arab race, for the conquest of the Holy Land. This was the policy of the times, from the days of St. Louis until the fall of Acre; for it was believed that the Tartars were Christians, ever since the time of Prester John, although the family of Genghiz Khan had long since destroyed the power of that celebrated potentate, and though the full report of the adventurous monk Rubruquis, who penetrated to the distant capital of Mongolia, as the envoy to the Khan, from St. Louis, must have made it clear that at most the Tartar rulers were tolerant of Christianity. The invaders, however, were fighting for conquest, not for the Moslem religion, and appear to have been quite willing to accept the help of the Hospitallers, and of the Christian princes of Armenia, Antioch, and Cyprus; but it was not fated that by such alliance either Mongol or Christian should succeed in dethroning the Egyptian ruler of Islam, and Palestine remained in the possession of Egypt until the Osmanli Turks arose, two centuries later.

The crusading spirit was already dying out. King Edward thanked the knight for the Circassian saddles and saddle cloths, the falcons' hoods, and jewels, which he sent, but refers to 'arduous matters of our kingdom,'* ordering Sir Joseph to return to England as soon as possible.

From the brief account thus given of the publication of the pilgrim texts, it will be seen that a fairly continuous series of pictures of the condition of the Holy Land and of the manners of Byzantine Christians and crusaders may be drawn from contemporary and detailed accounts extending over a period of a thousand years. It is a strange story of human hopes and aspirations, beliefs and fears, of human weaknesses, follies, and superstitions; and there is perhaps no period in history which appeals more to the imagination than do the rude ages of fervent faith, high courage, and daring deeds, out of which have grown the science and the civilisation of the nineteenth century. We see the advance that has been made very clearly, in thus looking back; but we also see that human nature was ever the same, and that the virtues of chivalrous gentles, whether Saracens or Normans, were sometimes quite equal, in the days of Omar and Godfrey, of Saladin and Richard, to any we can boast in less adventurous times.

* King Edward's letter is dated May 20, 1282. This was the year of the conquest of Wales and overthrow of Llewellyn.

ART. IV.—*Lancaster and York.* A Century of English History (A.D. 1399–1485). By Sir JAMES H. RAMSAY, of Bamff, Bart., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, late Student of Christchurch. With Maps and Illustrations. 2 Vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1892.

A FULL and detailed history of the great dynastic struggle of the fifteenth century in England has long been a desideratum, and we cannot be too grateful to the author of these volumes for having at length supplied the want. They are the fruit, he tells us, of twenty-one years' study, to the exclusion of all other labours; and we can very well believe it. So laborious a work, and so full of painstaking research in every form, is not often laid before the public. For not only has the author made a very careful study of English and French chronicles containing all the ordinary sources of information, but he has attentively considered what local historians have to say on many points; he seems to have personally inspected fields of battle; and he has dived into the MS. treasures of the Record Office, not shrinking from the examination of the Pell Rolls, Pipe Rolls, and other accounts of the Exchequer, with their complicated system of bookkeeping, though the result of such quests, valuable as it may be in some things, remains after all, as is too well known to those who have attempted them, imperfect and unsatisfactory. He has written, moreover, as he says himself, with no special theory in view. This is apparent in every page of his book. Whatever charge a critic may be disposed to launch at him, no one, we think, will question his absolute impartiality and freedom from disturbing theories. Throughout we find abundance of good sense and judgement, with a total absence of speculation that may almost be called marvellous. The only question is whether such colourless precision be altogether a merit; for we fear there is no doubt it will make the book less interesting to a considerable number of readers, to whom it is a matter of first concern in any new historical work to know whether it does not demolish, or question, a good deal that has long passed for truth and set up in its place a few things that previous historians never dreamed of. Such readers, we may at once say, will find little to gratify their curiosity in these volumes, unless it be in the opposite process, which to many of them, surely, ought to be not less welcome. For Sir James not unfrequently revindicates the truth of

facts that have fallen more or less into discredit with modern writers. He sees no reason, for instance, why it should not be true that Henry V., before he became king, insulted Judge Gascoigne and was ordered into custody for doing so; or that Margaret of Anjou in a forest met with a robber to whom she entrusted the safety of her son; or that the Duke of Clarence was drowned in a butt of malmsey. The last story, indeed, was only a current rumour, strange enough, no doubt, in itself, especially as Clarence had been formally condemned to death by a legally constituted tribunal; but no one seems to have doubted it at the time, and it is the only account of his fate that has been recorded. There are strange things, certainly, in the history of the fifteenth century; but it is not to careful investigators, we find, that they appear most incredible.

Yet there are things, hitherto received as facts, which Sir James Ramsay does discredit, and apparently with very good reason. Wherever it was possible to do so, he has tested the numbers of armies and military expeditions by documents in the Record Office, and finds them very much smaller than those given by the chroniclers. At other times he can measure pretty nearly the ground that the armies occupied and thereby prove their limited dimensions. And whoever will consider the mere difficulty of victualling large forces when there were no good means of transit will not wonder at Sir James Ramsay's assertion that 5,000 men would have been a very considerable army in those days, and 20,000—the number called for by Edward IV. for a Scotch campaign in 1482—a force that as a reality was absolutely unknown. Yet after the battle of Wakefield, according to Hall, Edward levied 23,000 men in the marches of Wales to avenge his father's death; at Mortimer's Cross he left 3,800 of his enemies dead on the field; and about the same time, according to William Worcester, Margaret of Anjou came from the North with 80,000 followers. At the second battle of St. Alban's, according to the same authority, there were 2,000 slain. But this was a trifle to the fabulous slaughter reported at Towton, the bloodiest battle, undoubtedly, of the whole Civil War; and the curious thing is that the statements in this case are so very precise. Hearne's fragment, indeed, says loosely that there were 33,000 slain on both sides; but a paper in the Paston Letters, written at the very time, declares that no less than 28,000 bodies found on the field of battle were actually numbered by heralds. The Croyland writer, perhaps by a

mere clerical error, swells this total to 38,000, saying likewise that this was the number reported by those who buried the dead. Fabyan vaguely says 'upon 30,000 men;' while Hall, who includes the slaughter of the two preceding days at and about Ferrybridge, makes the precise number of the victims 36,776. Statistics of this kind Sir James Ramsay thinks wholly unworthy of notice, and he scarcely ever cites such computations by old writers at all—even for the purpose of showing, as such numbers unquestionably do, how the popular imagination was affected by the result of some great trial of strength in civil war. He is too earnest in the pursuit of trustworthy facts to take much notice of historic exaggerations; and we will not say that he is wrong.

But to come to the substance of his history, we confess to a feeling at the outset that it is almost too substantial. It would be wrong to say that the facts presented to us are superabundant, for a full investigation of facts is what we chiefly look for in a history. Yet there is something besides the facts themselves that we all desire to learn, and that is the true order in which they stand to each other. We certainly expect an historian of the first rank to make us sensible of a certain harmony and cohesion in the sequence of events, which the mere study of chronicles and annals, with ever so much verification of details, cannot possibly exhibit. And here it is that we must frankly own we think this very valuable work leaves something to be desired. The fifteenth century is peculiarly a period that requires interpretation. There are episodes in it which interest the modern reader, but as a whole it does not attract him. The age before the Reformation was too much unlike our own to explain itself without a little assistance; and the fact that it is thickly crowded with events does not tend much to relieve the difficulty. The ordinary reader finds himself in a forest in which he cannot see the wood for the trees. What was all the fighting about? How came the Percies to conspire against Henry IV. after they had helped to set him up? How was France won and lost so easily? What are we to think of 'the good Duke Humphrey'? Did the Court conspire to murder him? Why, after his day, did civil war break out? What were the merits of the quarrel, and why did Warwick change sides? These are a few of the questions that embarrass the general reader, and though some of them admit of a clearer answer now than was possible some years ago, the whole story is sufficiently dark to prevent our feeling much genuine interest in the different

factions. Our sympathies are not excited on either side as they are in the great constitutional struggle of the seventeenth century.

Were there no real principles at stake in all this hurly-burly? Sir James Ramsay had a great subject before him, but, while he has most successfully avoided being governed by any special theory, we fear it must be said also that he has failed to impress upon his work that unity which it ought naturally to have possessed, and which, if it had only been preserved, would have imbued it with a more lifelike interest. His book is too much a mere storehouse of facts methodically arranged like annals, with a financial chapter at the end of each reign. How to digest these facts is the real problem if the history of the period is ever to be popularised. But it is a great thing, at least, to have them well ascertained and tolerably free from ambiguity. And we trust we shall show the real value of his labours all the more by putting before the reader at the outset a few considerations that it seems to us are not too prominently set forth in the book itself.

First of all, then, the story of Lancaster and York is the story of a dynastic struggle, and as such it should be regarded all through. We must forget, while reading it, the ideas of a century of Reform Acts, and of a broad popular suffrage. We must not think of a 'democracy' or of socialistic movements, even in a popular rising like that of Jack Cade. There had been one great socialistic movement in the rebellion named after Wat Tyler, a movement that filled the 'classes' with horror and stupefaction at the time; but it had passed away eighteen years before the date at which this history opens, and there seems to have been no tendency in all the disorders of the succeeding century to anything of the same description. One great warning to the governing classes had effectually destroyed all artificial barriers to the emancipation of the serf, and on the whole the peasantry were contented. It was among the upper classes that the seeds of discord were sown. It was at the top of society, not at the bottom, that new dangers were continually growing. There was no longer any fear of a war of classes, but there was a constantly recurring danger of a war of families. And this, in effect, is the story that Sir James Ramsay has related to us.

The dynastic struggle, considered by itself, seems to involve what in these days we should call legitimist principles. And yet they are only legitimist principles in

embryo. The crown, no doubt, was looked upon as an inheritance, and was claimed as such by either party. But as yet there was no thought of an indefeasible hereditary right, and no law had established the strict principles of the succession as of permanent application beyond the reach of controversy. The actual succession in particular cases had been determined in former days by the council of the 'wise 'men' after the demise of the crown, and it was no doubt owing to political foresight and the inconvenience of admitting an interregnum that what looked like an elective principle got into disuse. That which fixed allegiance, however, in the fifteenth century was not divine right, neither was it an Act of Succession passed by Parliament. It was, first, the judicial opinion of the Privy Council and the Lords of the realm as to the true successor—a thing which had been commonly determined before the demise of the crown; and, secondly, the acquiescence of the people in the Act of Coronation, an Act in which the mutual relations of the new king and his subjects were defined and hallowed by a religious rite. After a king had been once crowned and anointed it was a very strong proceeding to reopen the question of his title. It was something like trying to invalidate a marriage once celebrated on a plea that might have been valid if urged beforehand. Yet the thing was done more than once during the period of this dynastic struggle, and though high reasons could be alleged in each case to justify a course of action so exceptional, it is clear that the proceeding itself was not considered legitimate. Thus, although Henry IV. accused his predecessor, Richard II., of violating his coronation oath, so that it might have been argued that the compact between king and people was dissolved by non-observance on one side, yet he saved the principles of law and loyalty by procuring from Richard himself an act of abdication, in which he admitted his own unfitness to rule and released his subjects from their allegiance to him. No doubt Richard would have recalled his words afterwards if he had had an opportunity; but his abdication was read in Parliament and the throne was declared vacant; after which Henry at once stepped forward and challenged the crown as his right by virtue of his descent from Henry III.

Sir James Ramsay is no doubt substantially in the right when he says that this celebrated challenge contained 'a fictitious title by descent, a title by conquest, and a title 'by parliamentary election, ingeniously mixed up.' But he

speaks the language of the modern constitutional theorist, not of the constitutional theorist at the close of the fourteenth century. Henry, indeed, and his ambitious father before him, had endeavoured to popularise a piece of fictitious history tending to show that the House of Lancaster had been unjustly set aside at the accession of Edward I., who was absurdly declared to have been younger than his brother Edmund; and in claiming the throne by lineal descent from Henry III. he, of course, seemed to build upon this fable. But the words of the challenge itself do not give the particulars of this genealogical claim, and they keep strictly within the bounds of truth. Henry IV. was really 'descended by right line of the blood' from King Henry III., and if the Lords of the kingdom thought him the fittest man to rule of all the royal issue, their verdict must be accepted as judicial, on whatever considerations it was founded. For a 'Parliamentary election' it was not, in the true sense of the words at all; there was only one candidate for the vacant throne, and the Lords, with whom the decision lay, affirmed that his title was a good one. As for the right of conquest, it was rather disowned at the time.* Henry had indeed come with the aid of his kin and friends to recover a realm which 'was in 'point to be undone for defaut of governance.' But the whole business was clothed with a strict appearance of legality, which at least bore witness to a strong desire to preserve the foundations of order and constitutional law.

The weak point, in fact, was not half so much Henry's title, for the young Earl of March, whose father, as next in blood to the crown, had been recognised as heir-presumptive under Richard, was only six years old, and it was quite competent for the Lords in recognising a successor to take ability to rule into account. Henry's title might have passed for good enough if scruples had not been entertained in some quarters as to the manner in which Richard's deposition had been procured. It was made to seem a voluntary abdication, but the way it came about had rather the look of sharp practice. Henry had caught Richard in a net; he had really extorted the act that was said to have been voluntary, for Richard was a prisoner at the time, and to a good many people he remained the true king still. Nay,

* In thanking the Lords spiritual and temporal for their recognition of his claim, Henry protested, 'It is not my will that no man think that by way of conquest I would disinherit any man,' &c.

to a good many people he remained the true king after he was dead, for they would not believe in his death. And, strange to say, some of the very men who had helped most powerfully to set Henry on the throne within four years after set on foot a rebellion in the name of the dead King Richard, whose name they used as a mask for a design to partition the kingdom.

It is somewhat to be regretted that Sir James Ramsay could not have devoted more space at the beginning of this work to the reign of Richard II. He means to deal with it one day, it would appear, on the same scale as this history of 'Lancaster and York;' for he contemplates a larger work, of which these two volumes are to form the conclusion, giving a connected narrative of the whole of English history from its first beginning. We cordially wish him health and strength to complete such a grand design; but in the meantime we cannot say that we are perfectly satisfied with his very brief introduction in which the leading political events of Richard's reign are recounted rather than described. As a preamble to the story of Lancaster and York we should certainly have liked something better than a bald statement of facts and dates in the reign immediately before the House of Lancaster came in. For in the first place, it is clear that the dynastic struggle did not begin with Henry IV.; and, in the second place, there were other things that paved the way for Henry besides the faults in Richard's character and the factiousness of his uncles. Unless we keep in mind the social disorganisation of England at the end of the fourteenth century—the collapse of government at one time in utter anarchy—the oscillation of the pendulum between one violent despotism to which the king himself was subject and another in which all were subject to the king—the weakness and the high-handed tyranny which in either case destroyed all hope of a stable and permanent rule under Richard II.—we cannot read the story of Henry's reign aright, because we know nothing of what led up to it.

Henry's father, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, had certainly aimed at the succession during Richard II.'s minority, and apparently even before he came to the throne. He was exceedingly unpopular, and just before the rising under Wat Tyler the Kentish peasants systematically stopped pilgrims on the road to Canterbury, not allowing them to proceed till they had sworn to be true to King Richard and never to accept a king named John. In London, also, the rebels burned his palace of the Savoy.

But it was not from him that Richard's Government ever stood in serious danger. Although, as the eldest surviving uncle of the king, he would have had a natural claim to act as his guardian during his minority, no such claim was admitted from the first; and as Richard grew up he had certainly no particular reason to pay special deference to John of Gaunt. It was not his eldest uncle, but his youngest, whom he himself had created Duke of Gloucester, that forced upon him the Commission of Regency by a threat of deposition, and inflicted on him a humiliation and a thraldom which he revenged nine years later (when he felt it safe to do so) by proceedings almost as severe and unconstitutional as those of the commission itself. To describe them it may be sufficient to quote one paragraph from Sir James Ramsay's brief introduction :—

'When all seemed ready, in July, 1397, Richard suddenly arrested the Earls of Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel. Eight new appellants came forward to impeach them for their acts in 1386–88. These men were Edmund, Earl of Rutland (son of Edmund of Langley, now Duke of York); Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent; his uncle John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon; the Earl of Nottingham; John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset (legitimated son of John of Gaunt); John Montagu, Earl of Salisbury; Thomas, Lord le Despencer; and Sir William le Scrope—all young men, and, in fact, mostly mere boys. It will be noticed that Nottingham had gone over to the king's side. Bolingbroke, the Earl of Derby, had not come forward as an appellant, but he supported their action. Gloucester was sent to Calais and there made away with, after a confession had been elicited from him by Sir William Rickhill, a Puisne Justice of the Common Pleas. Arundel was executed; Warwick condemned to imprisonment. Thomas of Arundel, now Archbishop of Canterbury, was banished. To facilitate the execution of this sentence the Pope (Boniface IX.) translated him to St. Andrews.'

Except in the expression 'mostly mere boys,' which surely is a little of an exaggeration, this is a very accurate statement of the crisis; but it is followed by a sentence which contains a most extraordinary error :—

'It should be stated that Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick had all received formal pardons for their acts of 1386–88, but the pardons were revoked by the "Merciless Parliament" (September, 1397).'

The Parliament commonly known as the 'Merciless Par-'liament' did not sit in September, 1397, but from February to June, 1388. It did not revoke, but, in fact, procured, the pardons granted to Gloucester and the other appellants; and knowing well how great need of pardon they had for their unconstitutional proceedings, it extracted a pledge

from the king that those proceedings should never be reversed. It was this attempt to tie the hands of sovereign power for the future that stamps the conduct of the Merciless Parliament as indefensible, even more than its cruelty; and the worst of Richard's errors was in following that bad precedent himself. The Parliament of September, 1397—prorogued in January, 1398, to Shrewsbury—revoked the pardons that were not to be revoked and undid the work that was not to be undone. In that way it, too, was a 'Merciless Parliament,' but it is not the Parliament so named in history, whose proceedings it too closely copied.

Of all the causes of Richard's ruin, this revocation of pardons, solemnly granted, may be safely affirmed to have been the chief. John of Gaunt's son, Henry, Earl of Derby, and Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, had been among the allies of Gloucester in 1388; but, as they were then very young, and had opposed extreme measures, they were the more readily forgiven, and not only so, but they were advanced to dukedoms with the titles of Hereford and Norfolk. In view of recent proceedings, however, the latter expressed misgivings to the former that even their pardons might be revoked, and Henry reported the conversation to the king, denouncing it as treason on Hereford's part thus to doubt his sovereign's good faith. Everyone knows of the celebrated challenge, and the banishment of the two rivals, nor need we relate again under what circumstances Henry returned and won the kingdom. The bad faith of Richard in the matter of pardons and his injustice to the son of John of Gaunt enabled the latter to vindicate at length the claims of the House of Lancaster.

Perhaps we linger too long on the threshold, but one further point we think might have been better elucidated in the introduction. In summing up Henry's character, Sir James Ramsay just mentions that he was a traveller, adding in a footnote that he made two tours abroad* before he came to the throne during the years 1390–1393, in which time he visited Prussia and the Holy Land. Is not this rather significant with relation to his after life as king, quite apart from his wish to die at Jerusalem? Henry was a man who had seen much of the world. He had been taking observations of men in many different countries; and

* Something more, we hope, will be known about these tours ere long, as we perceive that the Camden Society is about to publish an original account of Henry's travelling expenses.

when, as king, he was visited in England by the Emperor Manuel Palæologus seeking aid against the Turks—a fact which Sir James Ramsay records with the briefness and dryness of an annalist—he must have appreciated fully the danger to which Christian Europe was then exposed. Hard pressed as he was himself for money throughout the whole of his reign, he was liberal to the Greek emperor to the extent of 2,000*l.* And even in the midst of his infinite troubles and turmoils at home, he corresponded with Prester John of Abyssinia and Timur Beg in Asia, who, Mussulman as he was, soon relieved Constantinople from danger by his defeat of Bajazet, and Henry piously hoped for his conversion to Christianity.*

The religious side of Henry's character displayed itself in domestic matters in his persecution of the Lollards, in which he was greatly encouraged, if not prompted in the first instance, by Archbishop Arundel. The clergy, it seems, at first deprecated any action of the Legislature against them. But in 1401 was passed the famous statute for the burning of heretics, which apparently was a decree of the king, with the advice of his Lords in Parliament, in answer to a petition from the clergy for greater power to deal with unlicensed preaching; for there is nothing said of any petition from the Commons, who appear not to have been consulted in the matter at all. On this subject Sir James remarks:—

'Henry's "fervent orthodoxy" and his need for political support gave Arundel his opportunity. Henry had never shared his father's leaning towards the Reformers. Richard had issued edicts against them; but he was surrounded with Lollards, and was, in fact, too much taken up with his own schemes to enter deeply into any other question. It has been suggested that the proceedings of 1401 should be taken as evidence of a reaction against Lollardism; we would rather take them as evidence that Reforming thought had attained sufficient maturity to produce a man ready to face death for his convictions. The Wycliffites were not free from the weakness of their age; all had

* These points and some others relating to Henry IV. are very well brought out by a previous historian, Mr. James Hamilton Wylie, whose 'History of England under Henry IV.' (Longmans, 1884) has still to be completed in a promised second volume. We observe that Sir James Ramsay refers to it in one place, though he has not mentioned it in his 'List of Authorities,' at the beginning. It is a work of much merit, and we hope the second volume will soon appear. Sir James, who seems to have written his account of the reign independently, only borrows from it a statement of the Customs' revenue. (Vol. i. p. 150.)

recanted more or less when brought to the point. Wycliffe himself had only escaped formal recantation through his command of scholastic metaphysics.'

Without committing ourselves to these sentiments, we leave them to be weighed by students of the religious history of the period. What may be remarked with safety is that sympathy with Lollards is no longer found among the ruling powers until the days of the Reformation. They were, rightly or wrongly, regarded as men whose principles tended to disturb society; and they could hardly look for favour from a new dynasty insecurely seated on the throne. Henry's great task was to correct as far as possible all the dangerous political tendencies of Richard's time, and how much of the old social leaven remained there is ample evidence to show. Submissive to his Commons even in matters relating to his own household, where Richard had most resented their interference, curtailing his domestic expenses and dismissing foreigners at their request, he granted them petition after petition without seeming to get any adequate return in the way of supply. In 1401 they held out for the principle that no money grant should be made until all their petitions had been answered; and though he refused to yield the point it became from that time the practice to withhold till the last day of the session both the answers to petitions and the announcement of the money grant. In 1407 occurred the more celebrated case in which the House of Commons vindicated its right—not exactly, as commonly understood, to originate money-bills, whatever may have been the general practice in that matter, but to be consulted before any report was made to the king on the subject of taxation by the other House. As a matter of fact, money grants were repeatedly made expressly in the name of the Commons, and not of the Lords at all; and where the latter were to contribute, Sir James observes that there was either a separate grant or express words to show that the peers were included. But, nevertheless, the taxation of the Commons was not by any means a matter completely left to themselves.

So great was the difficulty of obtaining money from Parliament, that in 1404 a land-tax was only conceded on the extraordinary condition that no record of it should be kept as a precedent, and no official record of it accordingly appears to this day. Then we have the case of 'the Unlearned 'Parliament,' which was certainly a little of Wat Tyler's way of thinking, for it owed its origin to the strong objec-

tion which he had felt for lawyers as instruments of taxation. The writs, indeed, by which it was called were framed in accordance with an ordinance of Edward III.'s reign forbidding lawyers to be elected, on the ground that they were apt to promote bills for private interests. But the Unlearned Parliament, when asked for supplies, coolly proposed a sweeping Act of Resumption, together with a seizure for the time of the temporalities of the Church. The property of the Church was again pointed at in 1410 as a convenient subject of taxation, when a most preposterous estimate was made of the army that might be supported out of it.

In the chapter devoted to the financial view of this reign we have some important remarks on the unproductive character of estates forfeited to the Crown for rebellion, which enable us still further to realise Henry's difficulties. 'The 'reader,' we are informed,

'must be warned that the amount derived from this source was incredibly small. The personal estate of condemned felons, no doubt, found its way into the Treasury; but personal estate in those days did not count for much. The goods and chattels of Kent and Despencer, seized in the first year of his reign, came to 603*l.*, all paid in; those of Archbishop Scrope came to 713*l.*, gross, less expenses, 114*l.*—or 599*l.* net. The total of the fines levied on men implicated in Northumberland's rising is returned at 158*l.*, and the whole of this was expended locally.

'In a short space of time the landed estates forfeited seem to disappear utterly. At the beginning of the reign we have one year of the Despencer estates, 1,112*l.*, gross; and one year of the Norfolk estates, 808*l.* 13*s.*, nothing being paid in from the latter. We have also on the Pell Receipt Rolls, at the beginning of the reign, a few hundreds paid in by the Percies for the wardship of two-thirds of the Mortimer estates; but that is all. Every child knew that vast estates had fallen in, but the king was always in want of money. What had become of these estates? That was the meaning of the reiterated demands in Parliament for the resumption of Crown grants. But the truth is that periods of civil strife which brought in forfeitures also brought with them troops of faithful servants with services to be rewarded; and powerful interests whose allegiance it was important to secure. Thus the land passed out of the king's hands almost as soon as it came into them.'

Altogether the reign of Henry IV. was full of difficulties and troubles. His financial difficulties were only the result of the general instability which had long prevailed. He knew better how to rule than Richard II., but he could not entirely control the elements of disorder. The feeling against himself as a usurper, the danger in Wales, the feudalism of the

Percies in the North, whose power was not entirely broken even after the rebellion was suppressed, the danger from the pretensions of the Mortimers, the feeling excited against him by the execution of Archbishop Scrope, the imperfect control he had over his own sons (for 'madcap Harry' was not the only one given to midnight frays), were constant sources of weakness during the thirteen years and a half that he filled the throne. He had less trouble from abroad than might have been expected, though at first the French king's agents refused to recognise his title, and by a wonderful stroke of diplomacy recovered Richard's widow Isabella out of his hands without acknowledging him to be king of England. The fortunate capture of James I. of Scotland no doubt secured him against a Northern enemy. But towards the end of his reign he was controlled in a matter of foreign policy by his own son, Henry of Monmouth, who when he would fain have stood neutral for a time between the contending parties in France, sent a considerable body of troops across the Channel in aid of Burgundy, which enabled the Duke to drive the Armagnacs out of Paris. Further, the Prince of Wales attempted in 1412 to procure his father's abdication on the ground that he was incapacitated from ruling by leprosy. Such were the clouds that rested over Henry's latter days.

And what sort of a prospect opened to his impatient successor, when at length he attained the crown? To the outside world it certainly was not hopeful; but Henry of Monmouth knew the course he intended to pursue, and he followed it with complete success. It was war, and war only, he believed, that would enable him to win the hearts of his own subjects, or give them any real confidence in his powers. That he had been looked upon as a giddy youth, bold, indeed, in action, as he had fully shown at Shrewsbury, but more given to harem-scarem pranks than serious affairs of state, is not a mere traditional opinion, but is verified by sufficient contemporary evidence. His best friends had misgivings lest he might meet with the fate of Richard II., and a warning to that effect was addressed to him in verse just after his accession by his future biographer, Thomas of Elmham:—

'But the misgivings were speedily dispelled as Henry's demeanour day by day attested the sobering effects of a sense of responsibility. In fact, his life exhibited a change as striking as that of Becket when he ceased to be chancellor and became archbishop.'

His reformation was, however, as Shakespeare shows it to have been, a thing prearranged by himself. He knew his own policy from the first; and whether it can be called a patriotic policy or not, it was a good policy for him. It was not popular when it was first disclosed: at least, it was not very well received by the country gentlemen in Parliament, who expressed a hope that such a Christian prince would moderate his pretensions to France, and at least send over another embassy, so as to give the French full opportunity of coming to terms before the sword was drawn. But he had been negotiating already with both the factions into which France was then divided; and he had made a secret treaty with Burgundy for a war of conquest. He did send an embassy, indeed, but he had declared in council his full intention to invade the country long before he could possibly have received a reply to his ultimatum. Yet he dared call heaven to witness that his last demands were prompted only by the love of peace, and that no vain desire of empire would turn his conscience from pursuing that which was right!

The clergy seem to have been more favourable to the war than the country gentlemen, perhaps, as suggested by writers of the next century, in the hope of warding off Lollard attacks on the Church and its endowments; but the speech of Archbishop Chicheley given by Hall, and set forth in blank verse by Shakespeare, is certainly a fabrication, for Chicheley was not even archbishop at the time of the Leicester Parliament, at which it is supposed to have been delivered. Henry, however, showed himself from the first a friend of the Church and apparently religious. He founded two monasteries at the beginning of his reign—the Carthusian Monastery of Sheen, endowed for forty monks, whose site was between Richmond and Kew, and the Bridgettine monastery of Sion, first planted at Twickenham, for sixty-five nuns and twenty-five brethren of the order. And it should be added that, however unjust his war against France may have been, it was waged on the whole with great humanity, and he issued the most stringent orders to put down outrages upon his march, especially outrages on Church property.

Possibly Churchmen may have been the first to find out that there were really great qualities in this young prince, who had hitherto appeared a mere scapegrace to the world at large. Among the evidences of his conversion it must be remembered that he had turned his back on Oldcastle, once a familiar friend, because he was a heretic. Neither private

inclinations nor private friendships were allowed to cross the path of his kingly sense of duty. But his capacity to rule had yet to be made apparent. His proposal to lead an expedition into France must have appeared to many only an additional proof of recklessness; and the conspiracy of the Earl of Cambridge, detected when he was just on the point of sailing from Southampton, seems as if it had originated in some such belief. This was simply an attempted revival of the old alliance that the Percies, the Mortimers, and Glendower* had formed against Henry IV.; and the very rashness of the plan is tolerably significant of an opinion that England was not even yet a settled country or the House of Lancaster even yet in secure position of the throne. 'The whole 'scheme,' as Sir James Ramsay says, 'was of north-country 'origin.' Young Percy, the son of Hotspur, was to be redeemed out of the hands of the Scots; the crown was to be offered, if he would accept it, to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, and if he declined it, the old fable that Richard II. was still alive in Scotland was to be revived and the impostor was to be proclaimed. It is strange to think of such a scheme having been adopted, not only by the Earl of Cambridge, who being himself a grandson of Edward III. had married the Earl of March's sister, but also by Lord Scrope of Masham, apparently a trusted friend of the young king. As for the Earl of March, he declined to be led into intrigue and revealed the matter to the king. He had been kept from boyhood by Henry IV. under lock and key in Windsor Castle along with a younger brother; and one of the great alarms in the last reign had been occasioned by a successful effort to steal the two lads away. They were recaptured, however, before they could be conveyed to their uncle, who was with Owen Glendower in Wales, and the young earl apparently thought he had had enough of perilous adventure. Cambridge and his fellow-conspirators were tried by special commissions at Southampton, and were condemned and executed there just before the king sailed for France for the memorable campaign of Agincourt.

He sailed in August, 1415, with about half the peerage of his realm—almost all that could have been safely spared from home—and a force that on paper amounted to nearly 10,000 men, but Sir James thinks may have been in reality

* We commend Sir James Ramsay's accuracy in spelling the name Glyndwr, but for our own part we prefer in this matter to err with Shakespeare, who has made the corrupt form classical.

about 2,000 men-at-arms and 6,000 archers. This number was very seriously reduced by illness at the siege of Harfleur, and the fact no doubt influenced greatly the further conduct of the campaign. Henry's challenge of the Dauphin to single combat was characteristic, and would, of course, have decided matters at once if it had been accepted; but he was obliged, after winning Harfleur, to march on in the direction of Calais with a force reduced apparently by about a third. He was over-sanguine, and reckoned the distance about eight days' march; but he expected, like Edward III., to cross the Somme at Blanche Taque. The ford, however, was too well guarded, and he had to pursue his way some sixty miles up the stream through a hostile country before it was possible for him to cross. His temerity seems to have astonished the enemy and filled his own men with misgivings. On October 20 he received a message from the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, saying that they hoped to meet him before he reached Calais, and requesting him to name the place. Henry replied that they might meet him where they pleased; he was making straight for Calais and did not lodge in strongholds by night. So, leaving the French posted on high ground to the right of him, he passed on, not without some skirmishing with the garrison of Peronne, and serious evidence of overwhelming numbers likely to encounter him. The crisis drew near on October 24, when, hearing that the French had crossed the Ternoise at Blangy, Henry hastened to cross himself, and mounting to a high plateau on the other side he saw the enemy pouring in countless hosts to intercept his march.

The French were content with blocking the way that night, and though the English took up a pretty good position on ground that fell away on either side, the odds were terribly against them as to numbers. Sir Walter Hungerford wished for some thousands of extra archers; but the king, putting a bold face upon the matter, rebuked him. 'By the God of Heaven,' said Henry, 'by whose grace I stand and in whom I put my trust, I would not have another man if I could. Wottest thou not that the Lord, with these few, can overthrow the pride of the French?' Next day, October 25, was fought the great battle of Agincourt, where the English, inspired no doubt with the courage of despair, but having in Henry a consummate general, won a perfectly amazing victory against superior numbers. They had left Harfleur, as Sir James Ramsay estimates, with about 900 lances and 3,000 archers, and of

course they had received no accession to their forces, while those of the enemy were, at the lowest computation, at least three times as numerous. The position before the battle was so dangerous that Henry himself, it seems, opened negotiations for a free passage to Calais, for which he was willing to have restored Harfleur to the French if other demands had not been insisted on.

We must leave the reader to peruse for himself the elaborate account of the battle, which is too long to quote. Sir James is at his best in military matters, especially those of the reign of Henry V. But one thing which he does not tell us—and which possibly, with his dislike of theory, he may consider too speculative a view for a matter-of-fact historian—appears to us, we confess, strongly indicated by the whole tenor of this history as a master-key to its interpretation. It was the battle of Agincourt that at length gave the House of Lancaster undisturbed possession of the throne and put an end, for a generation at least, to all questions of the justice of its title. The enthusiasm kindled by his great victory at home—the modesty which he showed in the hour of triumph, forbidding, as we are told, all songs of personal panegyric, the politic moderation with which he followed up his advantage in the next campaign, avoiding high pretensions and acts of severity and endeavouring 'to win 'towns piecemeal, as if his ultimate ambition had been, not 'to recover a crown but to found a duchy,' the long array of almost unbroken successes which attended his arms, leading finally to the treaty of Troyes, by which he was declared heir to the French crown on his marriage with Catherine, the Dauphin being disinherited—all these things combined to set the domestic question at rest and to elevate Henry of Monmouth into a great national hero. The troubles of his father's reign and his own unpromising youth were things altogether forgotten; nor was it possible to remember the utterly indefensible character of the pretensions which had achieved such a brilliant and extraordinary success.

To what causes are we to attribute that success? Not, surely, to English valour and English generalship only; for, much as these could do, they would have been of little avail against a united nation with vastly superior numbers. But France was not then a united nation. Torn by domestic discord and split up into factions, each alternately possessing the capital and dispossessing the other; the king a lunatic, ruled by whoever happened to have power for the moment; the queen a woman of shameless profligacy, hating her own

husband and her sons; the land falling generally out of cultivation, owing to the absence of law and order—every circumstance in the condition of the unhappy country seemed positively to invite an invader and almost to insure his success. But on the English side there was yet one element besides valour and generalship in the field which deserves to be taken into account. There was really the most consummate diplomacy and opportunism both before the appeal to arms and during intervals of negotiation.

There could be no doubt, in a general way, that of the two factions into which France was divided the Burgundian party would be the more serviceable to England as allies. The commercial relations between England and Flanders made this sufficiently manifest; and Henry, as we have seen, when Prince of Wales, had found no difficulty in terminating his father's policy of neutrality by sending troops abroad unauthorised in aid of Burgundy. The Armagnacs, however, soon after offered to restore Aquitaine to the English, and a treaty was made with them by Henry IV. in 1411, full assurance being given to the Flemings that the truce with them would be carefully observed. In fact, both French parties sought the friendship of their neighbour across the Channel, and at Henry V.'s accession both parties waited upon him to know his pleasure. It was scarcely to be expected of a son of that 'vile poli-'tician, Bolingbroke,' that he should neglect so favourable an opportunity of strengthening himself for future action. Reversing the last move of his father, he concluded, as we have shown, a secret treaty with Burgundy against the Armagnacs, respecting, however, 'the rights of the King of 'France, the Dauphin, and their successors,' which were expressly reserved. A week later he commissioned the Bishops of Durham and Norwich to treat with the Armagnacs for the restitution of his own 'rights' in France, allowing them to negotiate his marriage with the French king's daughter Catherine as one mode of giving effect to them. This, however, he was only ready to accept by way of compromise; for he claimed the whole kingdom of France as his own by right, though what right he could have had to it by any sort of inheritance it was difficult to see. But he was open to matrimonial offers from Burgundy also, and expressly authorised Lord Scrope to contract a marriage for him with the Duke's young daughter, which had the effect of quickening the other party, who exacted a promise from him not to marry anyone but Catherine till at least the 1st August

following. Thus Burgundians and Armagnacs kept bidding against each other whenever there was a suspension of hostilities.

As his conquests proceeded, however, Burgundy became a cooler ally. Jean Sans Peur could not afford to show himself as the open enemy of his country, and his truce with England was renewed in March, 1418, only till Michaelmas following. He had already made friends with Queen Isabella, and negotiations were soon after set on foot for a reconciliation of the French factions, by which all princes of the blood were to be equally admitted to the King's council. The Count of Armagnac, however, refused the pacification, with the result that Paris once more became strongly Burgundian. The mob rose, incensed against the enemies of peace, and sacked the houses of the Armagnac faction. The Count himself was killed; and Tanguy du Châtel, late Provost of Paris, having hurried the Dauphin at first to the Bastille for security, had him sent on afterwards to Melun, before the Bastille itself surrendered to the mob.

The Duke of Burgundy, being thus master of Paris, seemed for the time the leader of the national cause against England, and refused to abide even by the six months' truce that he had agreed to in March. But Tanguy du Châtel, now virtually leader of the Armagnacs, caused the Dauphin to be proclaimed Regent in opposition to his mother, who had assumed the same title, and while the Dauphin held his court of Parliament at Poitiers a number of garrisons round Paris still held out for him. Henry, meanwhile, whose progress in Normandy had been much facilitated (Sir James Ramsay might have told us) by the Count of Armagnac's having withdrawn many of the garrisons there to fortify himself against the Duke of Burgundy near Paris, proceeded to lay siege to Rouen. That town after six months was obliged to surrender, the garrison being driven to the last extremity of starvation; and its fall naturally promoted the surrender of a number of other places both in Normandy and on the way to Paris. But Henry had still a difficult task before him. During his progress he had done his best to win the inhabitants over to his cause, moderating their taxation and allowing those who refused his rule time to remove their goods and transfer themselves elsewhere. He had caused his soldiers to pay honestly for their victuals and enforced strict discipline. But the French gentry showed no disposition whatever to 'turn English,' and until

much greater successes could be won the war was a very serious drain on the resources of England. But the fall of Rouen made each of the French parties for the moment again willing to treat with him, for the Dauphin's friends were still averse to any pacification with Burgundy; and Henry made his profit out of both of them. From the Dauphin he obtained the complete neutrality of all the country that owned his authority between the Seine and Loire outside Normandy. The Duke of Burgundy was willing to concede the full terms of the treaty of Bretigny, with the addition of Normandy; but, advantageous as these terms were, almost beyond reasonable expectation, Henry would not unconditionally surrender his claim to the whole of France, or to the succession to the crown of France, without leaving himself at liberty to accept from the Armagnacs what was refused by Burgundy.

For a moment it seemed that Henry had pushed matters too far; for the conference was broken off just when Tanguy du Châtel, fearing a treaty might really be effected, had come at length to offer terms of reconciliation to the Duke of Burgundy. And so much, at least, he succeeded in effecting that Henry, who would fain have reopened the negotiations, could for the time do nothing more, while the Duke of Burgundy actually had a meeting with the Dauphin; but the attempt to compose their differences was as unsuccessful as before. The English accordingly pushed their conquests into the Isle de France. The Armagnacs were then implored by the city of Paris to make one more effort at conciliation. Another interview was arranged between the Duke and the Dauphin; and there, at Montereau, after the Duke had made his obeisance and was even yet kneeling, or was just in the act of rising, a gang of armed men rushed upon him and put him to death, Tanguy himself, according to one account, being among the assassins.

The consequences of this atrocious crime (which it is impossible to extenuate even as an act of vengeance for the murder of Louis, Duke of Orleans, twelve years before) were such as might have been expected.

'The blow that felled the Duke of Burgundy laid France at Henry's feet. A wild cry for vengeance rose from Paris. Before the month was out Henry had received overtures from the city, and a few days later, from the Duke of Burgundy, Philippe le Bon. The king was invited to name his own terms; he had no difficulty in doing so, as his mind had long been made up.'

His terms were that he would accept the French king's

daughter Catherine without dowry, on condition of his having the regency of France during the life of Charles VI. and the crown after his death. The Dauphin was to be disinherited as a public enemy on account of his complicity in the murder of Jean Sans Peur, and Henry would do his best to wrest from him and put in his father's hands all the places which accepted his authority. Such was the general drift of the negotiations that followed, and provisions to the same effect were embodied in the treaty of Troyes. Henry then married Catherine, and, under this humiliating treaty, was recognised as Regent of France till his death. He died at the early age of thirty-five, worn out with the intense activity which his precarious policy had forced upon him, after a reign of nine and a half years and a year and a quarter of married life.

By a singular accident Charles VI. died only a few weeks later, and Henry's infant son, not yet a year old, was proclaimed by virtue of the treaty King of England and of France also. Henry V. had added another kingdom and another crown to the responsibilities of his successor, and those responsibilities devolved upon a child in his cradle! To make matters worse, no adequate provision had been made for the contingency of a long minority. Bedford had apparently been named in the king's will as Regent of France, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (who had already acted in that capacity in the king's absence), as Regent of England. But while Bedford's appointment was felt to be a matter of absolute necessity, the Council declined to carry out the king's will with regard to his brother Gloucester. Duke Humphrey was popular with the masses, but did not possess the confidence of wise politicians; so it was resolved that England should do without a Regent at all. Gloucester was appointed Protector of the realm, with powers distinctly limited, and was only to exercise those functions so long as his brother Bedford was absent in France; but he was to be always responsible to the Council for the way he used them.

The refusal of the Council from the first to recognise anyone as Regent had a result altogether remarkable. Never was royal babe in his cradle made to perform such an extraordinary part before the world. From the first he was invested, or supposed to be invested, with all the functions of royalty. As an unconscious infant he presided over a sitting of Parliament and received addresses. Early in his fifth year he was knighted and conferred the dignity of

knighthood upon others. No mere external parallel to things like these in our own days can convey to the modern reader anything like their real significance. A right that might almost be called a divine right to rule was acknowledged in this simple child which had never been acknowledged in his politic grandfather. Weakness was sedulously fenced about by strength; and Henry VI. grew up with a feeling of assured possession, alike of his kingdom and of the hearts of his subjects, to which both his father and his grandfather must have been strangers. Meek and gentle as he was by nature, he must have felt himself from boyhood born to be a king. All the thrashings he got, or may have got, from the Earl of Warwick, who as his guardian asked leave of the Council to inflict corporal chastisement, when necessary, upon his royal charge for the benefit of his morals, though they may have helped to teach him humility, did nothing to impair his sense of his own position; for not one of his subjects was the least inclined to disparage it. And as he grew to manhood he was always convinced that he had a perfect right to rule by such advisers as had been placed about him in youth or approved themselves to his own feeble judgement, without even giving a hearing to any others.

The government even of one kingdom during a minority in such an age as the fifteenth century was a task quite sufficient to test to the utmost alike the statesmanship and the patriotism of those who had pretension to bear rule. But the fact that there were two kingdoms to be administered at once, under very different conditions, of course—and that made the matter all the harder—two kingdoms whose fortunes must inevitably act and react upon each other, and in either of which errors of judgement committed by statesmen must materially affect the other, made the problem one of the most consummate difficulty. Yet the English were so strong in the North of France at the death of Henry V., and the 'little King of Bourges,' as the Dauphin was called when he was proclaimed just after his father's death as Charles VII., had so few allies even in the South (for the Count of Foix, at first, took part with the English in Languedoc), that a little carelessness on the part of the victors might not have imperilled much for some years to come. In fact, the English successes went on for nearly seven years with very little interruption. The one serious reverse they had experienced was at the battle of Baugé, a year and a half before the death of Henry V. But the effect of that discomfiture had been speedily neutralised, and, little

as the French loved foreign rule, the cause of England seemed everywhere the winning cause; insomuch that the Duke of Brittany, who had, just after the battle of Baugé, made a treaty with the Dauphin against the English, turned once more and made a treaty with Bedford against the Dauphin, recognising Henry VI. as King of France.

Nothing seemed wanting to the success of the English cause in France itself that skill or valour could supply. The only thing likely to weaken it was a little indiscretion on the part either of the Council or of some powerful man in England. And this element Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, contrived admirably to exhibit. His scandalous marriage with Jacqueline of Hainault justly offended the Duke of Burgundy, and seriously imperilled the alliance on which everything depended. Bedford's ingenuity was taxed to the utmost to preserve a good understanding, and he would have referred the validity of his brother's marriage to Pope Martin V., when Humphrey took the matter into his own hand and invaded Hainault to secure his wife's inheritance. Even this did not break down the alliance; for, though successful at first, the invasion ultimately was a failure and the quarrel was narrowed to a personal one, which at one time it was agreed to decide by single combat; but in the end Humphrey left his Jacqueline at Mons under the protection of her cousin of Burgundy, and consoled himself with the company of his Eleanor Cobham in England. The duel between him and Burgundy was forbidden by the Pope and the whole controversy referred to arbitration.

It was no wonder that the Council, under the influence chiefly of Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, afterwards cardinal, had been anxious from the first to keep within limits the powers entrusted to such a person as Duke Humphrey. Cardinal Beaufort may have had his own faults likewise. Even his acceptance of the cardinalate has been looked upon by some as 'the great mistake of his life.' Undoubtedly it opened up new questions—as to the position, that is to say, of such a dignitary as a cardinal at the King's Council Board, and whether he had a right to retain his bishopric or to officiate as prelate of the Garter—which were not settled without some discussion, and which no doubt, by the very fact of their being raised, gave Gloucester some advantages over his rival. But the existence of controversies such as these was only a further argument in favour of the policy pursued from the first—to exalt the royal authority as much as possible; and it was from this

view, no doubt, that the policy recommended by Bedford of an early coronation met with general approval in England as it did for other reasons in France. In the former country the act put an end even to the office of Protector, which Duke Humphrey had hitherto occupied—a very distinct advantage. But it is more than doubtful whether such an important step could have been taken quite so early if the critical position of affairs in France had not made it advisable to gain for the authority of the English king in that country the highest sanction that religion, war, and pageantry could confer upon it.

The crisis had been brought about by Joan of Arc. No doubt it might have come—indeed, must have come—some way or other without her; but, as matters actually occurred, it came through her. Strange indeed was the fate of France when overrun with foreign armies from the English Channel to the Loire, when Orleans seemed beyond hope of rescue, and the cause of the Dauphin all but irretrievably lost, that the tide of advancing conquest should have been turned by an enthusiastic peasant girl! Let us do all honour to her enthusiasm; and we should certainly not value it the less when the seemingly miraculous incidents of her career are nearly, if not completely, accounted for by careful examination of circumstances. That her counsels were really overruled for strategical reasons where they would have been manifestly dangerous; that she, nevertheless, 'nearly ruined all by her precipitancy' on one occasion; that among the practical conductors of the war, one or two at least disbelieved in her all along, and that some were not particularly grateful for the renewed strength and vigour she had imparted to their cause, are facts which in no way tend to diminish her real merit. Her story has never been so clearly told in English as in the book before us, and it is none the less a wonderful one because it seems now, one might say, so natural. Born and brought up on the extreme edge of French territory, in a district which sympathised with the Dauphin, while all around was Burgundian on one side or subject to the English on the other, this hardy girl of seventeen had heard voices and had dreamed dreams ever since one hot summer's day, when, being then about thirteen years of age, she had suffered 'something very like a sun-'stroke.' The spirit in which the children of Champagne fought out the battle between French and English in their playgrounds after armed resistance had been crushed still animated this ardent girl's bosom; and her voices bade her

go and find the Dauphin 'and lead him to be duly crowned 'at Rheims as King of France.' She did the work. She relieved Orleans. She brought the Dauphin with her to Rheims, where he was crowned; and there was no doubt whatever, at least no openly expressed doubt, in that day, that her success was due to supernatural influence, either from heaven or hell. The English took the latter view of its origin, and many of their French opponents really believed that they were right.

The coronation of Charles in France gave him a great advantage, which it was felt necessary to balance by the coronation of Henry in that country also. But he had to be crowned in England first, and the rite was performed before he had quite completed the eighth year of his age. A few months later, child as he still was, he crossed the Channel, and led an army into France—an army which it was difficult to collect, owing to the general fear of that terrible Maid. Only a year and a half had elapsed since Beaufort, who had just been made cardinal, was received in England in state, and was allowed to proclaim a crusade and to muster men for the war against the heretics of Bohemia. England thought at the time that she had men to spare for such a purpose; but now the Government was fain to borrow the services of Beaufort's little army for duty in France, engaging to repay the Cardinal afterwards the expenses of the campaign and not to employ his men in sieges. All, however, seemed for a time of no avail; the king for three months could not venture to move out of Calais; but the happy news of the Maid's capture revived the spirits of the English and cleared the way to Paris, where he was at length crowned in Notre Dame by the hands of Cardinal Beaufort. The act had doubtless some effect; but unfortunately it signified too much. Both countries were getting tired of war, and a compromise would have been acceptable on both sides if one could have been arranged without loss of honour; but the coronation of the English king in France, though necessary as a counterpoise to that of Charles VI., made a compromise almost impracticable. For it meant that the pretensions of Henry V. were still to be maintained, and that the English could never recognise Charles as king, even for purposes of negotiation, without stultifying their own acts. Charles, on the other hand, could not well negotiate with Henry until he had renounced such pretensions. And this, in effect, was a most serious obstacle for many years to anything like a settlement—all the more serious as the Duke

of Burgundy, whose alliance was really the mainstay of the English power in France, was beginning to feel uneasy in his position as the ally of an invader and anxious to return to his natural allegiance. He would fain have done this without renouncing the friendship of England, and he strove hard to bring about some reasonable pacification by the Congress of Arras. But the work was beyond his power. The English showed themselves utterly impracticable, and rejected with contumely proposals which would have given them secure possession of Guienne, Gascony, and Normandy. Fifteen years later every one of these provinces was lost, and Calais was all that was left to England beyond the sea.

The infatuation of the English at this crisis appears all the more extraordinary the more it is seen in detail. Philip was compelled to renounce their alliance, and their anger at his defection was extreme; yet their absolute refusal to allow of his neutrality was in itself no small justification of the step. If he was suddenly converted from a friend into an enemy, it was really their work and not his. The blow, too, was one of the most severe that could have been inflicted. Yet the fire-eaters of that day endeavoured to persuade people that England was still a match for France and Burgundy combined. English naval supremacy might still be turned to account; and it was pointed out in ballads how by 'keeping the Narrow Sea'—that is to say, by continually scouring the English Channel and arresting all the commerce of the Netherlands—Englishmen could compel the Flemings to cry out, and so bring Burgundy to terms.* No such policy, however, was found practicable; at least, no such result was obtained. By very great efforts the English conquests were for a brief time maintained, and even one or two places recovered that had been lost before; but it was manifest that the English were playing a losing game, with very little hope of retrieving their fortunes.

* Even the mild King Henry VI., who was all along anxious for peace with France, so greatly resented the defection of Burgundy, that ten years later he expressed himself to a French emissary of the Duke of Alençon in these terms: 'Le duc de Bourgogne est l'homme du monde avec lequel j'aurois le plus volontiers guerre, parce qu'il m'a abandonné dans ma jeunesse, combien qu'il m'ait fait le serment, et sans que oncques lui eusse meffait. Si je vis longuement, je lui ferai guerre.'—De Beaucourt's 'Histoire de Charles VII.,' t. vi. p. 137. This is the most extraordinary evidence alike of the bitterness of English feeling on the subject (not natural to King Henry) and of the poor king's utter want of statesmanship in giving expression to it.

And while they were losing their hold on France, government even in England was becoming more and more inefficient. The continual quarrels of Cardinal Beaufort and the Duke of Gloucester not only perplexed the king's policy abroad, but led to much internal anarchy in England itself. It is difficult to pronounce a strictly judicial opinion on the conduct of either of the parties, but enough appears on the one side to justify Sir James Ramsay's view that 'Gloucester 'knew how to appeal to the vulgar side of English feeling.' At the same time, it should be admitted that the vulgar side of English feeling had in those days a good deal of humiliation to endure, and certainly required some mouthpiece in the way of criticism and remonstrance. Under such a system of government as prevails in our days, Ministers could scarcely have hoped to escape censure for the easy terms on which they consented to liberate the Duke of Orleans; nor could the cession of English conquests in France on Henry's marriage with Margaret have been treated as a matter which did not concern the general public. The marriage itself, as Suffolk well knew, was a most momentous thing and its conditions full of danger.* Neither was it at all successful in promoting a better understanding with France. But it did that which to its promoters was a more immediate and, perhaps, a more vital object. It strengthened them in the Council against the Duke of Gloucester and handed over the government for a time to their complete control. The result was to embitter the spirit of faction in England and to hasten the loss of France.

The expulsion of the English from that country seems to have been regarded by Comines as a principal cause of the Wars of the Roses; and the explanation is accepted by Macaulay as that of a shrewd contemporary observer. The wealth of the whole kingdom, according to Comines, was no longer sufficient to satisfy a nobility who had derived large revenues from France, and so they fought and preyed upon each other. It would be wrong to say that in a matter like this the intelligent foreigner was altogether mistaken; but, though the facts on which it was built are true, the theory seems rather insufficient. It is one, in fact, which does not seem to have struck any one who has investigated the period for himself from contemporary English sources, and Sir

* The cession of Maine seems to have been extorted from Suffolk in France when he went there to negotiate the marriage to avoid the failure of his mission.

James Ramsay does not even notice it. The Civil War, no doubt, was greatly due to the loss of France, but surely it need not be imputed so much to selfish greed as to the quarrels and recriminations arising out of a great national humiliation. Even these, however, would not alone account for a conflict of authority in England which led to the subversion of a dynasty now so securely seated as that of Lancaster. For never was loyalty to the throne a more universal sentiment; never was it more generally felt that 'the king could 'do no wrong.' But unfortunately the very gentleness of Henry's character was associated with a weakness and imbecility that rendered him quite incapable of real sovereignty; and the real sovereignty of a crowned and anointed king was the one thing absolutely essential in that day to preserve the kingdom from discord. Such a king, if he had only known his own mind clearly, would have been readily obeyed. But the nation looked to Henry for decision and found only vacillation; he was nothing but a tool in the hands of others. His personal influence would have been overwhelming if he could have been said to have any personal influence at all; but through all his reign he was little better than a cipher. He discharged, indeed, too well for the times in which he lived the functions of a modern constitutional sovereign, accepting every change of Ministry that was imposed upon him with a quiet resignation, which unfortunately left it rather doubtful whether the acts of that Ministry would in the end be repudiated or maintained; or whether a new policy begun by violence in opposition to his own personal wishes might not receive his sanction quite as much as that which it overthrew.

All this became the more clearly apparent after Henry's unfortunate marriage. One thing, indeed, which perhaps was a recommendation of the match was the fact that the lady's character was almost the exact opposition of her husband's. Margaret of Anjou at once became that personal ruler that Henry himself had no capacity to be. She imported decision and firmness into the royal counsels; but unfortunately she did not understand the English character or the English Constitution, and she provoked a whole series of violent revolutions by her arbitrary and tyrannical disposition. She can hardly be blamed, indeed, for supporting Suffolk, by whose diplomacy she had been made queen. But a time soon came when her support of Suffolk could have done him no good, and would only have added to her own unpopularity. When disaster after disaster overtook the

English in France, and their last strongholds were being yielded to the enemy, nothing could well have been more injurious to the unpopular Minister than any open display of the queen's favour; and she forbore to show it. The result was a most painful exhibition of royal inefficiency. The fountains of justice were simply sealed. Suffolk was indicted on charges which in the main were very ill-founded. He declined, however, to be tried by his peers, who in truth were anxious to avoid the responsibility, and submitted himself entirely to the king's pleasure. The king, in his turn, declined to pronounce him either guilty or innocent, and, protesting that he did not take a judicial view of the case at all, bade him, simply by virtue of his own submission, to quit the country by May 1 following, and not return for the next five years. It was a sentence, or a ukase rather, dictated by policy alone, and by a very timid policy, against all principles of just and impartial government.

The immediate result was that lawless men took the matter into their own hands and murdered Suffolk at sea. Then followed the insurrection of Jack Cade, which in some aspects, at least, seems to have been hardly so much a revolt against authority as a strangely organised attempt to restore it. The men of Kent had very legitimate grievances, and if they presented them in an unwonted manner, marshalled under a mysterious leader whose true character it is difficult to pronounce upon, there is no doubt that the movement produced much more than a transient impression on those who bore the rule.* It was regarded by Margaret and her friends as the result of secret machinations on the part of Richard, Duke of York; and whether this was true or not there is no doubt that the Duke was in high favour among the insurgents. No wonder, then, that he was looked on as a dangerous man by the Court, who, having sent him to Ire-

* The concessions granted by the Court to the rebels were much more marked than is commonly supposed. Sir James Ramsay wonders, as others no doubt have done before him, how Lord Scales, the governor of the Tower, could have been induced to surrender Lord Say into their hands when they were in possession of the City. The mystery is explained in a very able pamphlet by George Kriehn on 'The English Rising in 1450,' just published in Germany (Strasburg: Heitz & Mündel, 1892), in which it is proved that the king was compelled to grant a commission to certain lords and justices, including the Lord Mayor, 'to enquere of all persons that were traitors, extorcioners, or oppressers of the kynges people.' Henry, in fact, had agreed to put his favourites upon trial.

land as lieutenant to be out of the way, now heard with alarm that he was coming over without having received his recall, and issued orders to stop him on his landing.

It is at this point that the active struggle between York and Lancaster commences. The Court was now mainly influenced by the Duke of Somerset, the heir of all the wealth and ambition of the Beauforts. No doubt, as Sir James Ramsay truly points out, the rival claims of York and Somerset to the succession must have been present to men's minds for many a year before; and to each of them it was not so much a matter of prospective rights as a question of existence. 'No state could find room for two such com-'petitors.' Though the king had been married five years he still remained childless, and if he died in that condition the succession must inevitably fall to one or other of the rivals. The position is thus summed up by Sir James Ramsay:—

'If the Duke (of York) were to be recognised as heir-presumptive, he might be called in to take the immediate direction of affairs. He was about forty years of age; he had been for fifteen years in the public service. He had made himself popular in Ireland; while in Normandy his rule, if not marked by any conspicuous ability, shone by comparison with the utter failure of his rival. But the House of Beaufort was not prepared to surrender either its actual hold on the Government or its chances of succession. Legitimated by Pope and Parliament, they could insist that the Lady Margaret* was the heir-at-law of John of Gaunt. If objection should be taken to the accession of a female, they could point to Somerset as the heir-male of John of Gaunt, and, in fact, of Edward III. As for placing the administration in the hands of the Duke of York, it was obvious that his position "was too full of danger to the Crown" to make such a course possible.'

This is exceedingly well put. It must be remembered that, if York's position were recognised at all, his hereditary right, derived from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, was better than that of the reigning sovereign. Even to point at it in any way was treason, for which his father had suffered under Henry V. Yet the Court does not seem to have been always jealous of his pretensions; for it could only have been with the consent of the Council that he at one time formed the very ambitious project of marrying his son to a French princess, and sent an embassy to the French king upon the

* The mother of Henry VII., by whom the Tudors afterwards claimed the throne.

subject.* He was at that time lieutenant-general of France; and, though the commission given to Somerset as Captain-General of Guienne somewhat interfered with his jurisdiction, the Court was not unmindful of his services. But that was in the days of Suffolk's ascendency; for he did not excite Suffolk's jealousy as he did Somerset's. He was now, however, noted as a dangerous man; and the persistent efforts to exclude him from the royal presence and from all councils of state were the best justification, or, at all events, the best excuse, for the course he afterwards pursued in taking up arms against the king. It must be admitted that he showed, at first, much caution and forbearance, which, whether prompted by loyalty or discretion, ought to have rendered the resort to arms unnecessary; and, whatever faults may be charged against him, his efforts to bind the Government to distinct conditions were met by persistent bad faith. But for this, to all appearance he might have remained a loyal subject. Even after the first battle of St. Albans, when the king was in his power, he took no undue advantage of his position, and he was declared in Parliament to be free from all responsibility for the occurrence. But five years later he came to Westminster with a body of armed men, forced his way into the House of Peers, made a formal claim of the crown, and violently took possession of apartments in the royal palace.

Many will doubtless be disposed to say with Sir James Ramsay that 'his head must have been turned;' nor is it our purpose to say anything in vindication of such a high-handed course of action. It was felt to be unjustifiable at the time, even by his own stout supporter, Warwick; but when government remains for years in a state of general instability high-handed actions may be expected as a natural consequence. This, at least, brought one great question before the highest court of the realm; and the manner in which the Lords dealt with it is very noteworthy. When the Duke desired their opinion on his claim, they first appealed to the king, as the matter was 'so high' that his subjects could not discuss it without his assent. The king desired them to make search what objections could be raised to the Duke's title. The Lords applied to the judges for advice, but the judges declined to give any opinion. They

* It is strange that this view of the matter seems not to have struck Sir James Ramsay, who speaks of the proposal and the negotiations relating to it as a party move. (Vol. ii. p. 62.)

were the king's justices, and could not be of counsel in a matter between party and party; besides, it was too high a matter, as the king's estate was 'above the law, and passed 'their learning.' The whole responsibility must rest with the Lords themselves.

The Lords accordingly produced five objections to Richard's title, of which the two first and most weighty were the oaths of allegiance they had already taken to Henry VI., and the Acts of Settlement which barred the Duke's claim. From a mere constitutional point of view the House of Lancaster was still strong, and was not to be dispossessed by violence. The Duke could only answer the objections on high legitimist principles, insisting that the oaths of allegiance had been wrongly given and that an oath ought not to be pleaded in support of injustice. Again the matter was referred to Henry himself, and he agreed to a compromise, disinheriting his own son and acknowledging the Duke as his successor. To this the Duke also gave his consent, and the agreement was ratified by Act of Parliament. Thus for the first time the claims of the House of York obtained Parliamentary sanction.

Constitutionally, this should have been an end of the matter; for there is no higher authority on such subjects than a Parliamentary settlement. But it seemed as if Parliament itself had been coerced, else it would have given no consideration to the claims of York at all. Queen Margaret and her son were fugitives at the time (it seems to have been in Wales at this period that she had her adventure with the robber), and her defeated followers had made no appearance at Westminster. But as the latter began to gather head in Yorkshire the Duke marched northwards to meet them and fell at the battle of Wakefield. Then his eldest son, Edward, became heir to his pretensions, and, so far as fighting went, no man could have been more competent to give effect to them.

Henry VI. was still king by Act of Parliament as long as he lived; but as the Lancastrians had drawn the sword against his statutory successor, and the king had not been able to restrain them, the issue could only be determined by further fighting. The queen and prince, moreover, had passed to Scotland, and were bargaining for the aid of the ancient enemies of England. Any allies, especially French and Scotch allies, were welcome to Margaret in her hour of need. She had no regard for English national feeling; indeed, if we may believe some French writers of the time,

she had before this invited a French invasion.* She made things worse for herself at this point by marching up towards London with an ill-disciplined force, consisting partly of 'Scots, Welshmen, and other strangers,' who pillaged the country as they went, won a victory over Warwick at St. Albans, and filled the citizens of London with terror lest they should be pillaged too. She, however, hesitated to make the last move, and, doubtful of the reception she would meet with in the City, withdrew her army again northwards. From that time her cause was doomed. Young Edward had already won the battle of Mortimer's Cross, and now joining with Warwick he arrived in London, where, declaring his title to a mass meeting of the citizens, he was accepted then and there as king by popular acclamation. He immediately announced his accession by formal acts at Westminster; then marching northwards won an overwhelming victory over the Lancastrians at Towton, which practically settled matters. Henry and Margaret withdrew to Scotland and put the Scots in possession of Berwick. Later in the year Parliament declared the three Henries of the House of Lancaster usurpers, and that Henry VI. had forfeited his life-interest in the Crown by breaking his compact with Richard, Duke of York, and making war upon his son.

Edward IV. is pithily described by Sir James Ramsay as exhibiting throughout his career 'the greatest capacity for 'the game of war, and no capacity at all for anything else, 'except the pursuit of pleasure.' As a warrior he was no less fortunate than Henry V., and as a tactician he seems to have excelled him; but he had none of Henry's sobriety and political astuteness. Except in the field when the time of action came, he was perpetually missing his aim. In war he never missed it, though his carelessness in allowing dangers to grow up unheeded caused at one time his abrupt flight from the kingdom. So with all his military skill he gained nothing for himself except peace in his latter days—and a somewhat inglorious peace, too, as many of his contemporaries felt it. He was not the man to add another kingdom to his own, or even to enlarge his own to the extent of a single province. He could make a stir about vindicating the old claims in France, tax his people and raise benevo-

* The fact, however, is doubted by De Beaucourt and apparently discredited by Sir James Ramsay, on the ground that her enemy York was not at the time at the head of affairs.

lences for the purpose, cross the sea with an army and then accept the money of Louis XI. as a tribute in satisfaction of all claims. Yet, selfish and pleasure-seeking as he was, he was generally liked. As a king he was infinitely better than Henry VI. controlled by Margaret of Anjou; and his very faults and indiscretions were of a kind calculated to increase his popularity. 'The aspiring blood of Lancaster' had a very strong sense of what was due to royalty, and shook off boon companions of old days when an heir once attained the crown; but this Yorkist king was a jovial fellow, familiar with citizens and rather too familiar with their wives. In the quarrels of his subjects he sought to be just; in diplomacy he was easily imposed upon. But he was true to his friends and expected them to be true to him in return. He was merciful towards reconciled enemies and dismissed suspicions of their loyalty with a readiness almost verging on simplicity.

His romantic marriage was highly characteristic of the man. He had been just three years king; and notwithstanding his decisive victory at Towton, they were years of constant disquiet, full of invasions or alarms of invasion—the Scots besieging Carlisle, the French expected on the coast, Queen Margaret landed in Northumberland, castles won and lost again by each of the rival parties. He had been compelled once to go north as far as Durham to reduce the northern fortresses; and now he was on his way thither again to suppress a new Lancastrian rising. But from Stony Stratford he rode over 'as if on a hunting expedition' early on May 1 to Grafton Regis, the residence of Earl Rivers, returning at night to Northampton. That day at Grafton he had secretly married Elizabeth Wydeville; and it was said that he spent two or three nights there while the Court remained at Northampton, only resuming his northward progress on May 4, when he went on to Leicester. Meanwhile, Montagu was fighting his battles in Northumberland, and the last attempts of the Lancastrians in the North were crushed in his absence on May 14 at Hexham.

Thus at the very moment when his throne was finally secured by the work of his friends the Nevilles, Edward had done a thing that was pretty sure to alienate the very men who were so earnestly fighting for him. The matter was kept secret for months, as well it might be. Many a desirable match for the king had already been talked about, including Isabella of Castile (who by her own account would not have been unwilling), and probably the first overtures

had been made for the hand of Bonne of Savoy. Certainly negotiations for that match seemed to be in progress after the king was actually married, and Warwick was just about to go over to France to complete matters when the secret was at length revealed. No wonder that the King-maker was disgusted, and many others were disgusted along with him; especially as the new queen and her relations quickly absorbed the good things which it was in the power of royalty to bestow and stopped the way to promotion for many who had a just right to be considered. Immediately it was found that these upstarts had got the pick of wealthy heirs and heiresses in marriage. And provided the prize were a rich one other considerations seemed to be put aside; insomuch that the queen's brother, a lad of twenty, was paired with a Duchess of Norfolk verging on fourscore. But a more serious consequence still was that the old nobility were supplanted at the king's council board. The marriage itself was calculated to affect foreign policy, and the Wydeville influence was persistently used, in opposition to that of Warwick, in favour of a Burgundian as against a French alliance.

Under these circumstances a Lancastrian reaction commenced below the surface among those who had been the most active supporters of the House of York. If a king could be made by dint of very hard fighting, could he not be unmade again when he proved himself ungrateful? The question of allegiance in the abstract was perplexing, when two anointed kings existed in England at once. Had the first been rightfully deposed after all? It was of course a question for leading men like Warwick to decide. The common people would follow their leaders and leave the responsibility to them. A counter-revolution would not be unpopular if it only brought peace. We need not say how it was ultimately effected. Every one is familiar with the story of Warwick's revolt, of the brief restoration of Henry VI., and of Edward's recovery of his kingdom. But though Edward regained what he had lost and ended his days in peace, the House of York had lost real strength. It was restored by tyranny, perfidy, and murder, was rent, too, by internal dissension, and its final extinction in the overthrow of Richard III. was but the natural result of its own heartless ambition and utter demoralisation.

Thus it was that feudalism finally destroyed itself. It went out with the Plantagenets, and the Tudors made it their special mission to guard against its possible revival.

There were to be no more noblemen commanding hosts of retainers, except for the king's own service, when they received a special summons for offensive or defensive array. The faintest suspicion of another leader playing the part of Warwick the King-maker was sure to be visited with the penalty of treason; and a new era began under those wise and unscrupulous sovereigns in which the middle classes were elevated and the nobility depressed. It was a cruel time, but it was one of continued growth and power; while the story that Sir James Ramsay has related to us is a story of decay. Yet it is well that we have now a full and careful narrative of those dying convulsions of feudalism derived from such imperfect records as the disorders of those days have left to us. Sir James appears to have made every effort to arrive at truth and does full justice to his predecessors in the search, often preferring to state facts in the words of others rather than use language of his own. But, careful and conscientious as his work appears to be, we note some points which, if not positive errors, seem at least to call for explanation. Considering the special pains he seems to have taken to correct received accounts of battles and illustrate them with accurate maps of the battle-fields, it is strange that he has gone in some instances against traditional views, not only without but apparently in the teeth of evidence. Of this the most signal instance is the account given of the battle of Barnet, together with the map in which the lines of both armies are drawn up north and south instead of east and west according to local tradition. There is not the smallest reason that we can see to suppose that Warwick's army encamped along the high road that goes northward from Barnet. However bad a strategist he may have been, he surely must have expected Edward to block his way to London; but according to the map he seems rather to have expected an enemy from the east, and Edward (more extraordinary still) did not block his way to London at all! The positions shown, moreover, are inconsistent with the story of the repulse the Yorkists sustained at the beginning of the fray, when their left was driven in by Warwick's right, with the result that a number of fugitives filled Barnet and London with the news that the day was lost. If the positions of the two armies had been such as are given in the map, the fugitives would have been driven northwards, or at all events eastward, and would not soon have found their way either to Barnet or London.

There is more to be said, undoubtedly, for the novel view

taken of the encampments and movements of the armies at Bosworth Field; for it is a view, one would say, highly probable in itself; but unfortunately it seems absolutely irreconcileable with the statement of Hall, that Richmond 'had 'the sun at his back and in the faces of his enemies.' The conditions, according to Sir James Ramsay's map, would be exactly the reverse of this; for Richard's army would have the sun at their backs, while Henry's would have it in their faces. Hall's statement, moreover, is derived from Polydore Vergil, who undoubtedly obtained his information from those who had taken part in the battle, so that there is no reason to distrust it. Apparently Sir James Ramsay thinks Polydore's statement (which, it is true, says nothing about the sun being in the faces of the enemy) did not apply to the final position taken up by Henry's forces, and could only have been partly correct after all; for he says that after passing the marsh 'they had *partly* got rid of the sun, which till 'then must have shone in their faces.' But surely, if we accept the statement 'solem a tergo reliquit,' it can hardly be construed to mean that the sun was only a little less in their eyes than it had been before.

Criticisms like these, no doubt, might be multiplied, and probably will be as time goes on. Sir James Ramsay will hardly find in all the previous periods of our history about which he proposes to write so many matters of doubt and controversy as in the period of which he has treated in these volumes, and if he has failed in some instances to find the true way amid a number of devious paths, it does little to diminish the value of a work which, whatever future discoveries and investigations may do to increase our knowledge, is likely to remain for a long time to come the standard history of the Houses of Lancaster and York.

ART. V.—1. *Colour-Blindness and Colour-Perception.* By F. W. EDRIDGE-GREEN, M.D., F.G.S. London: 1891.

2. *Report of the Committee on Colour-Vision.* Appointed by the Council of the Royal Society. Presented to both Houses of Parliament. 1892.

AN old and well-known proverb tells us that there are 'None so blind as those that won't see,' but a truer version of it would have been, 'None so blind as those who '*cannot* see;' meaning, not the hapless beings actually deprived of sight, but those who are suffering from what is called 'colour-blindness'—the immediate subject of the present article. This word has been current for many years past, but it is scarcely until our own time that it was deemed to be one of serious importance, far less to demand enquiry at the hands of a special commission. Our first business, therefore, is to explain what is meant by the phrase 'colour-'blind.' The common notion is that it designates those persons who from defective vision see the whole range of ordinary colours but imperfectly, and without any distinct clearness. This, however, as we shall presently see, is by no means an accurate definition.

There are some few people who fail to distinguish blue from green, and others, equally few, who only see in monochrome (i.e. one tint common to all the objects discerned); but the colour-blindness most common, and therefore most dangerous, is the so-called 'red-green blindness,' in which there is a total failure to distinguish between red and green —that is to say, a red-green blind man will regard a certain hue of green as identical with some hue of red, another of green as identical with white, while a third class of sufferers will also fail to see red at all of another particular hue. As long as this failure is confined to the one individual sufferer the matter is of no great import but to himself. But when it is remembered that these very three colours—white, red, and green—are used on our railways as safety and danger signals at night, and not unfrequently even by day, to say nothing of the ten thousand ships of all nations that plough the broad sea, where the same colours are in use for a similar purpose, the question suddenly expands into one of national importance. To place men who are red-green blind in positions where the colours ought to be instantly and correctly recognised may be the fatal cause of irre-

parable disasters. The peril is equally great by land and by sea. The signalman or the engine-driver who thinks he beholds the white flame of safety when he is actually looking on the red blaze of peril may in a moment hurl to swift death himself and the hundreds of other passengers entrusted to his guidance. Just in the same fashion, if the pilot or the look-out man on board one of the mighty leviathans that traverse all seas should at night mistake the green light on an approaching vessel for the red, and 'port' his helm when 'starboard' alone is safe, a fatal collision may ensue before the terrible error can be rectified. The magnitude of the danger assumes its true proportion when it is remembered that there are at present upwards of 120,000 seamen afloat (exclusive of the Royal Navy) in the mercantile service alone, to many thousands of whom is committed the special charge of guiding a ship's course, and on whose vigilance and, above all, absolute clearness of vision, her safety from hour to hour depends. Add to this the fact of the vast body of men now employed on the thousands of miles of railway that thread every part of the kingdom, and the millions of human beings whose daily safety depends on the eyesight of a single signalman or driver, and it is clear that the importance of the subject can hardly be exaggerated.

The appointment, therefore, by the Council of the Royal Society of a commission of enquiry into the whole subject of colour-vision is to be hailed with general satisfaction, and doubly so when we find that the constitution of the committee is in all respects most admirable. Few in number, well chosen, the members being all men of known and marked ability and scientific research, under the able chairmanship of Lord Rayleigh, they have not only done their work well, but produced an exhaustive report of singular clearness and interest. Blue-books, as a rule, are mere dry, dusty, diet to the general reader; but the report now before us is not only readable from beginning to end, but abounding in information about a subject of which little is accurately known, and most of us would like to know more. The committee have held thirty meetings, examined upwards of 500 persons suffering from colour-blindness, carefully tried and tested all the best methods and apparatus for detecting its presence, and taken the *vivâ voce* evidence of the officials of the Board of Trade, the various railways, medical officers, and other experts; so that the body of information

contained in their report, drawn from the best sources, is to be relied on as trustworthy, accurate, and complete.

Into the strictly scientific details as to the nature and causes of colour-blindness, the colour-sense generally, normal vision, and the spectrum—full of interest though these details are—there is no need for us to enter, our object being simply to point out the wide extent of the evil, its importance and gravity, the dangers attending it, and the remedies proposed after long and careful enquiry. First, as to its prevalence, minute accuracy is not possible; but, assuming that the percentage of congenital colour-blindness among sailors is the same as that among any other community of males, the disease is widely spread, if we are to judge by the fact that, out of 50,000 men examined by three authorities of the highest eminence, the average number affected was nearly 4 per cent. Thus, taking the total number of sailors in the mercantile marine service alone to be 120,000 (exclusive of pilots, canal, and lightermen), we have about 4,600 colour-blind now holding positions in which the correct interpretation of coloured lights is absolutely essential, and to these must be added all the thousands similarly employed, and similarly deficient, in the Royal Navy.* In some cases the evil has been found to be even worse. In May 1888 no fewer than 320 sailors were examined by the Superintendent of the Mercantile Marine at Tilbury Docks, and among them 16, or 5 per cent., were found unable to discriminate between red and green—i.e. between danger and safety—and therefore totally unfit to take part in the guidance of a ship at sea. 'No care is taken,' says Mr. Bickerton, of Liverpool (when examined at great length by the commissioners), 'no care 'whatever, to prevent colour-blind boys from being brought 'up to the sea life. I examined the whole number of 'youths on board the five training-ships, "Conway," '"Akbar," "Clarence," "Indefatigable," and "Clio"—in 'all 1,056—and found among them a total of 34 colour-'blind being specially trained for a profession which they 'were physically and morally unfitted to enter.' On hearing this evidence, 'Can you,' said the chairman, 'make any

* In the Royal Navy, the system of examination and of tests being the most efficient, the average percentage of colour-blind men is much less, though it is said the naval officers are not re-examined after being appointed to any given command.

'exact numerical statement as to persons on the seas whom 'you regard as unfit for their duties?' 'I am aware,' was the reply, 'of 11 colour-blind men who were bound appren-'tices when I was consulted, but had been at sea for many 'years; of 4 able seamen of many long years of service; 'of 7 officers, holding high and responsible positions, having 'served for terms of from six to thirty years, all colour-'blind, and therefore unfit for their work.'

Stronger language than this it is hardly possible to imagine; but this the same witness again and again corroborates in his further evidence—as, for example, when he examined the boys of the Seamen's Orphanage—and out of a total of 135 found 6 colour-blind and unfit to be trained. To the same effect speaks Captain Macnab, chief examiner and secretary to the Local Marine Board at Liverpool, who, out of 942 men brought before him for examination, found 34 to be totally disqualified for one vital part of their work.

Turn elsewhere, and the evidence tends precisely in the same direction. The special committee of the Ophthalmological Society of London, having had brought under their notice twenty-eight of the chief educational establishments in the metropolis and in the country, including Christ's Hospital, Eton, Westminster, the Coldstream Guards, Royal Medical Benevolent College, and Ley's school, Cambridge, found that, out of 14,846 males, 617 were colour-blind, giving even a higher average than 4 per cent. Such, therefore, must be fairly counted to be the average of colour-blindness throughout Great Britain, taken widely and impartially throughout the great body of the population, and thus proving the existence of a large number of persons who, though excellent citizens in all other respects, are yet debarred from entering on either of two great channels of active service without endangering their own lives as well as the safety of thousands of others for a time in their charge.

It is not without interest also to note Mr. Brudenell Carter's evidence as to the statistics of an examination into colour-blindness in Japan. Two regiments of infantry, each numbering six hundred, belonging to the Tokio garrison, came under his notice, and out of the total of 1,200 68 men were found to be colour-blind, or of incomplete and weak colour-vision. Some such average probably obtains among the whole force of the British army, especially among the troops stationed on foreign service, and how far this

evil may interfere with a due discharge of his duties by the young recruit he will have to consider.

Of one thing there can be no possible doubt, and that is, the necessity for making the test examination far more stringent and searching than it now is. At present not only is a change needed in the scope of examination, but an improvement in the examiner. We are more and more convinced—say the Ophthalmological Committee—that 'a 'competent examiner is not made in a day or even in a month, 'and that even with large experience much judgement and 'skill are necessary to interpret rightly the acts of the 'examined.'

We consider, says the report of the special commission, that the present tests and methods of applying them are open to grave objection; on some railways there is no adequate system for testing the vision of applicants for employment. Men of deficient or faulty sight often manage to pass undetected, and having thus obtained entrance contrive to get a footing and secure employment long after they become really unfit to discharge it efficiently. There are, of course, exceptions to this state of things; as on the South-Western Railway, where men entering the service are tested before admission, again when promoted to be firemen, and every second year after that; while if during one of these biennial periods a man is promoted to be a driver, he is again specially examined.

Nor are the mischievous arts of the 'crammer' unknown even on this dangerous ground; though it is not easy at first to see how their aid can be successfully invoked. The chairman of the commission, however, put the question beyond a doubt during the evidence of Captain Macnab, an expert of long experience. 'If,' said he, 'these crammers 'cannot develope colour-sense, how do they help the can- 'didate? Is it by showing them the lamps or using the 'other apparatus?' 'I believe,' replied the witness, 'that 'they provide themselves with a set of colours as nearly like 'ours as possible, or actually the same. I know of one 'such teacher. He would show a colour to the candidate 'with diseased vision, who perhaps would call it "red," and 'tell him that whenever he saw that which appeared to him to 'be "red" he must call it "green," and so on throughout 'the various tests.'

In this way a man may actually acquire not only a falsely assumed power of colour-vision, but, what is practically of

equal importance, a colour knowledge; always of vital necessity, because the man on the look-out must transmit the name of the light he sees to the officer of the watch, and if he gives the wrong name disaster may follow.

Nor is colour-vision, or a knowledge of colours, the only requisite for an efficient look-out man. He should possess strong, keen sight. The authorities cannot, they say, prevent a man with weak eyes going to sea, though he would not see clearly in a heavy wind or rain; while a thick fog actually interferes with the lights themselves, takes from the carrying power, and turns a green light to white—i.e. signals 'safe all through' when 'caution' is demanded. Nor is it enough that the look-out man should be able to distinguish one green light by its appearing white and the other red, because, says Mr. Macnab, he might thus mistake a steamer for a fishing-boat. He has often no time for deliberation in forming a judgement. It often happens that the light cannot be seen until the approaching vessel is close at hand, when one false move precipitates disaster.

Nor is it enough for an efficient sailor to be a keen judge of colours when close at hand; he must be able to distinguish between red and green lights at a distance of two miles, and to discern the white light of a steamer at a distance of five miles; and though on railways such long sight may not be needed, none the less is the signalman in his lonely box, and the driver in his swift rush through the black night or the blinding fog, bound to possess an equally correct vision, and a power of prompt decision that admits of no doubt or hesitation. The same colours—red, green, and white—are used for similar purposes on both services by rail and at sea; but, strange to say, even on railways there is no absolute uniformity of colour in the different signals, and a man passing from one company to another may thus in a moment of extreme peril be easily confused and led into a fatal blunder. But at this point it may be asked, What proof is there that colour-blindness is in any case the actual cause of disaster either in railway accidents or the more terrible collisions at sea? If it be answered that we have no positive proof, it must be remembered that the absence of proof is mainly owing to the fact that the Government enquiry which follows the occurrence of any disaster never embraces the one point of faulty vision in the person accused of negligence. After many years of wide experience, Captain Macnab distinctly affirms that he knows of 'no

'instances of collision or shipwreck where the colour-vision 'of the men possibly in fault has ever been tested in legal 'or other enquiries.' And if we are to believe other witnesses of equal experience and equal credit, in a very large number of cases it is almost impossible to impute the disaster to any other cause so reasonably as to colour-blindness.

'Is it reasonable [says one of these] to believe that steady, married seamen (as many of them are), with families depending on them, who have had many years of experience at sea, suddenly lose all judgement and common sense, and steer their vessels on clear nights, or actually in broad daylight, and deliberately ram each other, to the utter loss of their own lives, ship, cargo, and passengers? In no other profession or calling can any parallel case of such infatuated folly be found. Why, then, in this at sea? Surely, in many such disasters, defective vision must be at the root of the mischief.'

Nor is the evidence of Mr. Bickerton, of Liverpool, less cogent.

'I say [he repeats] that there are a number of well-authenticated cases where disasters due to colour-blindness and defective sight actually occurred, or were but narrowly averted. It is my firm opinion that if the eyesight of sailors on board colliding vessels were tested in Court, we should find that the cause was in many cases neither ignorance nor negligence, nor due to "lubbers," but that it was to be traced to colour-blindness or defective sight in the officers and men on watch.'

To this view, as being a true solution of the facts, the report of the commission strongly inclines. How else, indeed, are we to interpret the following cases cited at pp. 47–49, which we now condense?

'On the night of July 5, 1875, there was a collision near Norfolk, Virginia, between the steam-tug "Lumberman" and the steamship "Isaac Bell," former bound to, the latter from, Norfolk. It occurred on an ordinary, clear night, at 9 P.M., under circumstances which, until recently, seemed mysterious. The master and all the officers of the steamer said on oath that at the time of the collision, when signals were made to the tug, she was from one to two points on the steamer's starboard bow, and consequently the steamer's green light only was visible to the approaching vessel; yet, the master of the tug, whose testimony was unsupported, swore that the steamer's red light was exhibited, and signalled accordingly. The discrepancy was so great that many persons uncharitably charged him with being intoxicated, though no evidence was adduced to support the charge. By this accident ten persons lost their lives.'

No examination as to his vision was made at the time, but it was *afterwards* found, on testing his eyesight, that the master was colour-blind; two examinations having been

accorded to him, with an interval of ten days between them. In this case no doubt can exist as to the cause of the catastrophe.

In June, 1881, occurred a second case, hardly less convincing, in which the pilot of the 'City of Austin,' when steering into the harbour of Fernandia, mistook the colour of the buoys, and thus caused the entire wreck of the ship and loss of her cargo, costing the owners 40,000*l*. This man also, when *afterwards* examined, was found to be not only colour-blind, but unable, at a distance of more than six feet, to distinguish any one colour clearly from another; his blindness being attributed by the medical officers to an excessive use of strong tobacco—a fatal habit which the commissioners point out as being the frequent cause of ruined vision.

A third, and still more recent, case of a like peril is to be found in the 'Mercantile Marine Reporter,' where Captain Coburn, an old and tried officer, thus records the facts, when the steamer 'Neera' was on a voyage from Liverpool to Alexandria:—

'One night [he says] shortly after passing Gibraltar, at about 10.30 P.M., I went on the bridge, then in charge of the third officer, a man of about 45 years, and up to that time deemed to be trustworthy and competent in every way. I walked up and down until about 11 P.M., when the third officer at that moment saw a light about two points on the starboard bow. I saw at once it was a green light, and knew that no action was called for. To my utter surprise, the third officer called out to the man at the wheel "Port"—which he was about to do, when I countermanded the order, and told him to steady the helm, which he did, and we then passed the steamer safely about half a mile away.'

The third officer, on being asked why he had ported the helm to a green light on the starboard bow, insisted that it was a red light which he had first seen, and to this he held in spite of all the captain could urge to the contrary. On being tried again repeatedly with other colours, it was clearly a mere matter of guesswork with him, and he was reported as being unfit to have charge of the deck.

To the very same effect goes the evidence of another tried officer, Captain Heaseley, on a similar voyage, as follows:—

'After passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, the second officer, in charge of the deck, gave the order to "Port"—to my amazement, as the lights to be seen on the starboard bow were a mast-head and green

light, which he firmly maintained to be red, and not until both ships were nearly abreast would he acknowledge his mistake.'

Captain Heaseley, therefore, 'as a practical seaman,' strongly expresses his conviction that a great number of accidents of this kind are due solely to colour-blindness. Nor, indeed, is it possible to account for many of them in any other way, or to avoid agreeing with the report of the commissioners with regard to this difficult and important point, which inclines to the view taken by the naval experts. Other cases, strongly corroborative of their judgement, might easily be cited, but enough witness, we think, has been adduced to support the wisdom of their decision, if not to prove its truth in every case; and more than this can scarcely be needed.

If, therefore, colour-blindness is the frequent cause of irreparable, though avoidable, disaster at sea, from sheer inability to distinguish clearly between the three vital colours, red, green, and white, it is only a fair and logical conclusion that the same fatal deficiency is productive of like peril on our labyrinth of railways. We can, indeed, in this case produce no positive, distinct facts of circumstantial evidence, for the simple reason that in case of accident no judicial enquiry afterwards investigates the exact point whether the engine-driver or signalman supposed to be in fault is or is not colour-blind. But, reasoning by analogy, all the facts point in that direction, and like effects must be taken to result from like causes. The man who, in the wide sea, unhesitatingly mistakes red for green, and green for red or white, is an equally perilous and untrustworthy guide on the engine of the Flying Dutchman. A mistake on his part, indeed, may be regarded as one of even greater peril, as the flight of but a single minute makes his error beyond any possibility of being retrieved; while his own life, and that of hundreds of helpless passengers, may actually depend on his clearness of vision at that supreme moment.

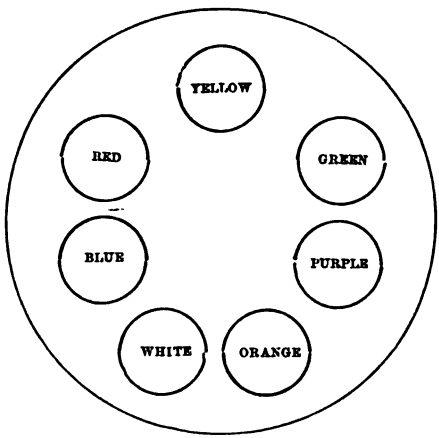
Among the various tests employed to detect the presence of colour-blindness, the best, simplest, and most efficient is that one known as Holmgren's; and it may therefore interest our readers to understand what this test really means. On the Great Northern line this system of testing has for many years been rigidly enforced, and crowned with marked success; and from their manager's official letter it will be best to take our description.

As a preliminary trial, each candidate is placed with his back to the light at a distance of fifteen feet, and then required to count the dots on a test card, first with both eyes, and then with each separately. If he satisfies the examiner so far, he is then tested by the use of Holmgren's coloured wools, which consist of a collection of small skeins of coloured Berlin wool, each of which is loosely twisted up, and easily disentangled. The bundles include wools of red, orange, yellow, yellow-green, pure green, blue, violet-purple, pink, brown, and grey, in various shades. These being placed in a pile, a skein of the special colour required for examination is selected and set apart, and the candidate is required to choose from the heap before him other skeins which most closely resemble the sample, and place them side by side. His knowledge of every shade of colour, from absolute white to glaring red or brilliant green, is thus clearly ascertained where no art of the crammer can possibly avail him. His actual clearness of colour-sight is decided by the way in which he performs his task, in the choice of colours held up to him at a distance of fifteen feet. One more confirmatory step of careful trial, and the ordeal is over, but not entirely until then. Lastly, the probationer has set before him three skeins, of vivid red like the red flag used for signals on railways, of bright yellowish-red, and of scarlet. If the man be red-blind, he will match the red sample with a dark green, or dark brown with shades which to the normal eye are darker than scarlet. The green-blind will select light green or light brown to match the scarlet shades which are lighter than the sample.

Of the various other systems for testing the presence of colour-blindness in candidates for employment on board ship or as railway servants there is no occasion to make further mention, as the commissioners, after long and careful enquiry, distinctly pronounce Holmgren's to be in all respects the most efficient and best fitted for general use. Of one only, now in use on the Chatham and Dover Railway, a word may be said, not simply because of its ingenuity, but also of its entire difference from that which has been just described.

The apparatus there in use consists of a hollow tube about twelve inches square and twenty-two inches long, at the end of which is a revolving disc having let into it as near as possible the seven primary colours, great care being

taken that the red, green, and purple are of the same hue as the actual signals;—thus:



This disc is illuminated at the back, thus giving the colours much the appearance they have on the signals; the appliance meets all necessary requirements, and is a fair if not a severe test of the men's capability in quickly detecting colour. On examination, candidates are instructed to look down the tube, and at once state the exact name and nature of each colour; and as by means of a handle any one of the colours can be shown separately, no two men coming up successively need have the same exact series in the same order. This is an important advantage; for, when a number of candidates present themselves at one time, each man is eager to communicate to his fellow precise particulars of the ordeal through which he has passed.

It is evident, however, that this test, ingenious as it appears, is by no means so stringent as it might and ought to be; as Mr. Wilson, after describing it, adds a note to the effect that 'actual cases of colour-blindness are very 'scarce, though it is not at all an unfrequent occurrence to 'find men coming up, especially from the rural districts, 'quite unable even to name the colours correctly—purely 'from want of education.'

But ignorance of colours and colour-blindness, whether springing from hereditary disease or from downright sheer ignorance, caused by actual physical deficiency of vision or induced by excessive use of tobacco and ardent spirit, are beyond all question evils of such grave magnitude as to demand and to deserve the searching enquiry of which we

have endeavoured to give our readers an outline. They will find in the report, besides those noticed in our brief review, many other details of great scientific interest, handled by men of ability and long experience, in language of singular clearness easily understood by the non-scientific enquirer. Such points are the exact meaning of normal vision, the nature and use of the spectrum, the action of light upon the optic nerve, and the various theories of colour-vision, all of which will amply repay most careful study, and to a few of these we would now call the reader's attention as matters of real interest.

When two objects are compared together for colour, the large majority of persons will agree as to their identity or difference; their description of that difference may vary slightly, but in reality they recognise the same variations, and hence their vision is termed 'normal.' How this vision differs from that of the colour-blind becomes at once apparent when the spectrum is used as a test. If a thin slice of white light falls on a prism of glass, it is decomposed into a parti-coloured band, named the spectrum, the principal colours, as given by Newton, being red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and violet, at once clearly seen by those possessed of normal sight. If the light be that from the sun, innumerable black lines will be seen, more or less interrupting this series of colours, but always occupying the same position as regards the colour in which they are situated, the more pronounced acting as milestones do to a road. A diagram, even without colours, will help to show what this band is like, and the aspect it assumes to normal vision, and to the two chief forms of colour-blindness, thus:—

Normal Vision.

B	C	D	E	F	Li	G
Red	Orange	Orange Green	Green	Blue	Indigo	Violet

Green-Blind.

B	C	D	E	F	Li	G
Red	Pale Red	Paler	Whitish	White	Bluish	Blue Indigo Darker

Red-Blind.

C	D	E	F	Li	G
Green	Greenish	Whitish	White	Bluish	Darker Blue Indigo

To the *violet-blind*, from E to G all becomes green, while to those suffering from colour-blindness, induced by disease, from C to E would appear pale drab, and from E to Li absolutely white. Nor are even these *all* the strange defects; for some red-green-blind would say that the red, orange, and yellow were all yellow; while others, again, whilst similarly describing the blue and violet part of the spectrum, would substitute green for yellow in the above description; the brightest red would be called dark green, and they would fail to see at all in the extremest red, the spectrum being actually shortened.

Experiment has shown that every colour in nature, as seen by a normal eye, can be expressed as a mixture of three, so that normal vision is tri-chromatic; while in a similar sense the more pronounced types of ordinary colour-blindness are di-chromatic; and it is actually true that to the red-blind and the green-blind there is one green in the spectrum which they cannot distinguish from white.

With regard to the value of colours to be used as signals, the desiderata are that they should be as bright as possible, and their colour as distinct when viewed from a distance. Now a red glass transmits about 10 per cent. of the luminosity of the lamplight behind it; it is also a saturated colour, and appears unaltered in hue from whatever distance it may be viewed. Blue is out of the question, as a blue glass will appear purple, or even whitish, by lamplight; while its luminosity is at the best only 4 per cent. of the naked light, and in foggy weather may sink still lower. The choice, therefore, of a red light as a signal is one in which theory and practice actually agree, and it is in selecting a second signal-light that the difficulty arises. The only colour for the latter purpose which the red-green-blind would be able to distinguish with certainty from the red is the pure blue, just shown to be impracticable. The second signal, therefore, must be of the kind most suitable for normal colour-vision. Yellow, or greenish yellow, is inadmissible, as under some circumstances it might be mistaken for a white light, as is also the case with those greens which, when sufficiently light to be effective, allow some red rays to pass. It is for such reasons that most of the railway companies have adopted as a danger signal a rich ruby-red, and for a safety signal (where a white light is not used) a blue-green, varying slightly on different lines. Of all the various signal-colours brought under the notice of the commissioners, they specially note the sealed pattern standards

of red and green used in the Royal Navy as the best, and suggest their adoption both for railways and the mercantile marine. It is to be hoped, therefore, that when the time for legislation comes this recommendation will be enforced. Any variety of usage in this respect, whether by land or sea, must sooner or later inevitably lead to disaster. The look-out man, or the engine-driver, who happens to pass from the one naval service to the other, or from a northern to a southern line of rail, must be secured as far as possible from the slightest chance of confusion between differing systems and codes. The perilous flame of red, the green light of caution, and the white and welcome hue of safety, must tell him one and the same story, under all circumstances of time and place, be that story what it may. Under no circumstances is the instant detection of the colour of a signal easy; and under some circumstances it is one of sudden difficulty. It often happens that a light cannot be seen until the approaching vessel is close at hand, when a single false move precipitates calamity. Stormy weather, at times, may be clear; but far oftener the state of the air is such that a man, upon seeing the lights, is close upon the other vessel and has little or no time to make up his mind. Then comes the moment of peril. 'Red and green,' says Captain Macnab, are the best lights, but we want a better green,* which shall not turn white in a fog, and so change what looks like safety into sudden ruin.

The commissioners, however, have not only well expended time and labour on an exhaustive enquiry, but have unanimously agreed on a series of concise recommendations, on which, doubtless, some decided action will in due time be taken. They are in brief as follows:—

1. That the Board of Trade, or other central authority, should schedule certain employments in the mercantile marine, and on railways, the holding of which by persons of defective vision either for colour or form, or who are ignorant of the names of colours, would involve danger to life and property.

2. That the proper testing, both as to form and colour, of all candidates for such employments should be compulsory.†

3. That the testing of all candidates should be entrusted to examiners certificated by the central authority.

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* Oddly enough, the lamp of the glow-worm is of that vivid, bluish green so specially needed; never to be mistaken for white.

† Elsewhere in the report dangerous employments are specified; those of pilots, look-out men, and officers on board ship, engine-drivers, firemen, and signalmen on railways.

4. That the test for colour-vision be Holmgren's; the sets of wools being approved by the central authority before use, especially as to the correctness of the three test colours, and also of the confusion colours. If this test be satisfactorily passed, then the candidate should be required to name without hesitation the colours employed as signals or lights, and also white light.

5. The tests for form should be those of Snellen; and it would probably often suffice if half normal vision in each eye were required.

6. A rejected candidate should have a right of appeal to an expert approved by the central authority.

7. A full and complete certificate should be given by the examiner to each approved candidate, and a schedule kept of all persons examined and of employments showing results.

8. Every third year, at least, persons filling scheduled employments should be examined for form vision.

9. All tests and modes of examination to be inspected periodically by scientific, authorised experts.

10. That all colours used for lights on board ship and for railway lamps should be uniform, and glasses of the same colour as the red and green of the Royal Navy be generally adopted.

11. At all periodical enquiries as to collisions or accidents, all witnesses as to the nature or position of coloured signals or lights should be themselves tested for colour and form-vision.

It is to be hoped, not only that these wise recommendations will be approved and adopted, but in due time rigidly enforced. So much, therefore, for the general well-being of the whole nation and the special welfare of the countless thousands of her citizens who, in pursuit of pleasure, business, or health, are so continually exposed to the perils of travel by land or sea. In private life colour-blindness will, we suppose, always more or less prevail, as it does at present, though the sufferers will be hardly aware of the extent of the evil under which they labour, or even of its existence. Many a colour-blind man, for example, would be slow to believe that the orange on his plate at dessert is not of the sober grey that he imagines, but of a ruddy yellow; still less would he believe that one of the coins given to yesterday's cabman was not a silver sixpence, but a golden half-sovereign; or that the rose which adorns his dining-room is not, as he imagines, *blue*, but of bright crimson. Yet Dr. Edridge-Green, in his excellent handbook on colour-blindness, gives us many curious examples of this strange infirmity. He tells us of one old sea-captain who once actually gave a sovereign to a waterman instead of a shilling, and frequently in giving change to his passengers mistook gold for silver, and at times found it hard to distinguish even between a penny and a half-a-

crown, because of their similarity of colour. To another friend—Mr. B.—a bright rainbow seemed destitute of all colour, and was merely a white arch in the sky, like a lunar bow seen by night.

'Close at hand [says another witness] reds and greens are to me as to other people; but at a distance my perception of a red colour is all astray. Standing at the edge of a large field glowing with scarlet poppies, I see them clearly up to about 30 or 40 yards, beyond which distance they gradually merge into a neutral tint and become lost.' 'My wife [says a third witness] was partially colour-blind; she could not see the red coat of a soldier at 200 yards; and a bright display of orange-colour Aurora Borealis to her seemed absolutely white. Had she been set to drive a railway train, she would have driven it to destruction.'

Thus it comes to pass that in a white or yellow fog, to an unhappy driver who is colour-blind, the red and green signals may seem to be actually identical, and the white lamp, which appears to be saying 'Go ahead in safety,' is in reality of blazing red, warning him not to stir a yard further on the road to death.

We can therefore only here repeat our opening remarks as to the gravity of the whole question of colour-blindness, and our satisfaction at the able manner in which the committee have conducted a difficult and most important enquiry. Of the value of their recommendations there can be no possible doubt; all that remains is to see that they are adopted and enforced without delay.

ART. VI.—*Historical Manuscripts Commission.* Thirteenth Report. Appendix. Part III. The Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, Esq., preserved at Dropmore. Vol. 1. London: 1892.

THE present generation is sometimes reproached for its literary superficiality and its want of thoroughness. But though these faults are undoubtedly characteristic of large numbers of educated persons, the men of the coming century will not be able to reproach their predecessors with having left them without lasting literary and historical materials. Apart altogether from purely original works, a far greater number of hitherto unpublished treasures than is generally known have recently been rendered accessible to the student. If we think of them at random, we recollect at once the Verney and the Clarke papers, which have thrown so much light on the great Civil War and the period preceding the Commonwealth. The Journal of Lady Mary Coke has made more vivid the society of the eighteenth century, and the publication of the first volume of the Dropmore manuscripts has now further added to our knowledge of the same period.

It is a curious fact that these papers have remained unpublished and unreferred to until the present time, and, from the sordid and unattractive form in which they are printed by the Stationery Office, their very existence is scarcely known to the public. They consist of correspondence and memoranda which were at one time in the possession of Lord Grenville, who, after his retirement from active political life, appears to have given considerable pains and trouble to their arrangement and preservation. Lord Grenville withdrew into private life in 1818, but he lived till 1834, and thus had ample leisure to peruse and arrange the large collection of papers which had accumulated in previous years. Since his death Lord Stanhope's 'Life of Pitt' and the Duke of Buckingham's 'Court and Cabinets of George III. and of the Regency' have been published; but neither Lord Stanhope nor the Duke of Buckingham appear to have had access to Lord Grenville's collection. Their present possessor, Mr. J. B. Fortescue, who inherited Dropmore and its contents from Lady Grenville, the widow of the statesman, has placed them at the service of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and they are thus, after

an interval of more than half a century, laid before the reader of to-day.

The present volume, the only one yet published, may be divided into three distinct portions: one which relates to Governor Pitt and his family; another of purely literary interest, containing a comparatively small number of letters, chiefly from Horace Walpole and David Garrick; and the third, by far the largest part, which treats of public affairs from the beginning of Lord Grenville's political life, in 1782, to the close of 1790, when he was raised to the peerage, and became leader of Mr. Pitt's Administration in the House of Lords and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a date at which a distinct period of his career came to a close. Of the political life of this eminent statesman a complete sketch was given in this Review not quite five years ago,* but the present fresh materials add to our knowledge of his character and of the political state of Great Britain and Ireland during this period.

We begin with the remarkable and vigorous person who at the beginning of the eighteenth century had already made the name of Pitt well known to his contemporaries. Thomas Pitt was born in 1653, but in this correspondence we meet him as Governor of Madras for the East India Company (to which post he was appointed in 1698), an imperious and able man, hot tempered but kindly, bent on amassing riches which he neither could nor cared to enjoy, but which he obviously regarded as a fortune to be left to his children, though he was thoroughly determined that they should not squander it in his lifetime. He is interesting not only for his own marked individuality, and for being in some senses a typical Anglo-Indian ruler of the period, but as the grandfather of Lord Chatham and the great-grandfather of William Pitt. The only hiatus in this succession of able men was in the case of Robert Pitt, Governor Pitt's son, who appears to have wanted the noticeable qualities of his father and the great gifts of his son. In a large measure, the present correspondence is concerned with details in regard to the custody and sale of a diamond of extraordinary size and beauty which was purchased by Governor Pitt in the East, and sent home in charge of his son.

It has been sometimes said that Governor Pitt obtained his fortune by means of this stone, but it is clear from many

* 'Edinburgh Review,' October 1888.

of his letters, not only that he had ample private means long before he sold this jewel, but also that he had numerous other business transactions, the results of which were highly profitable. This remarkable jewel was sold in 1717 to the Regent Orleans for 125,000*l.* 'The stone,' writes the Governor on June 29 of this year, 'was sold for 2,000,000 'livres, sixteen to one pound sterling. I received the third 'of the money, and the remainder is in four payments every 'six months, with 5 per cent. interest, for security of which 'I have Crown jewels, four parcels, one to be delivered with 'each payment.' This statement shows that the price, which is usually stated to have been 135,000*l.*, has not been hitherto correctly given. The brilliant has been known in later times, sometimes as the Regent, sometimes as the Pitt, diamond; it is now among the national treasures in Paris, and has been valued, it is said, at 480,000*l.* It is clear, from the account which Governor Pitt gives of the purchase, that the stone was fairly obtained, being bought in 1702, after good hard bargaining, from one Ramchund, a diamond-merchant. The gossip of the day on this subject, like most gossip, was not good-natured. It was summed up in Pope's couplet—

> 'Asleep and naked as an Indian lay,
> An honest factor stole a gem away—'

which commentators have assumed had reference to Governor Pitt. Though not without foundation in the case of many of the 'Nabobs' of the East, this accusation did not apply to Pitt. But the stone has become so much one of the treasures of the world that the following account of its purchase is worth transcribing, if only for the description it gives of the commercial habits of an English ruler in the East in the eighteenth century. The letter was written on his way home in 1710, and after stating his reasons for putting the narrative on paper the Governor proceeds:—

'About two or three years after my arrivall in Maderass, which was in July 1698, I heard that there were large diamonds in the country to bee sold, which I incouraged to bee brought downe, promiseing to bee their chapman if they would bee reasonable therein; upon which Ramchund, one of the most eminent diamond-merchants in those parts, came downe about December 1701, and brought with him a large rough stone about 305 mangeleens, and some small ones which myselfe and others bought. But hee asking a very extravagant price for the great one, I did not thinke of medling with it, when hee left it with mee for some days, and then came and took it away againe; and did soe severall times, not insisting upon less than two hundred thousand

pagodoes, as I best remember. I did not bid him above thirty thousand, and had little thoughts of buying it, for that I considered there were many and great risgoes to bee run, not only in cutting it, but also whether it would prove fowle or cleane, or the water goode; besides I thought it too great an amount to bee adventured home on one bottome. But Ramchund, resolving to return speedily to his owne country, soe that, I best remember, it was in February following, hee came againe to mee (with Vincaly Chittee who was allways with him when I discoursed him about it), and pressed mee to know whether I resolved to buy it, when hee came downe to 100,000 pagodoes, and something under, before wee parted, when wee agreed upon a day to meete and make a finall end thereof, one way or other, which I believe was the latter end of the aforesaid month, or the beginning of March. Wee accordingly mett in the consultation roome, where, after a great deale of talke, I brought him downe to 55,000 pagodoes, and advanced to 45,000, resolving to give noe more, and hee likewise resolved not to abate; soe delivered him up the stone, and wee tooke a friendly leave of one another. Mr. Benyon was then writeing in my closett, with whom I discoursed what had passed, and told him now I was cleare of it, when, about an hour after, my servant brought mee word that Ramchund and Vincaly Chittee were at the door; who being called in, they used a great many expressions in praise of the stone, and told mee hee had rather I should buy it than anybody; and to give an instance thereof offerd it for 50,000. Soe, believing it must bee a pennyworth if it proved good, I offerd to part the 5,000 pagodoes that was then between us, which hee would not hearken to, and was goeing out of the roome againe, when hee turned back and told mee I should have it for 49,000. But I still adhered to what I had before offerd him, when presently hee came to 48,000, and made a solemn vow that hee would not part with it a pagodoe under; when I went againe into the closett to Mr. Benyon and told what had passed, saying that if it was worth 47,500 it was worth 48,000; soe closed with him for that sum, when hee delivered mee the stone, for which I paid him very honourably, as by my books appears. And I here farther call God to witnesse that I never used the least threatening word at any of our meeteings to induce him to sell it mee, and God himselfe knows it never was as much as in my thoughts soe to doe. Since which I have had frequent and considerable deallings with this man, and trusted him with severall sums of money, and ballanced severall accounts with him, and left upwards of 2,000 pagodoes in his hands at my comeing away; soe had I used the least indirect means to have gott it from him, would not hee have made himselfe satisfaction when hee has had my money soe often in his hands?—or would I have trusted him afterwards, as I did, preferable to all other diamond-merchants? As this is the truth, soe I hope for God's blessing on this and all other my affaires in this world, and eternall happiness hereafter.' (P. 41.)

Curious as is the history of this jewel, the most permanent interest of the correspondence is the light which it throws on the character of Governor Pitt. On November 8,

1703, he writes the following shrewd and kindly letter to his son:—

'Fort St. George.—I hope you have, long since, safely arrived in England, and delivered that which, if it answers my expectations, has not its fellow. I could wish, though I abated something of its true value, that the Crown would buy it, for the like will never be had again in these parts. I sent Sir Stephen Evance the model by the *Duchess*, but have received no answer. I strictly enjoin you to be dutiful to your mother, and loving to your brothers and sisters, and advise you to enter the Inns of Court, and go to Oxford for three or four years for the study chiefly of civil law. You should also make yourself master of fortification and gunnery. Take great care of what company you keep, and make it a strict rule never to lend money but where you have unquestionable security, for generally by asking for it you lose your friend and it too. *Copy.*'

In a subsequent letter we find the Governor doing a piece of profitable private business, giving sound advice to his family, and acting a thoroughly good-natured part toward two young men without money and friends:—

'1704–5, February 7. Fort St. George.—I should be glad to hear that you had more duty, and your mother more wit, than to let differences between you become so public as to be, as they are, the discourse of these remote parts.

'I have sent nothing to your wife but a letter, because I intend to follow speedily. Remember, both of you, that good management is as necessary to preserve an estate as to raise one. Stick close to your studies so as to make yourself master of common and civil law; and preserve what you know of mercantile and maritime affairs.' (P. 14.)

In the next letter the Governor is in a passion with his troublesome family:—

'1706, September 22. Fort St. George.—This comes by the Danes' ship, who, not staying for convoy anywhere, may chance to get home a month or two before the *Loyall Cooke* . . . by whom I shall write as fully as the confused condition you have all put me in, will permitt. What hellish planet is it that influences you all, and causes such unaccountable distraction, that it has published your shame to the world; which has so affected me that I cannot resolve what to doe. I wish you nor none of your family be at the bottome of it. My letters from several friends are full of your extravagancies, and in what vaine-glorious manner you went down to the election at Old Sarum, and what charge you put me to in house-keeping whilst there. What is it that you mean by this? I find you have exhausted your own fortune and your wife's too; and are you now broaching mine? Have a care what you doe, for I assure you if I find a just cause, I will cutt off you and all your family from ever haveing to doe with any thing of mine; and I have very much adoe to forbear turning you out of being one of my attorneys by this ship, for, one of your principles and that takes

such courses as you doe, is not to be trusted. I wish gameing bee not rife in your family, or otherwise you could never have spent soe considerable an estate in soe short a time. Whenever I am certain that any of my children game I will, by all that is good, disinherit them. Have all of you shook hands with shame, that you regard not any of the tyes of Christianity, humanity, consanguinity, duty, good morality, or anything that makes you differ from beasts, but must run from one end of the kingdome to the other, aspersing one another and aiming at the ruine and destruction of each other?—that you should dare to doe such an unnatural and approbious action as to turne your mother and sisters out of doors?—for which I observe your frivolous reasons, and was astonished to read them; and I no less resint what they did to your child at Stratford. But I see your hand is against every one of them, and every one against you, and your brother William to his last dying minute. How do you thinke this has chagrined mee, and what anxious as well as desperate thoughts has it brought into my mind, and dampt my desire of ever seeing you more, or any of you all, for I can promise myselfe noe comfort of you. I have by my letters on the *Loyall Cooke* put your brother and sisters under the care and disposall of cousin George Pitt and brother Curgenven, for the disquiet and uneasyness of these unhappy and unparalleled destractions amongst you, have extremely discomposed mee and obstructed mee in my business, and has made mee to defer my comeing till January on the *Tankerville*.' (P. 20.)

In 1709 Governor Pitt was recalled, and in a long letter written in May 1710 he gives a summary of his work as an administrator. The letter itself is dated from Bergen, the Governor having taken passage from the Cape in a Danish vessel. In 'this melancholy place of Bergen' he was kept until the end of the year by reason of the difficulty of getting safely to England. We give an extract from this lengthy epistle to conclude these quotations from the correspondence of this noticeable person. The former letters have shown us something of his personal and private character. Now we see him as an administrator. After giving an account of the proceedings on his resignation of office, and of the appointment of his successor, who died before he had really entered on his office, he goes on to speak of his probable real successor, and continues:—

'I delivered it up in the most flourishing state that ever any place of the world was in, vastly rich notwithstanding our great losses, and famous throughout all parts of the world for our honourable and just dealings; free from all manner of tyranny, extortion, oppression, or corruption as to mee (I wish I could averr the same of others), which I suppressed as far as it was in my power, and prevented its being very burthensome to the commonalty; which occasioned the clamours of those few who are the scum and scorne of the place, yet supported by their correspondents in England, who study to promote their private

interest at the hazard of sacrificing that of all the adventurers. This is demonstrable by their last yeare's generall letter, of which I had the perusall, when I admired as much at the weakeness of their management as I did at their mallice and false suggestions of mee. I shall give but few instances here of the flourishing condition of Maderass. In May or June last there was at one time fifty sayle of ships in the roade, besides small craft at least 200; the revenues of last yeare amounting between 70 and 800,000 ! pagodas, of which above 10,000 arises out of the Mint. The place, when I left it, was not onely admired but in favour of all the kings and princes in those parts; a regular and peaceable government within ourselves, and continued friendship of all about us. I brought the trade of the King of Siam to our port; and sent them away soe well satisfyed that I believe they will return and settle a factory, which may probably open a trade for Japan; and the favours from the present Great Mogull [Bahader Shah, formerly Shah Aulum] are without a president. I had two vests from him, and the honour of severall letters, and a phirmaund under his greate seale, made up in a paper under his privy seale, wherein he tenders mee the command of five thousand horse, and to have the pay without doeing service. And, wee of all Europeans, were the only favourites; the Dutch at the same time were put out of Golcunda.'

'It was expected that the King, after hee had cutt off his brother Cawne Bux [third son of Aurungzebe], would have stayed at least 6 months at Golcunda, when I myselfe purposed to have went up . . . when [I] would have endeavoured, though at the expence of my life and fortune, to have procured them such an establishment as the like had not been to any European nation for priviledges and proffit; but the King's return to quell an insurrection in the heart of his country frustrated that design, and am glad it did, for nothing perplexes a man's thoughts more than doeing good and faithfull service for an ungratefull people, as it has been my case with this Company.' (P. 44.)

In 1726 Governor Pitt died, and thereupon no little family dissension and litigation ensued in connection with his property. But with this we are not now concerned. Much of the correspondence which immediately follows consists of letters from Robert, the eldest son of Governor Pitt, to his son Thomas, complaining of his extravagance, and trying to limit his expenses. It is the natural drawback to the wholesale publication of papers which have been accumulated by a careful hand, and which extend over a length of years, that a large quantity of material is printed which has long ceased to have any permanent interest. In the case of records published by a public department this is, perhaps, unavoidable; but it is a moot point whether it would not be to the advantage, both of the historical student and of the general reader, if such correspondence as that preserved at Dropmore were somewhat more rigorously edited.

The papers which relate to Thomas Pitt, grandson of the Governor, are less personal than those which precede them, and are of some public interest. This gentleman was a person of considerable political importance in the South-West of England; he was Warden of the Stannaries and Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall. From his correspondence we are able to realise with much vividness the rotten electoral condition of the country at the end of the reign of George II. It was a political feature of the time which has formed material for the comment of historians of the eighteenth century, but we can understand it better when, as in these letters, we are brought, as it were, into direct contact with it. In the election of 1747 Thomas Pitt was the agent of the Prince of Wales for the purpose of securing, by fair means or foul, the return of his supporters for various corrupt and small boroughs in Cornwall. He was not so successful as he expected, or as his strenuous efforts deserved; but with this we are not concerned. It is not, however, the man who interests us, but the characteristic features of the political life of the time which he illustrates. The letters on the subject of the election give a very lifelike sketch of electioneering in 1747. No doubt it was a vulgar and venal business; but, after all, there was a certain rough sincerity about it, which cannot be said of the vague promises, never to be fulfilled, with which our *fin-de-siècle* candidate beguiles a constituency. The letters are written to Dr. Ayscough, Thomas Pitt's brother-in-law, who was, if it may be permitted to take in vain the name of so illustrious a person, the Mr. Schnadhorst of the Prince of Wales's party. The two letters which we have selected are as follow:—

'1747, June 12. Boconnock.—Your messenger found me . . . at Trewithin, where, with young Mr. Hawkins and his father, I was consulting what measures to pursue at Grampound. The dissolving Parliament so soon has a little disconcerted our schemes. . . . On Wednesday we went round the town, and found the people, as one must expect in such a venal place, some open in promising us, and others hanging off to see what they can make of it; but none said they had promised against us, not even those who we know are determined against us, but said it was time enough to promise. On the whole, I have no more reason . . . to despair of success than I had before. . . . The worst thing against us is the Mayor being of the adverse party, which was oweing to my being ill at the time of that election in October last; for he will certainly admit 12 freemen we object to, upon the poll; and perhaps reject 13 of ours, sworn in October 1741, and now objected to. As you tell me I am not to give up on any appearance of difficulties, I have issued forth the insiduous argue-

ment plentifully; and, if my colleague furnishes his equal part, it may do the business. I have likewise bid high for the Mayor.'

'The next is Bodmin; there, though I think we shall carry one, yet the scene is changed. . . . Laroche's agent will endeavour to make all Laroche's friends vote for Mr. Hunt, and, for ought I know, it will be easier to carry both than be scrambling for one. . . . I have laid out both ways, and am not without hopes of both there.

'As to Camelford, I look upon it to be quite secure; but Phillipps still persists in desireing to have Lord Londonderry there. Bossiney I look upon likewise as secure, at least in conjunction with Mr. Wortley; but I am in hopes of jockeying him out of the other [seat], he having wrote me that he had talked with Lord Edgecombe about that place, telling him that he intended standing there himself, and supporting my interest for the other. Lord Edgecombe had promised to give Wortley his interest. He has wrote a letter to the Mayor recommending the person I shall name to be chosen with himself, and, at the same time, tells the people he will not serve them; and by this promise of Lord Edgecombe, he is secure from any opposition, and will save his money. Now, as he recommends my interest, I cannot appear against him; but by a proper application on my side, and a failure of the like from him, which I must supply, a spirit may arise among the voters to chuse a person that is not above representing them.

'As to Foy (Fowey) and Lostwithiel, I am sifting and inquiring. I have hopes of both, but am not sufficiently got into the knowledge of their situation. Neither can I speak anything positive of Okehampton; but by the conversation I had with Luxmore as I passed through the town, there is great reason to hope for success. . . . I will be as active and diligent as possibly I can. I will spare no pains, nor scruple running any risque to promote the service of my master, who has bound me to him by the indissoluble tie of gratitude for the favours and honours bestowed on me. . . . You tell me I am to spare neither money nor pains; to the utmost of my power I shall not, but the latter will hold out much longer than the former. . . . No men can attack to any purpose without ammunition sufficient for the attack.' (P. 110.)

The Same to the Same.

'1747, June 13. Boconnock.—It will, I believe, be improper for me to attend Old Sarum election. I am glad, therefore, you will take the management of it upon you. As to whether I would be chosen there myself, I cannot answer that positively till I have been at Okehampton. . . . I think the best way will be to postpone the Old Sarum election till that at Okehampton is over. . . . If I would be elected at Old Sarum, I will send a messenger with a letter directed for you at Mr. Tirrell's; so, if you receive no message from me to the contrary, proceed to elect those of the Prince's naming. The enclosed is a list of the voters, and what they vote for. Do not show it to any one, not even to the Prince.

'As for Grampound, I think we can carry it, but it must cost

damnably dear. The villains have got a-head to that degree, and rise in their demands so extravagantly, that I have been very near damning them, and kicking them to the devil at once. The dirty rascals dispise 20 guineas as much as a King's Sergeant does a half guinea fee. If it had not been for the orders by your letter, spare neither pains nor money, I would not have gone on at such a rate. . . . If I have not a large supply speedily, all that is done will be lost. . . . How came you to allott 500*l.* for Okehampton? What would that signify if there is an opposition? It will but little more than pay the common expences of a quiet election. . . . I could not talk to Luxmore of less than 1,000*l.* . . . When I see him, I must tell him the 500*l.* is in part. . . . Mr. Gregor has engaged, and is now trying at Tregony what may be done. I took his house in my way to Grampound and luckily found only Madam at home. I found her in a right key, and . . . quite alone. You will say that was the lucky opportunity of putting the question. I did not neglect the happy moment, and she took it greedily, and I thought she had been then satisfied; but she desired another meeting, which I gave her, and satisfied her by telling her that her son would, immediately upon Mr. Gregor's engaging openly against Lord Falmouth, be made gentleman usher to the Prince, with a salary of 100*l.* a year; and for the expences of the election, provided he carryed one, he should have 1,000*l.* This is what . . . his Royal Highness ordered me to offer. How far he can carry it I will not pretend to say, but it is worth the salary of the place to detach him for [from] Lord Falmouth. . . . I think it worth while for somebody to come down; it should be one that can bustle well, and be of some help to the little old man.' (P. 111.)

However important it may be to realise thoroughly the electoral warfare in the Cornish boroughs in the past, it is pleasant to turn from this political corruption to the perusal of some characteristic letters from Garrick and Walpole. Here is one which the former writes to his friend Berenger—an invitation to Hampton. It brings us very close to the great actor. It helps us to understand his cheery presence, and the mobility of his nature, and his popularity among his friends. It is written on Easter Sunday.

'Thank you again and again for your very obliging and always agreeable letters. Your trouble in preventing my fighting yard-arm and yard-arm with Captain Hood (which by the bye I had rather do, than lick the whiskers of his *cara sposa*), demands my best and warmest thanks. Could not you, my dear friend, have smuggled my name upon a card, and then, *l'affaire est faite.*

'But think you, my merry wag, that I will so ill requite your kindness to me, as to bring you down this blistering weather to Hampton? What! shall I draw you from those flagrant dunghills which are placed so near you, and to the breath of which you open your enraptured nostrils, to sniff at my hyacinths, gilly flowers, violets, snowdrops and polyanthuses? Shall the sweet music of Hackney coaches, muffins and tiddydoll, be exchanged for the chirping of birds, the cackling of hens,

the gobling of turkeys, and the grunting of hogs? Heavens forfend! No, my dear Richard, I love you too well to bring you from the lap of noise and luxury, to repose your high-tuned spirits *sub tegmine fagi.* Let the sun leave off his playing at bo-peep—put on his flame-coloured garment and make the mews as hot as the Devil's oven, and then, my master, you shall run through dust for 14 miles till you are almost choked, and we will brush you, clean you, and lay you down softly upon the banks of the Thames, till the salads, custards, and sillibubs are ready to regale you. In short to be plain with you, we shall expect that the echo at Hampton (and there is no finer) shall repeat your pleasantry very soon and give you dash for dash; for she can only match you, and give you as good as you bring. So much for that—when did you see the delectable *Rust?* That a man with such a head and heart for society, should be laid by the heels for the third of his life—t'is a damned shame; and we his many companions should bring an action against the college for false imprisonment! But I must stop my nonsensical career, as Sir Sidney's gallop was by a subpœna, as the bearer of this will hardly stay.'

'Madame throws her love at you, for the messenger wont take it.'

'What a scrawl! always in a hurry, and a damned hand at the best.' (P. 151.)

Letters by Walpole are so clever that any fresh specimens of them are always welcome. Here we find him corresponding, during his memorable visit to Paris in 1765, with Miss Anne Pitt, the sister of Chatham, who was at one time maid of honour to Queen Caroline. She was a brilliant and attractive woman of society. Walpole himself said of her, in connexion with her famous brother: 'Ils se resemblent 'comme deux gouttes de feu.' In these papers we find her in communication with others than Walpole, but our space will not permit of too lengthy quotations. Some extracts, however, must be made from correspondence hitherto unpublished. Here, then, is a letter from Paris, full of vivacity, which gives a bright picture of the Court life which Walpole criticised and enjoyed:—

'1765, October 8. Paris.—Before I came to Paris I flattered myself that you had some regard for me, and wou'd not be sorry to see me in England again. Was addressing me to Madame de Rochfort the way to make me return? Do not pretend to plead two or three most obliging letters to her in my favour: one has read of ancient politicians, I forget when and where they lived, who used to give letters of credit upon a neighbouring Prince to those they wished to destroy, with a postscript recommending the bearer to a halter. Modern policy is better bred, and when it wants to get rid of one, sends one to Circe or Madame de Rochfort. What signifies whether one is hanged or enchanted, if one never has it in one's power to return home? Your friend, Madam, tells me you have long promised her a visit; but you was too wise to make it, and I alone am the bubble. In truth she

exercises her power, this enchantress does, in a manner very different from Mesdames the witches her predecessors, for she turns all her subjects into reasonable creatures and makes them fit to converse ever with her. At a little supper t'other night in her apartment at the Luxembourg, there was but one of us that had four feet. He was in the shape of an Angola cat, but as gentle, sensible, and agreable as his mistress; you yourself Madam, cat-hater as you are, would have stroked him. He is the Duc de Nivernois's particular friend, who has his picture on his snuff-box, and between them they have lately written some fables, which I am to see, and which I am told exhibit such a knowledge of the quadriped kind, that most people think the philosopher Rhominagrobis must have had the chief paw in them.

'The quarrel I have with you, Madam, for having introduced me to such pleasing company, has extinguished the memory of a lesser injury. I fell in love at Chantilli with a *corbeille* and determined at my return to be the founder of *corbeilles* in England. The first thing I heard on my arrival at Paris was that the model of one was already gone to Mrs. Pitt. I was enraged—but if I am never to return how does this effect me? Madame de Rochfort says you have sent her a list of twenty questions about depth, quantity of earth. . . . I know the whole, but will not give you a tittle of information. Should I ever escape from the magic circle in which you have placed me, what pleasure it will be to find a preposterous *corbeille* at Pitsburg! Strawberry Hill shall give itself airs, and ridicule your barbarous attempts. They ask me a thousand questions about Pitsburg; I tell them it is a vile *guingette*, that has nothing but verdure, and prospect, and a parcel of wild trees that have never been cut into any shape, and as awkward as if they had been transplanted out of Paradise: that you fancy you are making something of the house, but that you have been too long out of France not to have lost all taste: that you will not have so much as an antichamber full of cooks, chafing-dishes, and footmen in dirty night-caps.

'The Duc de Nivernois appears in much better health than when he left England. Tho' he is very good to me I have seen much less of him than I wish, for France is so changed that they pass near five months in the country. It is true a pastoral life appears a strange thing without green fields. I cannot yet divest myself of my northern prejudices, nor reconcile myself to landscapes built of stone and chalk.

'Madame de Mirepoix, as I told her, is the most constant of women, for I found her *with a cat in her lap, drinking tea, and as obliging to me as formerly.* It is a little inconvenient that she is so great a favourite with the King, which leaves her but few moments to bestow on Paris. Her talents and her favour are so acknowledged, that most people think she might be Prime Minister and a Cardinal, if she pleased: and yet she is so moderate, and inattentive to making her fortune, that she every now and then gives it a wicked blow at Pharaoh. Whisk has stepped in a little to save her, for you know, Madam, it takes a long time to ruin one's self by odd tricks. Her house is extremely pretty; her little cabinet and library charming. Madame de Bentheim has a very fine house opposite to the Cours de la Reine. I was a little unlucky; it was a fine moonlight thrown over the garden, river, and

terrasses. She ordered me to admire the view; I rubbed my eyes and those of my almanac, for I protest to you, on seeing nothing but white, I thought it was December and a scene of frost and snow.

'The Court is gone to Fontainbleau, whither they say I must follow it; must I? I dont love Courts. Nay, I saw this t'other day in its highest point of glory; the wild beast of the Gevaudan is killed, and actually in the Queen's antichamber at Versailles, where it was exhibited to the foreign Ministers and *nous autres étrangers*. It is a very large wolf to be sure, and they say has twelve teeth more than any of the species, and six less than the Czarina.* The Duc de Richilieu, whose lamp is to go out in a ballet, has ordered nine operas for Fontainbleau, but I am not one of the beasts which their music wou'd ever draw after it. To tell you the truth, Madam, if I was a maker of nations, I think I cou'd make an agreable one out of France and England; but I do not quite like either as they are. I shall not pick and chuse the materials, till I have seen a little more of this country: the plan I invite you to adjust with me some fine evening at Pitsburg, for thither I will return if there is a talisman left on this side of the Persian tales to break Madam de Rochfort's enchantments. Oh! she is an artfull sorceress and appears so gentle and natural! There is no particular beauty and youth to frighten one and put one upon's guard. She appears the most rational humane being upon earth, and then when one comes down stairs, there is a straw or something laid at the threshold of the Luxembourg, and one cannot stir a foot over it.

'Let me see, Madam, it is the beginning of October; planting is not begun; the paper-man has disappointed you, the *corbeille* was wrong and must be made over again; my Lady Bute is but little in town, my Lady Cardigan is at Blackheath, the balls for the prince and princess of Brunswic are taking breath, Mesdames de Leillern and Masscrano are at home but twice a week, you dont live much at my Lady Harrington's and the evenings are very long; yes, you have full time to write me a very long letter; and having no news is no excuse, for you see what a volume one can pen without having a tittle to say. Why, there is no more in my letter than if my Lord Sandwich had written it, and signed it Anti-Sejanus. On the contrary I pique myself on writing as many words without meaning, as if I hoped for the favour of the City of London; and I do more than their best authors can, fill whole pages without having recourse to Billingsgate. Wont you reward such merit? Whether you do or not I shall still be yours.' (P. 146.)

Another letter to the same friend is filled with the account of a letter supposed to have been written by Rousseau to the King of Prussia—a *jeu d'esprit* of which Walpole was the author, and of which he was obviously proud. This also appears in the correspondence with Miss Pitt.

* The story of the wolf is repeated in the same lively manner, though not in the same words, in Walpole's letters to Lady Hervey of the 3rd October, 1765, and to Mr. Conway of the 5th October.

In the letter which we next quote the good-nature of Walpole is apparent. He was ready to execute commissions for his friends; and if he did not like the business, his distaste for it is at any rate veiled with charming skill. The letter shows too how, even in the middle of the eighteenth century, the sportsmen of Paris tried to copy the gentlemen of England, just as they do at the end of the nineteenth century :—

'1766, March 1. Paris.—At last, Madam, I have the honour of sending you the design of a ceiling, which you wou'd have received much sooner if the person who drew it had not been very ill. I enclose Monsieur Mariette's letter as a *piece justificative*, which will prove to you, Madam, that I had teazed him with my impatience.

'The design, I think, very beautiful; it is in the newest style, and taken in some measure, as everything here is now, from the oldest style, that is the antique. It may be executed either in stucco, colours, or *chiaro scuro*, and fills only the cove, leaving the ceiling, as you ordered, vacant, except the small rose in the middle. The directions accompany it.

'Your late silence, Madam, tho not like my impatience, makes me fear you have thought me dilatory. I trust I shall now stand excused. Am I to order, or forbear ordering my Lady Cardigan's commodes? I hope neither you nor she blame my caution. I could not help stating a difficulty which I had experienced myself, and which has prevented my making some purchases to which I had great inclination. Whatever commands you may have for me, let me beg to know them soon; I am thinking of my return, and propose it for the end of this month or beginning of the next.

'We are occupied here (with due deference and distance) as you, all you, generally are in England; that is, with the Parliament and a horse race. On the first subject, the Parliament had won the last heat, and jockey'd the commission in Bretagne; but two nights ago the king knocked up three grooms *à mortier* in the middle of the night, and it is said some of those gentlemen of the Turf will be *distanced*. The latter article makes full as much noise. Lord Forbes and Count Lauragais rode a race on the *plaine de Sablon*; all Paris was present. The latter's horse was ill, died that night, was opened, and proved to have been poisoned. You cannot imagine the noise this makes. *We* are treated as if we were Russians, assassins, subjects and disciples of the Czarina. It is in vain that I assure them that poison is the only trick I never heard allowed of at Newmarket, and that a man would forfeit his honour who shou'd practice any cheat that is not according to the known rules. The truth, I believe, is that national honour interfered, and that an English groom belonging to Lauragais himself, or to Lord Forbes (for I scorn to clear a difficulty without starting a greater), committed the fact that the four-footed champion of his country might be sure of the victory. In the meantime the spirit of racing has taken root, and *petits palefreniers* will be substituted to *petits maitres*. As Monsieur de Lauragais, who has introduced this system of English policy, is now amongst you, I hope

he will bring back the true code, the unwritten law, dictated in those wise and virtuous ages, when the legislators themselves cou'd not write. If Mr. Hume means to preserve his renown here, he must return in a white sattin waistcoat, black cap, nankin breeches, and tight boots.' (P. 154.)

We must now turn to the correspondence which belongs to the period of Lord Grenville's public career. The documents published in the work known as 'The Court and 'Cabinets of George III.' have already placed in marked contrast his dignified and solid character, and the self-conscious and irritable nature of his elder brother. This fresh material heightens the contrast. We are more conscious than ever of the morbid 'fussiness' and irritability of the Marquis of Buckingham, whose natural ability was rendered almost useless by his want of moral fibre. When we first encounter him in this correspondence, in 1782, he was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland under Lord Shelburne's Administration, his brother being Chief Secretary. Public attention was concentrated in Ireland upon the question of a Renunciation Act to clear up any doubts as to the inability of the English Parliament to legislate internally in Ireland, or of the English law-courts to entertain Irish litigation. The repeal of Poynings' Act and other restraining laws appeared not to have been wholly effectual, and Lord Temple, as he then was, set himself heart and soul to accomplish the change in its entirety. As already stated in an earlier paper in this Review, the Prime Minister was disinclined to burden himself with this question. Temple and Grenville, on the other hand, were impressed with its necessity. Hence the letters from the Lord-Lieutenant to his Chief Secretary in London were full of irritation at the delay in obtaining the legislation which he desired, and show not only an inappreciation of the importance of other work which Ministers had to perform, but a nervousness which could never have permitted Temple to obtain high rank as a statesman.

The following despatch is not only a typical one, but interesting, for it gives an insight into Grattan's position at the time when it was written:—

'1783, January 15. [Dublin Castle.] *Secret.*—I have read your letter of the 8th, and of the 10th, with an indignation proportioned to the disgraceful and scandalous equivocation and delay. The winds have again delayed the messenger, and I have barely time to send the despatch enclosed so as to ensure (if possible) its arrival prior to the 21st. This despatch speaks my feelings, but does not speak them fully, from personal considerations to Townshend, to whom it is officially addressed; but I mean to convey my sense of the ill treat-

ment which I have received in deferring their Cabinet certainly till the 18th, possibly till one o'clock on the 21st, and upon a question as nice and as interesting to the public as that of America; and to me involving my honour, which, since they will not consider, I will take care of. I have made my proposal; if they will accede to the principle explicitly, I care not for the words; but I have told them in plain terms that I suspect them, and that nothing short of that which every amendment from them has parried, shall satisfy me, because nothing else will satisfy Ireland. I have stated likewise the only consideration under which I will acquiesce in the delay beyond the 21st, and with these impressions I think it due to my character and honour to stand acquitted to both kingdoms; and, in this view (supposing any delay which will be proposed can only proceed from that want of candour and communication which is truly disgraceful), I will interpret it as an intention to force me to an immediate resignation; for I accepted this situation (cursed as it always was) only on the basis of confidence in those with whom I am to act; and although *I know* that they dare not shuffle with Ireland, and *therefore* this must end satisfactorily to my ideas, yet I will not keep my situation one hour after I shall have judged it necessary to appeal to the public in justification of myself. You will therefore in this circumstance of delay, or of a proposition short of an explicit recognition of the exclusive legislative and judicial rights, declare in the House of Commons the circumstances under which you gave the notice for the 21st, and you will likewise protest in the strongest terms against this delay which I interpret as a refusal; and against any *half measure* of the nature to which I alluded. And you will again remind the House of the propositions to which you pledged yourself and me, and conclude by opposing such a measure as inadequate and unsatisfactory; and it must depend upon the debate whether you will not be obliged to produce the Bill proposed by me. After this, even if they could suffer me to remain here an hour, I could not submit to my situation. You will therefore request an audience from the King in which, with every expression of my sense of the very undeserved partiality with which he sent me hither, you will deduce from my despatches, from Townshend's Office letters, and from the manner in which I have been almost abandoned and possibly deceived, the impossibility of my remaining in this responsible and unsupported situation; and that my immediate request to his Majesty will be to allow [me] to retire from a situation dangerous to both kingdoms (as I cannot support measures contrary to my opinions), and disgraceful to myself from the manner in which I have been treated. And, after this, you will come away immediately from a scene which must truly wound every feeling of honour and integrity; and may those whose councils (wherever they are) have advised this system deeply answer it!

'I cannot express the jealousies which this delay (for I cannot shew the real state of things as you state them) has spread amongst those who begin to fear that all is not right. I have been obliged to keep the Chancellor, Attorney-General, and Grattan at arm's length;

and I know that they are told from England that *nothing explicit will be done.* Think then to what (even if it is at last yielded) I have been exposed by this cursed delay, ending in Lord Camden's preamble, upon which from delicacy I have not said one half of what I feel, and in Mr. Pitt's, as uninformed and unsatisfactory as the former. I have done with propositions, and no consideration shall make me *now* offer one; but I enclose to you the last preamble amended to my ideas, that, if you should be convinced that there is at last a disposition to act fairly, it may be undertaken for by you. In this mode I satisfy my conscience, for by that conscience I fear that my departure from Ireland upon such grounds will throw the kingdom into revolt.

'Such is the situation to which the timidity of the Cabinet (I mean the dread of meeting each other) and the Christmas parties of some of them have reduced this kingdom. Of their other transactions I know nothing, but from this specimen their system cannot last; at least it is unsafe for me to continue responsible where I have not the weight of a feather, and where I cannot hope for a reciprocity of regards, of confidence, and of support. I have written thus much upon the subject, because I mean clearly to convey my ideas at large to you, or else much less paper would have contained my resolution. With every advantage it would have always been a sacrifice with me to continue here, notwithstanding the field it opened to an honest ambition; but without those advantages my line is so obvious, that I must imagine the Cabinet see it, and mean to drive me to it. Thus finishes my political career; *Sat Patriæ Priamoque datum*, and no temptation shall again draw me from those enjoyments within my reach, the value of which I truly know, and sacrificed, when I took this splendid plaything. For you I feel, as it checks a line of business for which you are so truly fitted; however, other objects are within your reach equally valuable, and to them I consign you as the sure result of your patience and application. . . .

'*Really secret.*—I have enclosed a letter which will speak my sense of your despatches and my feelings, and may be shewn to Townshend as in strictest confidence, and which will, I think, operate decisively. It is writ to be shewn, but it is likewise writ as the rule of conduct to which I am sure you will adhere, whenever the time comes for finally deciding the delay, or the verbiâge of our Bill. Things are quiet in Ireland, except a real jealousy that we are giving way in our support of Grattan, who wishes us to fight his battle more avowedly; and I have as repeatedly declared my intention of adverting to the great outline as the first point, and looking upon him *en second.* This does not quite please, but he cannot help himself; and I know that Fitzpatrick writes to him, and even to Yelverton to feed them with the hopes that Fox is sure of coming in chief Minister. This may be the real cause of his jealousy. However, the cry is so industrious against him that he is wonderfully lowered with the mob, and his Excellency the General Lord Charlemont has accepted the Order, which I shrewdly suspect will be equally unpopular in a very short time; and in this light we shall be masters of our situation, without taking the law of government from one or from the other. However,

I keep very fair with them both, and they seem to feel what I urge of the necessity of gaining our point, the effect of which, I tell them, may be hazarded (as indeed it may) by a protest of the Chancellor upon the real effects of the repeal, and upon the rights of Great Britain supported by Lord Mansfield and Lord Loughborough.' (P. 182.)

Upon the formation of the memorable Coalition Government of Fox and Lord North, under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Portland, Temple's Administration in Ireland came to an end. The new Government was from the first disliked by the King, and some light is thrown on his attitude, and on the inner political movements of the time, by the following letter from Pitt to Temple, enclosed by the latter to his brother, then Mr. Grenville. It brings out very clearly the straightforward attitude of Pitt, and emphasises once again the breadth of his views in regard to parliamentary reform. Very few letters from Mr. Pitt of equal importance have been preserved, and in spite of its length we must record it.

'1783, July 22. Saville Street.—I found a note from Lord Thurlow on Friday, desiring to call upon me yesterday. I had a long conversation with him, of which it would be difficult to give a full detail, but from the leading part of it your Lordship will easily judge of the result. Almost in the beginning of it he told me that he had been at the levée the day before, and (as he added in the course of the conversation) in the King's closet, having imagined (he said) from some words the King dropped at the levée that his Majesty wished to talk to him. He represented, however, their conversation to have been *quite general*, though he acknowledged it to have been very long; and said that, by what he collected from it, the *King had not altered his sentiments with regard to his present Ministry.* He affected to treat it as if his audience had had no particular view and had been, in a manner, casual. I am persuaded, however, from all the circumstances, and from some parts which he glanced at occasionally, that it was much more particular than he chose to state; and his having appointed me for Saturday, and then seen the King on Friday, confirms that opinion. In different parts of his conversation he expressed very strongly, as he has so often before, the necessity of a stable government, but, at the same time, threw out doubts whether objections to particular persons being brought forward might not be in the way of it. He also dropped, in a passing way, and at separate times, that the King had no insight into the means of forming a government; that his directly turning out his Ministers was different from their resigning or being pressed in Parliament; and that the King had *gone through the worst*, in the struggle which ended in bringing them in. Yet he said, when I hinted that they might succeed in their endeavours to reconcile the King to them, that the King could never forgive their conduct, and mentioned as an instance Mr. Fox's language in the House of Commons relative to the Prince of Wales's establishment, of

which the King, he said, had expressed his resentment to him the day before. When I endeavoured to learn from him what part Lord Gower or Lord Weymouth would be disposed to take, he studiously declined particulars. His principal object seemed to turn the conversation on the subject of Parliamentary reform, and of the influence of the Crown, especially the latter. He went into a great deal of general speculation, but without much pledging his own opinion, and seeming to take every way of sounding whether any ground would be gained for the Crown on that article.

'Your Lordship will form your judgement on these particulars, though related so much more shortly than they passed. They struck me as a full proof that Lord Thurlow's object was to insinuate that a change was not so necessary to the King, and to endeavour to make it (if it should take place) rather our act than his, and on that ground to try whether terms might not be imposed that could not otherwise. This is so totally contrary to every idea we both entertain, that I thought it necessary to take full care to counteract it. I stated in general that if the King's feelings did not point strongly to a change, it was not what we sought. But that if they did, and we could form a permanent system, consistent with our principles, and on public ground, we should not decline it. I reminded him how much I was personally pledged to Parliamentary reform on the principles I had publicly explained, which I should support on every seasonable occasion. I treated as out of the question any idea of measures being taken to extend influence, though such means as are fairly in the hands of Ministers would undoubtedly be to be exerted. And I said that I wished those with whom I might act, and the King (if he called upon me), to be fully apprised of the grounds on which I should necessarily proceed. He received all I said extremely well, and, though much of his discourse seemed to aim at instilling other ideas, he never directly objected to what I stated. He ended our interview with expressing an earnest wish that the King might get rid of the present Ministry, and seemed anxious to see me again before he goes abroad, which he still talks of doing next week. I have fixed to dine with him on Tuesday, when I shall probably hear more on these subjects. My opinion at present is that, though he was sounding to see whether something might not be formed more on the foundation of the old politics of the Court, he will see that it is out of the question; but that such a Government may nevertheless be formed as will be justly much more acceptable to the King than the present. I think, therefore, what has passed will not tend to delay our having the offer whenever things are ripe for it. I hope, too, that it has tended to put the business on such a ground as can alone make it advisable or honourable; and I flatter myself I shall have the happiness to find that it strikes your Lordship in the same manner. *Copy.*' (P. 215.)

Mr. Pitt took office on the 27th December in the same year, and the prediction was fulfilled.

The correspondence, which extends over the earlier period of Mr. Pitt's first Administration, can scarcely be regarded

as throwing new light on the history of the time. It is, in a sense, to use a legal phrase, corroborative evidence: it strengthens generally accepted views of the times and of the statesmen. To turn to what has always been regarded as a marked feature in Pitt's Administration, viz. his commercial policy. In 1785 the Prime Minister introduced certain resolutions in regard to the commercial relations of Great Britain and Ireland. The free trade which he proposed to establish in England for Irish goods alarmed the manufacturers of Lancashire, and the contribution in return from Ireland was regarded on the other side of the Channel as a national grievance. Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, in this correspondence, gives us some glimpses of the difficulties in which this dilemma placed the Irish Administration. The impression which the debate on the measure produced on the mind of this keen and able observer appears from the following short letter:—

'1785, August 13. Dublin.—Orde last night moved for leave to bring in the Bill. There was a very long debate, in which Grattan spoke a most eloquent, but the most inflammatory and mischievous speech I ever heard. At a quarter after eight this morning the House divided;

Ayes for leave to bring in the Bill . . .	127
Noes „ „ . . .	108

'This was a majority only of 19, and under circumstances which predict fatally to the measure. Ponsonby spoke for admitting the Bill, but expressly reserved his judgement upon its contents when it should be brought in. Ogle did the same. Sir L. O'Brien for admitting the Bill; but declared himself an enemy to the 4th proposition, and to its principle. Flood in violent opposition, but a most stupid speech; Pole spoke very strongly for the measure, Conolly furious against it. Daly was *absent*, so was Cuffe, and all Lord Loftus's members.

'Under all the circumstances I think the measure lost, and it is the opinion of everybody to whom I have spoken, of any understanding. The clamour in the country is said to be very high, but of this I cannot speak with any certainty. Many petitions have certainly been presented. Upon the whole, I think that it would be a work of phrensy to struggle with all the difficulties that now embarrass the measure; it must be abandoned—how? is the question. Pray send this letter to Lord Buckingham with my best regards; remember to send me my parcel by the first messenger.

'Nothing yet in the Lords. Pery told me he thought the measure lost, though he declared to me yesterday that he approved it. Flood means to move on Monday a resolution declaratory against the fourth proposition; which I think will be carried.' (P. 253.)

Lord Mornington was right: the Bill was lost. Flood's

antagonism to the fourth proposition, which referred to the contributions from Ireland, stirred up too strong an opposition, and thus a measure was lost which was fair and advantageous to both countries.

More important, perhaps, as well as more interesting than the fruitless conflicts of Irish politicians, is the insight which is obtained from this correspondence into the intimate relations of Pitt and Grenville, which shows that Pitt had unbounded confidence in the sound judgement of his friend and colleague. We may take, by way of example, the following letter, from which it is obvious that Pitt desired the opinion of Grenville on more than one subject, and on one, at any rate, was diffident of his own judgement:—

'1788, September 22. Hollwood.—My return westward seems postponed a good deal longer than I like, as, besides being detained for Wednesday levée, I have now a summons to one of those gay festivals at Windsor on the 29th. I fear, therefore, or rather I hope I have no chance now of meeting you in the country. For as I am condemned to stay here, and as I want much to see you, I cannot wish that you may stay so long as it is likely to be before I get to Somersetshire.

'There is one business particularly on which we have been abundantly bored already, but on which I want to persecute you again, I mean the *projet* for the convention respecting India.

'*Lord Malmesbury* has got so much spirit with his new honors, that he does not despair of getting Trinquemalé; and I had undertaken, thinking that we should have met sooner, to have sent him definite instructions on the other points, which he was to find on his arrival at the Hague, to which he went by the way of Spa. I own to you however that the more I consider the points, the more I have been puzzled about the detail, especially of the Spice business; and I do not like to trust my own single opinion, which is nearly all I have to trust to on this subject at present. I should be glad therefore, if possible, to talk it over with you as soon as you can make it convenient; and if it does not break in too much with any of your plans, it would be desirable that instructions should reach the Hague before the 1st October, as about that time, Lord Malmesbury wants to be absent for his health.

'We have had strange reports of the French troops being to move into the Austrian Netherlands, which are supposed, according to this story, to be mortgaged to France.

'A thousand things concur to put such an idea very much out of the question at present, but if Calonne's information can be trusted, some thing of the sort was in question before the Archbishop went out.' (P. 356.)

This letter is not a solitary one; the short note which we give below—a call for assistance, as it were—seems to show this attitude of Pitt perhaps more strongly than the more business-like communication:—

'[1769,* April 15. ——.]—If you have not sent your letter, pray delay the messenger till tomorrow morning. I am not satisfied, on reflection, with the course in which the business now is, and wish to have that time to think of it, and then to talk to you again before we write any thing further.' (P. 453.)

Interesting as this fact is from a purely personal point of view, it is not the less of historical importance, since it tends to remove the impression that Pitt was a ministerial autocrat; and it must also lead to the conclusion that the influence of Grenville in the conduct of foreign affairs during Mr. Pitt's Administration was greater than has generally been supposed. It in no way detracts from the merits of Mr. Pitt as a Minister: on the contrary, it shows his sagacity in relying on a man of such industry and good judgement as Grenville. 'He had not much skill in 'discriminating character,' writes Mr. Lecky in his summary of Mr. Pitt; but the confidence which he placed in William Grenville and Henry Dundas is evidence that he was no mean judge of men. Again, from this insight into the relations between Pitt and Grenville we can appreciate better the very keen disappointment and resentment which Pitt felt when Grenville refused to join his Ministry in 1804, and the severe loss which the absence of so trusted a colleague and friend must have been to him. The correspondence of Mr. Pitt in this book is not voluminous, and therefore, before we part from it, it may be well to give a quotation from a letter which contains a view of French affairs in 1788:—

'1788, August 29. Downing Street.—The enclosed dispatch arrived this morning, and brings an account of a change which, next to one at home, is I think the worst thing of the kind that could happen. Not however that France will be much to be envied, even tho' she has got Necker, and got rid of the Arch-Bishop. But I think we may expect from Necker's character, that he will set himself in earnest to put their finances in real order, if the thing is possible; and will probably be glad to avail himself of the necessity of establishing something like a free constitution. One other consequence, which is a good one, will I think be that of improving our chance for settling something about the slave trade. I wished to send you this news as soon as I could, tho' perhaps you are in part indebted for it to a swelled face, which has confined me at home. The chief inconvenience of it is that it will oblige me to be at St. James's next week, and so retards my going into the west. Pray remember me to Addington.'

* This date is an error or a misprint for 1789; it is not the only one to be found in this volume.

So much of this volume is filled with correspondence from the pen of the Marquis of Buckingham from Dublin Castle, and is concerned so largely with petty details, with the personal claims of Irish politicians, and with his own grievances, regrets, and desires, that a large part of it can now be regarded as of little value. Portions of these letters, however, make very clear the corruption and pettiness of Irish political life at the end of last century, and they are not without their practical lessons. In November 1788 Buckingham thus writes to his brother:—

'I forgot to add upon the subject of peerages, ridiculous as it would appear, the Government in Ireland could not go on without the means of moving commoners into the House of Lords; and in that House we should be beat on the first questions for want of influence, if that only channel of control was taken from us.' (P. 372.)

Still more striking is the following extract from a letter written in 1789, when the question of the Regency, in consequence of the illness of the King, was agitating the country:—

'As to your idea of a party who would pledge themselves to me, and to each other, to support the Queen as Regent, I must not flatter you with the smallest hopes of my being able to trust one moment to such assurances, and to Lord Hillsbro' least of all! If the case should occur, I have no doubt of being able to make a very sturdy battle; I should not expect to lose the question; but it is impossible to answer for the event, unless it was clearly carried through in Great Britain; and, in that case, *I do not doubt our success* upon the same profligate principles, which I verily believe would lead them to any treachery in behalf of the rising-sun, or to any line of conduct which might forward their interest. Two lucky deaths, Lord Clifden's and Sir W. Montgomery's, have put much into my power; and you will judge the use I make of it when I tell you that, by removes, I shall gratify at least ten Members, besides securing Lord Loftus by Lord Clifden's place, whom Ponsonby is striving to detach from Government to a close party union. You will be astonished to hear that, before Lord Clifden was dead, I received from Mr. Ponsonby a letter, in a very curtly haughty style, asking for the union of the two offices into one in his favour. I answered it with civility, and very coldly stated the advantage derived in Great Britain and here from the separation of them; but I can hardly reconcile to my feelings to treat such a request with civility. A meeting of the six or eight independent oppositionists, Montgomerys of Cavan and Donegall, Griffith, Todd Jones, to about 10 in number, met on Thursday and agreed to support Pitt's claim of parliamentary right against the hereditary claim; but I doubt their steadiness. Lord Charlemont is a convert to the right divine. Conolly pauses; and notwithstanding young G. Byng's exertions, he still wavers; but I think he will ultimately vote against

us, whenever Ogilvy returns with proper instructions. Good night, my pen drops from me. . . . I think people more steady since Pitt's success, which I have in conversation attributed to the opinion entertained, and not discouraged by him, that he would turn out all rats whenever he had the power. This hint of mine has been taken!' (P. 395.)

Such were the pure and independent politicians who were wiped out by the Act of Union.

As we have already said, no large historical questions are elucidated by this volume. But there are some interesting letters of a general character in the period at which we have now arrived, to some of which reference may be made. No one can read that of Dundas, written in October 1789, to Grenville, without some surprise. He was the last man in the world to pine for a dignified leisure, and for years after he had expressed the views which we find in this paper he was in the thick of the political struggles of his time. The letter runs as follows :—

'1789, October 18. Melville Castle.—I have your letter of the 14th, I am obliged by your kind attention to me, but there are many circumstances both public and private which must prevent me from entertaining any wish respecting the President's chair. It was certainly for many years the ultimate object of my ambition, and I would not speak true if I was not to admit that I see it pass by me, both on occasion of the former and present vacancy, with considerable regret. It is a situation of great respect, and if the duties of it are ably and conscientiously discharged, it is a situation of great dignity and utility to the public service. I could not however accept of it at present without acting unfairly to the Government with which I am acting, and dishonourably to the pretensions of the present Advocate. You are a better judge than I can be, of part of this proposition, but I am disposed to believe, without arrogating too much to myself, that I could not at present leave my share in the government of India without some inconvenience to the public service. But I speak with more confidence when I state that my secession from all political life at this time would be a very fatal step to the strength and hold Government has of Scotland.' (P. 534.)

In the same year we find some correspondence between Grenville and Dundas which indicates a strong desire on the part of the former, both to alter the conditions of the punishment of convicted criminals, and to undertake a large industrial work, which has since been accomplished. This was the construction of a canal from Fort William to Inverness by means of convict labour. The first of these letters, in which Dundas raised objections to the scheme, is from him to Grenville; but the English Minister was more keenly

alive to the importance of the canal than his Scotch colleague, and he replied in the following terms:—

'1789, December 24. St. James's Square.—I am much obliged to you for your letter. I was not ignorant of the difficulties which might obstruct the execution of the plan which I mentioned to you, and yet I cannot help still thinking that they are not insurmountable.

'I agree with you that it might, and probably would, be difficult to embark individuals in the expence of such an undertaking; but I own that the importance of it appears to me such as to make it by no means an improper object for public expence, provided that such expence were incurred gradually.

'The great object seems to be the opening a passage between the east and west coasts of this kingdom for such vessels *as usually are employed* in the north trade. And this, as I understand it, is not done by the Forth and Clyde navigation. There are other important ends that would be answered by a canal on that scale, which are evidently out of the question with respect to that now executed.

'The other objections which seem to strike you are the danger of a body of convicts quartered in the neighbourhood, and the difficulty of guarding them. These are unquestionably points fit to be attended to, but I am persuaded that by a little attention they may be got over. The whole distance from Fort George to Fort William does not, upon such a rough measurement as I can make by my maps, much exceed sixty miles, and this is broke by Fort Augustus and Inverness; and the parts where the most labour would be required are within ten miles of one of those points. I cannot therefore but think that, with a little arrangement, the convicts might be guarded in one of those forts during the whole, or nearly the whole, of their work; and a very small addition to the force usually stationed there would be sufficient to prevent the possibility of danger to the country from their escaping.

'But however attached to this plan from a strong impression of its utility, both as a public work and as a mode of employing these unfortunate people, I am certainly not so bigotted to my own ideas as to persist in them, if, with the local knowledge you possess, you should, on consideration, continue to think them impracticable. I own, however, that I should abandon the plan with reluctance.

'Before it is finally decided, I could wish that you would enquire from Mr. Whitworth what the expence would be of making such a survey as would enable us to judge how far the scheme is at all practicable upon so large a scale as I speak of, and what additional expence it would require, beyond the labour of the convicts or other persons employed upon it.' (P. 557.)

This correspondence shows the enlightened and advanced views of Grenville on social questions, and indicates the nature of the man under whose administration, at the beginning of the next century, the slave trade was made illegal.

In an earlier part of this paper we printed two letters from Horace Walpole in Paris. At the end of the volume is to be found one from Lord Mornington, better known as Marquis Wellesley, which, though somewhat lengthy, well deserves perusal. This statesman was an admirable letter-writer, and his description of Paris in 1790 has a permanent value apart from the literary skill by which it is characterised. It shows how the social condition of the capital, already drifting towards the great cataclysm which was to have such momentous results for the whole world, struck an observer of singular ability and knowledge. He carries us from the street to the theatre, and from a turbulent assembly to a depressed Court:—

'1790, September 27. Paris.—I was very happy to receive your kind letter, although the immediate effect of it was to determine my resolution in favour of a long banishment from England, which I had flattered myself I might have mitigated into a tour to Spa, and Paris. Your letter has quite convinced me that my best plan, under all circumstances, is to proceed to Italy, and accordingly I mean to set out tomorrow. You are well able to judge how strange the contrast must be between Paris governed, and Paris governing; but it is so strange in so many ways, that I own I find great difficulty in attempting to answer your question of what strikes me most, for I am quite perplexed by the number and variety of ridiculous and absurd things, which I hear and see everywhere, and every day. The common people appear to me to be exactly as gay as I ever remember them, though it is undoubtedly true that the greater part of them is starving for want of employment, especially the tradesmen; and notwithstanding they all talk the highest language in favour of the Revolution, they laugh at the National Assembly without scruple, and say they had rather have Aristocratical Louis, than Democratical Assignats. The streets are crowded with newsmen and hawkers, crying about libels of all sorts from morning till night, exactly in the manner you must have observed in Dublin; nothing is too indecent or abusive; I enclose a blackguard libel merely for the sake of the title, and the *refrein* at the end of every sentence; it will give you some notion of the style of this species of production. There being an end of the police, it is not possible to imagine any kind of bawdy print that is not publicly stuck up in the Palais Royal, and on the Boulevards; the Attorney General's blood would boil at the sight of such audacious bawdery. The object seems to be every where to mark a contempt for all former regulations. At the *spectacle*, they have introduced monks and nuns and crucifixes on the stage; and the actors are violently applauded, merely for wearing these forbidden garments. The *parterre* is more riotous than twenty English upper galleries put together; a few nights ago Richard Cœur de Lion was acted, and a woman of fashion was absolutely forced to leave the house, because she clapped with too much violence while the famous song of *O Richard, O mon roi!* was singing; a hundred fellows started up to-

gether roaring *à bas la femme en eventail blanc*, and would not suffer the actors to proceed till this *Aristocrate* left the house. The moment she was gone, there was a most violent applause; and a perfect calm succeeded. On some occasions, however, the National Guard appear to maintain the order of the *spectacle* with spirit. The other night at the *Comédie Française*, now the *Theâtre de la Nation*, in consequence of a riot in the *parterre*, six National Guards came in to keep the peace; they were instantly repulsed, and completely driven out of the door by the people; upon which the officer sent in the whole guard of thirty men, who, with fixed bayonets, fairly chased the whole *parterre* over the orchestra upon the stage, and then drove them off the stage and through the back doors of the house. Nothing can be more tiresome than all their new plays and operas; they are a heap of hackneyed public sentiments on general topics of the rights of men and the duties of kings, just like Sheridan's grand paragraphs in the *Morning Post:* these are applauded to the skies.

'I do not know whether you have heard that many of the Petits Maitres, in order to shew their attachment to the Democracy, have sacrificed their curls, *toupeés*, and *queues*; some of them go about with cropped locks like English farmers without any powder, and others wear little black scratch wigs, both these fashions are called *Têtes a la Romaine*, which is a comical name for such folly. I must not forget that I have seen several wear gold earrings with their black scratches. I have not had time to go much into French society, during the few days I have been here, but I understand from everybody whom I have seen that nothing can be more changed than the whole of their manners. The *Democrates* out of the Assembly are very few indeed among the people of any distinction, and the *Aristocrates* are melancholy and miserable to the last degree; this makes the society of Paris very gloomy; the number of deserted houses is immense, and if it were not for the Deputies, the Ambassadors, and some refugees from Brussels, there would be scarcely a gentleman's coach to be seen in the streets.

'You have certainly been informed of the principles of the two clubs, the *Enragées*, whose name is easily understood, and the *Quatre Vingt Neuf*; the latter is something like our armed neutrality, or rather what our armed neutrality would have been; for this club, acting together, can give a majority either to the *coté gauche* or *droite* in the Assembly. Have you been told that one leading principle of the club 1789 is a resolution to reform all the defective (that is in their opinion all the) Governments in Europe, and for this laudable purpose they have sent missionaries into many countries already, to preach the example of France, and to teach all mankind how ill they have been governed, and how preferable a state of anarchy and confusion is to the trammels of order and law. I assure you this pious zeal is not feigned; and I most sincerely hope we may not feel its effect in Ireland where, I have been informed, the new reformers look for many proselytes, and where the Whig Club will not fail to contribute to the good work of regeneration, whatever part of their time they can spare from the labour of answering the Chancellor's invectives. I have never been at this club of 1789, although they admit English members of Parliament, because I understand nothing is done publicly excepting the recital of speeches and

motions intended for the Assembly; and with these I have been sufficiently tired at the Assembly itself. I have been there several times, and it is not possible to imagine so strange a scene; the confusion at times surpasses all that ever has been known since government appeared in the world; and the President is a true Anarch who "by decision "more embroils the fray." They have no regular form of debate on ordinary business; some speak from their seats, some from the floor, some from the table, and some from the tribunes or desks, in what Mr. Woodfall calls *conversations*; they speak without preparation, and I thought many of them acquitted themselves well enough in that way, where only a few sentences were to be delivered; but on these occasions the riot is so great that it is very difficult to collect what is said. I am certain that I have seen above a hundred in the act of addressing the Assembly together, all persisting to speak, and as many more replying in different parts of the House, sentence by sentence; then the President claps his hands on both ears and roars order, as if he was calling a coach; sometimes he is quite driven to despair; he beats his table, his breast, and would, I am persuaded, kick his clerks if there was not a desk between him and their seat; wringing his hands is quite a common action and I really believe he swears. I am sure he looks exactly as if he did, but it is often impossible to hear him. At last he seizes a favourable moment of quiet, either to put the question or to name who ought to speak; then five hundred reclamations all at once renew the confusion, which seldom ends till the performers are completely hoarse, and obliged to give way to a fresh set. On great occasions the speakers deliver their speeches from the tribune, and these are always written speeches, or so generally, that I believe Mirabeau and Maury and Barnave are the only exceptions; and even these often read their speeches. Nothing can be more fatiguing than these readings, which entirely destroy all the spirit and interest of debate. I must however acknowledge that I have been so unlucky as not to hear any of their distinguished orators read. I heard Mirabeau and Maury both speak a few sentences in the midst of one of the riots I have mentioned, and I preferred Maury, whose manner is bold and unaffected, and his voice very fine; Mirabeau appeared to me to be full of affectation, and he has a bad voice, but he is the most admired speaker. There are four galleries which contain above twice the number admitted into the gallery in England, and here a most extraordinary scene is exhibited; for the galleries approve and disapprove by groaning and clapping, exactly as if the whole was a *spectacle*. Their approbation is always confined to Mirabeau and his party; and therefore it is commonly believed that the persons in the galleries are hired for their attendance and applause by that party; but I cannot speak positively to this fact. While the orators are reading their speeches, the Assembly frequently shews a most singular degree of patience, such as I am certain the English House of Commons is not capable of; but if any sentiment is uttered of a disagreeable kind to either party, the uproar begins in a moment. Dullness and monopoly are borne in perfect silence; and during such speeches the President generally amuses himself with reading some pamphlet or newspaper, a practice which I beg to recommend for the benefit of Addington and

his successors. They seem to have no notion of regularity or consistency of any kind. In spite of the decree of the Assembly, I heard the Abbé Maury call Mirabeau le Comte de Mirabeau, and so far from any notice being taken of this disorder, the President himself called Mirabeau by the same title a few minutes after. I forgot to mention one circumstance that had a most comical effect. The *Huissiers* of the Assembly, the Clementsons, Pearsons, *et cetera*, walk up and down the room during times of great tumult, bellowing silence as loud as they can hollow, and endeavouring to persuade the disorderly orators to sit down.

'I went to Court this morning at the Tuilleries, and a most gloomy Court it was; many of the young people of the first fashion and rank wear mourning always from economy; when I say many, I mean in proportion to the numbers remaining at Paris, which is very small indeed. The king seemed well, but I thought his manner evidently humbled since I was introduced to him before; he now bows to everybody, which was not a Bourbon fashion before the Revolution. The queen looked very ill; the Dauphin was with her, and she appeared anxious to shew him. They say here that he is her shield; she never stirs out without him. The King's late answer to the Assembly with respect to the hunt at Versailles, is much approved by the *Aristocrates*. I was told that Mirabeau said of it; *Il me semble qu'il s'est oublié; pour le moment, il se croyoit encore Roi de France.*

'I have not attempted to write one word of politics, which you must have much more correctly through other channels; I have only mentioned as many of the strange things I have happened to see as I could recollect. Tomorrow I set out for Lyons. I wish you could find out whether Lord Buckingham has received a letter from me lately.' (P. 607.)

With this graphic letter we must conclude our notice of this volume. No doubt it contains a quantity of trivial and unimportant details, and of personal facts, which have now lost all interest and importance. But the seeker in its pages will find also material of true literary and historical value, for the gold of history, like the gold of Nature, is embedded in common substances. Many men of eminence in their age are, through this book, brought nearer to us; the light gleams upon them, it may be momentarily, but they come vividly before us for the time. Governor Pitt, keen, kind, and irascible; Garrick, bright and hospitable; Walpole, shrewd and courtly; Temple, patriotic, egotistical, and sensitive; Thurlow, able and blunt. These, with Dundas, Grenville, and, above all, Pitt, are some of those who pass before us—men whose place in the history of their age is so marked that we grasp eagerly at anything which renders their personality clearer. In the next volume we look for more light on the last decade of the past and on the dawn of the present century.

ART. VII.—1. *The Life and Works of John Arbuthnot, M.D., Fellow of the College of Physicians.* By GEORGE A. AITKEN. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1892.

2. *The Asclepiad. The Science, Art, and Literature of Medicine.* By BENJAMIN WARD RICHARDSON, M.D., F.R.S. London: 1887.

WE may properly begin this article with the sentence which Mr. Aitken has placed upon his title-page:—'"Talking of the eminent writers of Queen Anne's reign," says Boswell, '"Johnson observed that he thought Arbuthnot '"the first man among them. He was the most universal '"genius, being an excellent physician, a man of deep learn-'"ing, and a man of much humour."' Nor was this one of those *obiter dicta* which the Doctor might have modified had he been called upon to give his opinion in print. He always spoke of Arbuthnot in the highest terms, ranking him above Swift both in style and wit. It is true that he disliked Swift, who always professed to be a Whig in politics, even after he had joined the Tories, and the sincerity of whose religious opinions he may very reasonably have doubted. It is also true that Arbuthnot was a Scotchman. But then he had been 'caught young,' and in all other respects was a man after Johnson's own heart. His family were staunch Jacobites. His father was a Scotch clergyman, who was deprived of his living at the Revolution. His brother George, who married Peggy Robinson, the sister-in-law of Lord Peterborough, resigned his commission in the Guards at the death of Queen Anne rather than serve under the new dynasty. Robert, who fought with Claverhouse at Killiecrankie, afterwards became a banker at Rouen, and, besides advancing money for the insurrection of 1715, was a warm friend to the distressed Jacobites all his life. Johnson, moreover, was always fond of doctors, and he had every motive therefore for speaking favourably of Arbuthnot. But if it is necessary to make any allowance for Johnson's prepossessions in weighing his estimate of this distinguished man, the author of 'John Bull' can very well afford it. He stands upon his own bottom, and it is high time that we should recognise the literary rank of one who more than held his own with Swift, Bolingbroke, and Pope, and to whom the Augustan age owes so large a proportion of its lustre.

Of the comparative neglect which has been the lot of this accomplished writer, scholar, and physician during the last

hundred years, the explanation is easily to be gathered from Mr. Aitken's pages. But, as it is summed up more concisely in a character of him written by Lord Chesterfield and quoted in Mr. Aitken's volume, we may as well give it in the noble author's own words :—

'To great and various erudition he joined an infinite fund of wit and humour, to which his friends Pope and Swift were more obliged than they have acknowledged themselves to be. His imagination was almost inexhaustible, and whatever subject he treated or was consulted upon he immediately overflowed with all that it could possibly produce. It was at anybody's service ; for as soon as he was exonerated he did not care what became of it : insomuch that his sons, when young, have frequently made kites of his scattered papers of hints, which would have furnished good matter for folios. Not being in the least jealous of his fame as an author, he would neither take the time nor the trouble of separating the best from the worst ; he worked out the whole mine which afterwards, in the hands of skilful refiners, produced a rich vein of ore.'

We might search literary history in vain for one who with equal powers of composition set so little store by them as Arbuthnot, and who, after producing works which have delighted five generations, allowed them with such perfect indifference to be assigned to others.

The result was what might have been expected. As he put no price upon himself, says Chesterfield, the world naturally undervalued him ; and even to this day we strongly suspect there are readers who suppose that 'John Bull' was written by the author of 'Gulliver' and 'Scriblerus' by the author of the 'Dunciad.' We hope the present work, for which we owe Mr. Aitken our thanks, will do something to secure to Arbuthnot his share of the laurels which others, through his own carelessness, and not through any dishonesty on their part, have been to some extent permitted to appropriate.

John Arbuthnot—the name may be pronounced with the accent either on the first or the second syllable—was born in Kincardineshire in the year 1667, and was baptized on the 29th of April. His father was the incumbent of Bervie, a small town on the sea coast about three miles distant from Arbuthnot Castle, the seat of the Viscounts Arbuthnot. Dr. Hill Burton, in his 'History of the Reign of Queen Anne,' represents Arbuthnot as the son of a northern laird who owned the estate of Arbuthnot. This seems to be a mistake. But Mr. Aitken takes it for granted that the parson was a connexion of the peer, and the family, though some of them were farmers, were regarded as gentlefolks. After the

Revolution the parsonage became the manse, and part of the old house, together with some ancient yews, which were centenarians in Arbuthnot's boyhood, are still standing. John was educated first of all at Marischal College, Aberdeen; but left Scotland on his father's death in the spring of 1691, and came to London, like so many other Scotch cadets, to seek his fortune. It does not appear that he had formed any definite plans with regard to his future career. He maintained himself at first by teaching mathematics, and may have had some thoughts of devoting himself to the scholastic profession. It was possibly with some such view that in 1694, when he was in his twenty-eighth year, he entered as a gentleman-commoner at University College, Oxford—a fact not known till ascertained by Mr. Aitken. But his connexion with that university is involved in some obscurity. It seems that, although he was a fellow-commoner and a freshman, he at once became private tutor to a young man of fortune, Edward Jefferys, who entered college on the same day; but we know little more than that the connexion lasted for about a year and a half, when Arbuthnot made up his mind to 'try some other course of life'—a resolution which he carried out by taking a medical degree at St. Andrews in September 1696, after which he appears to have returned to London and set up in practice as a physician. He had already published before he went to Oxford a book on the 'Laws of Chance,' and at Oxford Mr. Aitken thinks he may possibly have made the acquaintance of Addison and Prior. There is nothing improbable in this conjecture as far as it relates to Addison, who did not leave the University immediately after taking his degree. But Prior was a Cambridge man, and besides this was employed at Court during Arbuthnot's residence at Oxford.

For what we know of his life in London during the last few years of the seventeenth century we are partly indebted to his correspondence with Dr. Charlett, the Master of University, who had shown him some kindness when he was in residence. But it amounts to very little. He seems to have been living in good society, and mentions his acquaintance with Charles Bernard, the leading surgeon of the day and a friend of Swift. But this did not lead to any immediate introduction to Swift, and we are left to conjecture how he made his way into the highest literary circles so rapidly as he did. He had published in 1695 an examination of Dr. Woodward's account of the Deluge, which attracted some attention, and in 1701 an essay on the

Usefulness of Mathematical Learning, which attracted more. But neither is a work which would necessarily have brought him into the society in which we now find him. In June 1698 Creech met him at dinner at Pepys'. In 1704 he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society. But it was after this that the lucky accident occurred which put the coping-stone on his fortunes. In the summer of 1705 Prince George of Denmark was suddenly taken ill at Epsom, and Arbuthnot, who happened to be on the spot, was called in to attend him. His treatment was so successful that he was at once made physician to the Prince, and directly afterwards physician extraordinary to the Queen. Four years afterwards we find him Physician in Ordinary, with a residence in St. James's Palace, and in 1710, at the age of forty-three, a Fellow of the College of Physicians. For the next twenty years Arbuthnot was the fashionable physician of the day. Besides the Queen, he was physician in ordinary to the whole Twickenham set. He doctored Swift, Gay, Bolingbroke, Pope, and Peterborough. Swift said he was the only man who understood him. Pope has commemorated him in a couplet as well known as anything in the language, and Thackeray is thought to have been inspired by it in his dedication of 'Pendennis.' He was physician to Congreve, Pulteney, Harley, Chesterfield, Mrs. Howard, and Queen Caroline. Politics in those days were carried into every walk of life, and, of course, each party had its doctors. Mead and Garth were the Whig professors of the art of healing, while Arbuthnot and Radcliffe were patronised by the Jacobites and Tories. But when a man's life is at stake, divine right and parliamentary government become secondary considerations. So Arbuthnot and Radcliffe found patients on both sides; and it was the latter who told King William, in words which Abernethy might have envied, that he would not have his two legs for his three kingdoms.

The position of Arbuthnot in medicine has been more specially dealt with by Dr. Richardson, in the April number of the 'Asclepiad,' for 1887. In this we are assured that Arbuthnot was much in advance of his age in medical science, and anticipated more than one modern discovery of great importance. His two principal works are an 'Essay 'on Aliments,' and another concerning the 'Effects of Air 'on Human Bodies.' The main principle insisted on in the first of these is that all which is done by medicine might be equally well attained by diet. But the essay on the Effects of Air is his great work, and styled by Dr. Richardson 'one

'of the most remarkable books in the literature of medicine.' After quoting a passage on respiration, he says:—

'It is unnecessary to indicate how deep a knowledge is here shown of facts which have required the space of a hundred and fifty long years to be brought to a state of demonstration and acknowledgement. We might rest long in admiration of this wonderful essay, but time presses. One word more. We have seen that Arbuthnot's mind was of the acute, tense electric order. The fact is admirably shown in the work now being pursued. In one sentence he gives a definition of the physiological use of respiration. The sentence is the man; and if he had lived only to emit this short saying, he would have sworn himself great. "Respiration is the second digestion." Think as we will, with Liebig and eremacausis right near, and no profounder definition of the fact can be given. Our ideas about details may change, and Liebig's definition of eremacausis may even be forgotten; but this immense generalisation, embraced in five words, is an indelible utterance.' (P. 164.)

Dr. Richardson, who carried off high medical honours at the University of St. Andrews, and is now a Fellow of the College of Physicians and of the Royal Society, speaks with knowledge; and we may accept with confidence his professional estimate of Arbuthnot. According to this authority, he is entitled to as high a place in the history of medicine as in the history of literature. It seems to have been Arbuthnot's ill-luck, however, that, as far as reputation is concerned, he rather fell to the ground between the two stools. He might have been better known perhaps to posterity had he devoted himself exclusively to either of the two pursuits for which he was so well qualified; as it is, there has been a difficulty in classifying him. It would not be enough to say that he was a physician with a talent for literature. It would not be enough to say that he was a man of letters with a talent for medicine. He was too decidedly an author for the one definition, and too decidedly a doctor for the other. The result has been what we say: that the general public, having had no distinctive designation by which to remember him, have for the most part, we are afraid, forgotten him.

We have had many physicians who were classical scholars and many who were strong politicians; but they have all made their scholarship and their politics so far subordinate to their professional claims that the world only knows them by the last. Arthur Johnston, who translated the Psalms, as some think, better than Buchanan, was physician to Charles I., and a warm partisan of Laud. The famous Harvey was present on the King's side at Edgehill. Pitcairn

was a Jacobite, and wrote the well-known Latin lines on Dundee, 'Ultime Scotorum.' Garth translated Ovid, besides writing the 'Dispensary,' and, though a strong Whig, was always welcome at Twickenham. Sir Henry Halford published a volume of *nugæ metricæ*; of Mead and Radcliffe we have already spoken. Heberden, styled by Johnson 'Ultimus 'Romanorum,' the last of the learned physicians, was an excellent classical scholar; and it is sometimes said that his treatise 'De Curatione Morborum' was only kept alive by the latinity. The point is rather an interesting one in connexion with the subject of medical education of which just now we hear so much. But of course there is the old question which lies behind that of practical utility, whether, namely, the members of a liberal profession ought not to be men of liberal education. When Colonel Mannering is admitted into Mr. Pleydell's library, he specially admires his fine collection of classics, on which the advocate remarks: 'These are my tools of trade. A lawyer without history or 'literature is a mechanic, a mere working mason; if he 'possesses some knowledge of these, he may venture to call 'himself an architect.' Arbuthnot belonged to the architects of the medical profession. But for the general public and for modern readers, it is his literary reputation only which makes him an object of much interest, and to this we must now turn, retracing our steps to the first years of the eighteenth century.

It was in the year 1702 that Arbuthnot first saw Swift. The story of their meeting at Button's is omitted by Mr. Aitken, perhaps because it cannot be made intelligible without violating the fastidious delicacy of modern times. Nor is there any occasion for reintroducing it in this article. The man on whose character it throws most light is not Arbuthnot, but Swift. After this glimpse of him Arbuthnot seems to have seen little of his future friend till the year 1711. The interval had been spent by Swift chiefly in Ireland, and it was not till after the change of ministry in 1710 that he became a permanent resident in London. The formation of the new Government was the signal for the Tory wits and statesmen to draw closer together, and foremost among them was Arbuthnot, 'the Queen's favourite,' as pure a Tory as Wyndham and as good company as Addison. Bolingbroke, the first English statesman who really understood the importance of securing the support of the press, founded a society called 'The Brothers,' who dined together once a week, generally at the Star and Garter, in Pall Mall,

each being the president in turn. Here the leading members of the ministry and the leading writers of the Tory party met together on terms of perfect equality, discussed measures, concocted epigrams, and founded journals. Out of these convivial meetings sprang the 'Tory Examiner' and the 'History of John Bull,' some of the best journalism and the best political satire which English literature has to boast. When Arbuthnot was president, he had the dinner dressed in the Queen's kitchen at St. James's Palace, whence it was carried to 'Ozinda's Coffee House,' in the immediate neighbourhood. Atterbury was one of the party, and so, of course, was Harley, though not quite so much at home in it as St. John. What evenings these must have been! Can we imagine anything more brilliant than an after-dinner conversation in which Bolingbroke, Swift, Arbuthnot, and Atterbury were the principal talkers: the wit, the knowledge, the scholarship; all dignified by the greatness of the occasion, and the consciousness on the part of everyone at table that he was making history?

But, though Bolingbroke had 'dished the Whigs,' he had not succeeded, so far, in establishing his own party on a firm basis. There is always a tail to every party which grumbles at the head: a Radical tail which thinks the Government too conservative, and a Tory tail which thinks the Government too liberal. The ministerial majority in 1711 was no exception to the rule. It contained many disaffected spirits, chiefly such as thought the new Secretary an indifferent representative of the Church of England, and were angry with the Government for not going to greater lengths against Dissenters. They were backed up in the House of Lords by Lord Nottingham, a dangerous man, and able, as the event showed, to cause serious embarrassment to the Government. The stronghold of these mutinous spirits was another Tory club, the October Club, to which also Swift and Arbuthnot belonged. It consisted chiefly of the country squires, and the two 'Brothers' who joined it seem to have been employed as peacemakers between the Government and this section of their supporters. Johnson seems to think that the October Club was in the right. But we hardly know why. If he is referring solely to the Bills against Dissenters, we must remember that the change of Government only took place in November 1710, and that the Occasional Conformity Bill was passed in the autumn of 1711. As for the Schism Bill, which did not pass till 1714, even Lord Nottingham, the leader of the High Church Tories, was

opposed to that. If Johnson was thinking of the Peace, it is difficult to see how ministers could have pushed matters forward more rapidly than they did. However, the dissatisfaction existed, and Swift and Arbuthnot were commissioned, if possible, to allay it. We should doubt how far Swift was well qualified for such an office, as many of the high Tories regarded him much as Nottingham did, who said he trembled at the thought of his being made a bishop. But Arbuthnot was the very man for it, and he was all the more readily employed, perhaps, by ministers because he wanted nothing for himself. It must always be remembered, then, in writing of Arbuthnot that he and Swift were the two chosen literary champions of the Tory party, as Oxford and Bolingbroke were its political leaders. These four men did most of the real work. And had the combination lasted, it may be that the Tory administration of Queen Anne would never have been overthrown. But the parliamentary chiefs quarrelled; the party hung loosely together; the 'Society' became a scene of discord; and the eminent wits who had adorned it found it better to fall back on literature, and to found a purely literary club where they could meet together in comfort without troubling themselves any more about falling kingdoms and the state of Rome. Such was the origin of the famous Scriblerus Club, of which Arbuthnot at once became the leading spirit.

What was meant to be the serious business of the club was an attack 'all along the line' on ignorance, pedantry, and charlatanry of every description, literary, political, and philosophical. 'Gulliver's Travels,' the 'Dun-'ciad,' 'Virgilius Restauratus,' and the 'Art of Sinking in 'Poetry,' as well as the actual 'Memoirs of Martinus Scrib-'lerus,' were only disconnected parts of the one great plan which was never completed. The then collaborators were Pope, Arbuthnot, and Swift: Pope to take the more purely literary department, Swift the political, and Arbuthnot the philosophical—his knowledge of logic and metaphysics, a tempting field for the satirical humourist, being such as neither of the other two could pretend to. As a matter of fact, Arbuthnot wrote nearly the whole of what was actually published under the title of 'Scriblerus;' and Swift wrote to him in June 1711 'to talk of Martin in any other hands but 'yours is folly. For you every day give us better hints 'than all of us together could do in a twelvemonth: And, to 'say the Truth, Pope, who first thought of the Hint, has no 'genius at all to it, in my mind: Gay is too young: Parnell

'has some Ideas of it, but is idle. I could putt together, 'and lard, and strike out well enough, but all that relates 'to the Sciences must be from you.' And Dugald Stewart bears similar testimony to Arbuthnot's qualifications. 'Let 'me add that in the list of philosophical Reformers the 'authors of Martinus Scriblerus ought not to be overlooked. 'Their happy ridicule of the scholastic logic and metaphysics 'is universally known. But few are aware of the acuteness 'and sagacity displayed in their allusions to some of the most 'vulnerable passages in Locke's essay,' and in this part of the work, he adds, 'It is commonly understood that 'Arbuthnot had the principal share.' We shall have something more to say on this point when we come to glance at Arbuthnot's works. But we are hardly disposed to take the word of Dugald Stewart for his knowledge of the scholastic logic.

The Scriblerus Club was established in 1714, and, besides the three projectors of the great work, numbered among its members Lord Oxford, Congreve, Atterbury, Parnell, and Gay. The work was not carried very far, and was not published till 1741, when it appeared in the second volume of Pope's prose works, issued in that year, and was described very unfairly as the joint production of Arbuthnot and Pope. The stoppage of it is attributed by Pope, whose account is followed by Dr. Johnson, to the dispersal of the club. But this could hardly have been the sole reason. Swift, it is true, had gone to Ireland, and settled permanently on his deanery; and Parnell, who had some hand in it, died in 1717. But Pope and Arbuthnot remained, and 'Gulliver's 'Travels' and the 'Dunciad,' which were both part of the scheme, were not written till long afterwards. The probability is that Pope gradually became conscious that, as Swift said, 'he had no genius for it,' and exchanged the undertaking for one more to his mind, and likely to be more remunerative, the translation of Homer.

It is pretty certain, indeed, that the 'Dunciad' would never have been written had Pope been stirred by no stronger motive than the desire of continuing 'Scriblerus.' He may have hated dulness in the abstract, but not so much as all that. He has, in fact, told us himself what was the real origin of the poem; and the link by which it is connected with the plan of 1714 is rather a slender one. In the species of wit demanded by the mock-heroic Pope was rich above all men of his own generation, or perhaps of any other. But, with the peculiar humour required for

carrying out a prose satire like 'Scriblerus,' the humour of Swift, Addison, and Arbuthnot, he was less liberally endowed. The 'Art of Sinking in Poetry,' which is all his own, is his most successful attempt in this line; but we cannot rank it so high as some of his admirers have done. His illustrations are very happily chosen. But his comments are not very witty. How well Arbuthnot deserved Swift's high opinion of him is shown by his letter to the Dean of June 26, 1714, which, however, proves that Arbuthnot had still an eye to politics, and that under the exposure of the follies of philosophy was to lurk a covert satire on the statesmanship of the Whigs.

One's imagination dwells fondly on those meetings in Arbuthnot's rooms where the greater part of 'Scriblerus' was composed. The contributors seem to have read out to the party what each had written since the last meeting, when the whole company discussed it, and made any suggestions that occurred to them. We can see Arbuthnot reading out his chapter on Syllogisms, and tossing off a big glass of burgundy, as he finished his lament over the decline of 'substantial forms.' We can fancy Swift striking in with the well-known emendation of *jamque faces et saxa volant*, more worthy of himself than Arbuthnot, or his eye twinkling over the ancient Pygmean empire, and the descendants of the original Ethiopians—'the blameless Ethiopians' with whom the gods conversed—who, retiring into woods and deserts, gradually acquired the outward form of apes, but retained their traditional philosophy, which has been the basis of all human science. Swift may have seen in the 'Sylvans' the germ of the Houyhnhnms; as, indeed, a good deal of 'Scriblerus' is a kind of introduction to 'Gulliver.' But Arbuthnot's account of these men-monkeys, from whom the ancient inhabitants of India, Greece, and Italy derived their learning, is fully as humorous as anything in 'Gulliver,' and deserves to be as widely read. Lord Oxford would occasionally be present, smiling solemnly at the scheme of a Partition Treaty for dividing the moon among the rulers of the earth: and we can picture to ourselves the refined features of Pope, leaning his head upon his hand, and beginning, perhaps, to feel already that the pace was too good for him. Gay was the secretary, and who cannot imagine his beaming jolly face as he noted down the successive strokes of humour which fell from the master spirits.

The only literary mistake of which Arbuthnot was guilty

was in joining with Pope and Gay in a comedy called 'Three 'Hours after Marriage,' intended to ridicule Dr. Woodward. But the machinery employed for that purpose was so absurd that the play was hissed off the stage. Woodward was Dr. Fossil, and his wife's two lovers obtain admission to his house in the disguise of a mummy and a crocodile. Arbuthnot advised Pope to stick to the mummy, and have nothing to do with the crocodile, and had his advice been taken the play perhaps might have fared better. At all events, Arbuthnot's share in it appears to have been very slight.

A few years after the break up of the Scriblerians another circle was formed of which Arbuthnot again is the pleasantest figure to look back upon. Pope is at Twickenham; Bolingbroke, who returned to England in 1723, is at Chiswick, or at Dawley; Peterborough at Parson's Green, and Arbuthnot and Gay in London. With these famous friends Arbuthnot passed a great part of his time. Sometimes they all met at the new villa on the Thames; sometimes at Bolingbroke's farmhouse, discussing the State secrets of Queen Anne's times, as they lounged upon the haycocks; sometimes in Peterborough's garden picking peaches off the wall, which is still standing; and sometimes we may be sure drinking their claret in Dover Street, where Arbuthnot for some years resided. He was a great epicure and connoisseur in wine, and he reminds a friend in one of his letters how Jack Hill, Lady Masham's brother, hearing of his Pontac, made straight for his house, without more ado, and found Sir David Dalrymple and another 'hard at it.' He speaks with applause of the capital stewed beef he got at Erasmus Lewis's; and one of his favourite delicacies we learn to have been brawn. Thackeray has noticed that all these men were fat. 'Swift 'was fat, Addison was fat, Steele was fat, Gay and Thomson 'were preposterously fat, and he attributes it to their 'fuddling and punch-drinking.' But Gay and Thomson were great eaters as well, and Arbuthnot was an enormous eater. He was not corpulent; but his face, it is said, betrayed his love of good cheer.

He moved in other circles besides the literary set at Twickenham, where he did not get much either in the way of meat or drink to satisfy his cravings. He liked a good dinner, with good wine and a good game of cards afterwards. His fondness for the 'board of green cloth' and his partiality for quadrille are frequently referred to by his friends. He played high, but, according to Lady Suffolk, not with very good fortune, and generally rose a loser. He was also

very fond of music, and there is a good deal of correspondence between himself and Swift on the subject of the choir in Swift's cathedral, for which Arbuthnot procured singers. He composed an anthem himself ('As pants the hart for 'cooling streams'), which was published in Croft's collection, and sung in the Chapel Royal, and he spent a good deal of his time with Handel. Between the practice of his profession, his dinner and his rubber, varied with the more intellectual pleasures of literary society, and an occasional visit to the opera, his time passed happily away. He was everywhere a welcome guest. In 1718 he went to France to place his two daughters under the charge of his brother at Rouen. At Paris he met Lord Bolingbroke 'looking just 'the same as ever,' and 'the great Mr. Law,' who paid him marked attention. He was received in the best French society, and had the honour of presenting an Irish young lady at Court, Nelly Bennet by name, a celebrated beauty in her day. The young King was so charmed with her when she was brought to see him dine, that he sent her his cat to kiss—a high honour at the Court of France, and Arbuthnot wrote a short poem on it. We learn, by-the-bye, from a letter to Swift in 1726, what we did not know before, that Arbuthnot had a hand in the verses addressed to 'Sweet 'Molly Lepelle,' by Pulteney and Chesterfield.

'I gave your service to Lady Hervey. She is in a little sort of a miff about a ballad that was wrote on her to the tune of "Molly Mog," and sent to her in the name of a begging poet. She was bit, and wrote a letter to the begging poet, and desired him to change two double entendres, which the authors, Mr. Pulteney and Lord Chesterfield, changed to single entendres. I was against that, though I had a hand in the first. She is not displeased, I believe, with the ballad, but only with being bit.'

The last stanza of all has always been our favourite, and we wish we could think it was Arbuthnot's:—

'There was Orpheus that husband so civil,
For the sake of his wife went to hell.
Oh! who would not go to the devil
For the sake of sweet Molly Lepelle?'

On the accession of George II. Arbuthnot was applied to by Mrs. Howard, recently created Countess of Suffolk, to explain to her the duties of bedchamber woman. He replied as follows:—

'The bedchamber woman came into waiting before the Queen's prayers, which was before her Majesty was dressed. The Queen often

shifted of a morning. If her Majesty shifted at noon, the lady of the bedchamber being by, the bedchamber woman gave the shift to the lady without any ceremony, and the lady put it on. When the Queen washed her hands, the page of the back stairs brought the basin and ewer, and set them down upon a side table. Then the bedchamber woman set it before the Queen and knelt on the other side of the table over against the Queen, the bedchamber lady only looking on. The bedchamber woman poured the water out of the ewer upon the Queen's hands.

'The bedchamber woman pulled on the Queen's gloves when she could not do it herself. The page of the back stairs was called in to put on the Queen's shoes. When the Queen dined in public the page reached the glass to the bedchamber woman, and she to the lady-in-waiting. The bedchamber woman brought the chocolate, and gave it without kneeling.'

Arbuthnot obtained this information from Lady Masham, and Napoleon I. obtained the same from Madame Campan, who had been bedchamber woman to Marie Antoinette. The etiquette of the two Courts appears to have been much the same.

In 1725 Swift came over from Ireland, and now for a brief period all the friends were together again. It was for the last time. When Swift returned to Ireland in 1728 he bade farewell to England for ever. But during the two years that he stayed the set were in all their glory. In 1726 Bolingbroke and Pulteney had started the 'Craftsman' and Swift had published 'Gulliver.' In 1727 appeared Pope and Swift's Miscellanies, containing the 'History of 'John Bull,' the 'Art of Political Lying,' and the 'Art of 'Sinking in Poetry.' Early in 1728 the 'Beggar's Opera' took the world by storm, and a few months later was followed by the immortal 'Dunciad.' Seldom have so many great literary events been crowded into so small a space of time. They must have been joyous meetings, the dinners, and suppers, and symposia of this illustrious fraternity during these memorable years. It was the glow of a glorious sunset. Pope, indeed, had still many years of literary activity before him. But Gay died in 1733. Arbuthnot did not long survive him. Swift had done his best. After the general election of 1734 the 'Craftsman' was discontinued, and Bolingbroke returned to France in dudgeon. With the fourth decade of the eighteenth century the twilight of the Augustan age began to descend, till with the death of Pope it closed, according to a great authority, in total darkness. But Arbuthnot himself seems to have enjoyed the few years of life that still remained to him with

characteristic cheerfulness. He helped Pope with the 'Grub 'Street Journal,' started in 1730 as a kind of supplement to the 'Dunciad.' But his contributions to it have never been distinguished. In 1731 he published his essay on the Scolding of the Ancients, of which we have already given our opinion; and one year before his death, consistently enough, appeared his last piece, ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ, a short poem in heroic verse, which may still be read with pleasure and instruction.

In 1725 he had suffered from a painful illness, to which he continued more or less subject during the ten years that followed. He now frequently took lodgings at Hampstead, which was a very popular health resort in those days, and is associated with the names of many distinguished men. At one time it used to be the summer meeting-place of the Kitcat Club, and down to the end of the last century it kept up its old character, its assembly rooms, and card rooms, and reading rooms, which were still patronised by the 'gentry.' The Long Room in which Arbuthnot spent his mornings was at a tavern called the 'Upper Flask,' which was still standing in 1795. The site of it is now 'occupied 'by a large brick house, the last on the right-hand side of 'Heath Mount, at the corner of East Heath Road, opposite 'the Reservoir.' Here Arbuthnot, in spite of his illness, continued to amuse himself in his own way. In the morning he went down to the rooms, read the papers, and chatted with the company. In the afternoon he dined comfortably, and in the evening had card parties and suppers in his own lodgings. But the end was not far off, and Arbuthnot seems to have known it. His old haunts were soon to know him no more. After spending the autumn and early winter of 1734 at Hampstead, he returned to town in January to his house in Cork Street, with his eldest son George and his two daughters, who, with Mrs. Lepelle, the mother of the beauty, had been in constant attendance on him at Hampstead. His death was, perhaps, hastened by grief for the loss of his younger son Charles, who died in December, 1732. But his last hours were soothed by the affectionate care of his remaining children. Love, honour, troops of friends, were all his. Pope and Chesterfield stood by his bedside a few hours before his death. Swift and Bolingbroke, Berkeley and Peterborough, Pulteney and Wyndham, almost every man of eminence either in literature or in politics who was living at the time, according to the measure of their acquaintance with him, mourned his loss.

His death took place on February 27, 1735, when he had not quite completed his sixty-eighth year, and he was buried on March 4 in St. James's Church, Piccadilly. Mr. Aitken says he died in great pain. But Pulteney, writing to Swift a week afterwards, says: 'He lived the last six months in a 'bad state of health, and hoping every night would be his 'last; not that he endured any bodily pain, but as he was 'quite weary of the world, and tired with so much bad 'company.' His life down to the last had hardly been that of a man weary of the world, either; though it is likely enough that, in common with all the leaders of the Tory party, he was hugely disgusted with the results of the general election, on which such great expectations had been founded. When Parliament met in January 1735, about six weeks before Arbuthnot's death, it was found that Walpole, with a smaller majority, was not materially weaker. The disappointment may have preyed upon Arbuthnot's spirits, as there is no reason to doubt that his attachment to the Tory party was both sincere and disinterested. He had worked for it all his life. Its two leaders were his personal friends: and he must have felt sick at heart when he saw all the labour of the last seven years thrown away, and the government of Walpole as far from overthrown as ever.

As far as his worldly fortunes were concerned, Arbuthnot had nothing either to lose or to gain by the success of one party rather than another. But he belonged to that section of the Tory party which, however mistaken or misled, was at least sincere: firmly convinced that party government, if it could only be carried out on Walpole's system, was a worse evil than personal government, and more dangerous in the long run to the liberties of the people. This conviction would be embittered in Arbuthnot's case by his sympathies with the Stuarts, and the reflection that they had been driven from their throne on false pretences; while to see the perpetrators of the crime revelling in the success of their dishonest stratagem would, of course, greatly heighten his disgust. It is not too much to believe, then, that in some sense Pulteney's words may have been true, and that the election of 1734 may have helped to kill Arbuthnot, as Austerlitz helped to kill Pitt. Arbuthnot, however, was no blind partisan, as will be seen when we refer to his sermon preached in 1706 at the Market Cross of Edinburgh in support of the union with England. Though a Tory and a Jacobite, he had the good sense to see its advantages, and the patriotic candour to recommend them to

his countrymen. There are many passages in it especially worthy of attention at the present moment.

Dr. Arbuthnot left behind him one son and two daughters, but he had no grandchildren. His brother George, however, left a son John, who married a daughter of Archbishop Stone, and was the father of Charles Arbuthnot, the confidential friend of the Duke of Wellington. Another son was Alexander, Bishop of Killaloe, who died in 1828, and left two sons, now living—Alexander John, a member of the Indian Council, and Charles George, commander-in-chief at Madras. These are the only direct descendants of the deprived Episcopalian clergyman. But the families which trace their origin to James Arbuthnot of Lentischie, the parson's ancestor, are numerous, and many members of them have risen high in the civil and military services.

Of Arbuthnot's worldly affairs Mr. Aitken has nothing to tell us. He could scarcely have died a rich man; but, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we may presume that his daughters were provided for. Of Mrs. Arbuthnot, who died in 1730, we hear very little. Mr. Aitken does not even know her maiden name. But there is evidence to show that Arbuthnot lived very happily with her, and that she was every way worthy of his affection.

The attempt to fix Arbuthnot's literary position is rendered difficult, as Mr. Aitken points out, by the uncertainty attending the authorship of the numerous works attributed to him, as he frequently worked in partnership with others, and took so little trouble to claim what was his own, that to disentangle all his contributions from the text with which they are interwoven would be an endless and a hopeless task. There are, however, besides the earlier works which we have already mentioned, certain well-known pieces of which he is the acknowledged and the sole author, and one or two more in which his share has been handed down by tradition, even if it was not attested by irresistible internal evidence. These are the 'History of 'John Bull,' the 'Art of Political Lying,' 'Virgilius 'Restauratus,' 'Mr. John Ginglicutt's Treatise on the Scold-'ing of the Ancients,' an essay on Political Abuse, the sermon at Edinburgh in 1706, the best parts of 'Scriblerus,' and some of the Notes to the 'Dunciad.' Here is enough, without the aid of anything that is doubtful, for any man to rest his reputation on. The most important, however, of these works depends for its interest so much on a knowledge of very intricate political transactions that one admires all

the more the intrinsic merit which has kept it alive so long. The 'Tale of a Tub' is written on a subject which is always fresh, which everybody understands, and in which the allegory is transparent. The humour of 'Gulliver's Travels' is none the less delightful because the reader may happen to miss the political allusions running through it. Enough lies upon the surface to satisfy any ordinary reader. The 'Dunciad,' to be fully appreciated, demands, indeed, a knowledge of literary history which only a few persons in every generation can be expected to possess. But the general scheme of it is easily comprehended, and when that is once grasped, we know enough of the matter to enjoy the style and the ridicule, even though we have little acquaintance with the various characters introduced. In 'John Bull' it is impossible to taste the real quality of the satire unless we are pretty familiar with the history of the Partition Treaties and the War of the Spanish Succession. Herein possibly may be another reason why Arbuthnot is little but a name, even if he is that, to many persons who possess more than a superficial acquaintance with the works of Pope and Swift. But if it was worth while to learn Spanish for the sake of reading 'Don Quixote' in the original, so we would say it is worth while to make a study of the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne, if only to enjoy the fun of 'John Bull.'

Arbuthnot is said to have been the first who gave this name to the English people, and if he was, it is only another proof of his genius. For it was instantly accepted, and has stuck by them ever since. The satire was originally published anonymously in 1712, in five pamphlets or parts, which were all collected together in the 'Miscellanies in Prose and 'Verse' brought out by Swift and Pope in 1727. Swift's 'Conduct of the Allies' being published in the same year as 'John Bull' made the latter easy reading for the public, who needed no further key to it. The war with France to prevent Philip of Anjou from succeeding to the whole Spanish empire, according to the bequest of Charles II., the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs, is represented under the guise of a lawsuit commenced by two worthy traders—namely, John Bull and Nick Frog (the Dutch) against—Louis Baboon (Louis XIV.), to prevent him from persuading young Philip Baboon to transfer his custom to himself.

The late King of Spain figures as Lord Strutt; and the contention set up by Bull and Frog was that contracts existed between their firms and the Lord Strutts binding the latter and their successors to deal exclusively with the plaintiffs for

cloth and linen. Louis Baboon was trying to induce the young man to violate this contract, and hence the action. The case is represented as being carried from court to court, and tried over and over again, the verdict being always in favour of the plaintiffs, without their getting any nearer to the termination of the suit. This, of course, is the doing of their attorney, old Hocus, who is feathering his nest at the expense of his clients and naturally does all he can in secret to prolong the litigation. Hocus is the Duke of Marlborough, whose numerous victories, represented as verdicts, brought the allies no nearer to a peace, and who certainly had excellent pecuniary reasons for continuing the war. Many other personages are introduced, but the above little sketch is sufficient to explain the ground plan of this famous satire. The allegory, it must be owned, is rather farfetched. But the fun here and there is exquisite; especially where John—herein reminding us of Mr. Saddletree, in the 'Heart of 'Midlothian'—begins to fancy himself a great lawyer, and asks himself why he was brought up a tradesman. These aspirations are, of course, meant to throw ridicule on the new foreign policy introduced at the Revolution, when England, according to the Tories, instead of minding her own business as a great naval and commercial State, aspired to take a lead in continental politics, to figure as a military power, and to mingle in disputes on questions of international law.

The first Mrs. Bull was the old House of Commons, which supported the war. John's second wife was the new one, elected in 1710. The second Mrs. B. remonstrates with her husband on the useless expense he is incurring, and persuades him at last very reluctantly to look into his accounts and examine his lawyers' bills, when he discovers that, besides the extravagance of every article, 'he has been 'egregiously cheated; has paid for counsel who were never 'feed, for writs that were never drawn, for dinners that were 'never dressed, and journeys that were never made; in 'short, that the tradesmen, lawyers and Frog had agreed to 'throw the whole burden of the lawsuit on his shoulders.' The meaning of all this is, of course, plain enough to those who know the history of the period: And when Johnson spoke so highly of 'John Bull' as a political satire, the memory of it all was as fresh in the minds of living men as the Peninsular war is in our own. A knowledge of the facts was not then confined to historical students. But it must be owned that at the present day some parts of

Arbuthnot's work are tedious, and others, where the key to the transactions referred to has been lost, unintelligible, even to the historian. There are passages in 'John Bull' which we doubt if even Macaulay could have explained.

Johnson's criticism of 'Martinus Scriblerus' is quoted with approval by Mr. Aitken. But we are not disposed to accept it unreservedly:—

'If the whole may be estimated by this specimen, which seems to be the production of Arbuthnot, with a few touches perhaps by Pope, the want of more will not be much lamented; for the follies which the writer ridicules are so little practised that they are not known, nor can the satire be understood but by the learned. He raises phantoms of absurdity, and then drives them away. He cures diseases that were never felt. For this reason this joint production of three great writers has never obtained any notice from mankind; it has been little read, and where read has been forgotten, as no man could be wiser, better, or merrier for remembering it. The design cannot boast of much originality; for, besides its general resemblance to "Don Quixote," there will be found in it particular imitations of the "History of M. Oufle."'*

It is quite true that to relish the humour of 'Scriblerus' the reader must possess some elementary knowledge of logic and metaphysics. But little more would be required of him than is necessary to take even a second class in *literis humanioribus* at the University of Oxford. Certainly even this much is the privilege of only a few; but of those few 'Scriblerus' is not likely to be forgotten by anyone who has once read it. Those who understand the scholastic terms will derive more amusement from 'Scriblerus' than even those who have threaded their way through the transactions of the Grand Alliance will derive from 'John Bull.'

It seems generally allowed that Pope's share in 'Scriblerus' as it now stands was extremely small, and that for all practical purposes we may treat it as Arbuthnot's. It is certain that he wrote the whole of that part which relates to the schoolmen, and the greater part of the 'Origin of Science.' His humour, we think, is never shown to greater advantage than in the first of these. It is more like Addison than Swift, as a few specimens will show. During young Martin's education a companion was provided for him of the name of Crambe, who had sometimes the temerity to venture on a

* 'Histoire des imaginations extravagantes de M. Oufle.' Paris, 1710. Par l'Abbé Bordelon. Translated into English and published in London in 1711.

dispute with the elder Scriblerus in the middle of his lectures. Crambe objects to the doctrine that

'accident can be present or absent without the destruction of the subject; since there are a great many accidents that destroy the subject, as burning does a house, and death a man. But as to that, Cornelius informed him that there was a natural death, and a logical death; that though a man, after his natural death, was not capable of the lowest parish office, yet he might still keep a Stall amongst the logical predicaments.'

Crambe also

'regrets extremely that substantial forms, a race of harmless beings which had lasted for many years, and afforded a comfortable subsistence to many poor philosophers, should be now hunted down like so many wolves without the possibility of retreat. He considered it had gone much harder with them than with essences, which had retired from the schools into the apothecaries' shops, where some of them had been advanced to the degree of quintessences. He thought there should be a retreat for poor substantial forms among the gentlemen-ushers at Court; and that there were, indeed, substantial forms, such as forms of prayer, forms of government, without which the things themselves could never long subsist. He also used to wonder that there was not a reward for such as could find out a fourth figure in logic, as well as for those who should discover the longitude.'

This is excellent jesting: but it may be questioned whether Arbuthnot had ever progressed so far in the metaphysical parts of logic as to have caught the real meaning which underlay all this seeming jargon. Professor Maurice has shown us how closely the scholastic logic was connected with some of the deepest theological problems, and how it seemed to reconcile apparent contradictions and explain apparent impossibilities in the Christian doctrine. It may be thought, says Maurice, referring to the question of 'Universals,' that 'such controversies are ridiculous; but 'they are *not* ridiculous.' There was more in them than was dreamed of in Arbuthnot's philosophy. But in those days no Sir William Hamilton had arisen to recall to men's minds the true interpretation of the Aristotelian system, and the pedants who continued, in the language of the wits, to mumble its dry bones, were regarded as fair game by all the literary exquisites of the eighteenth century. Pope's lines in the 'Dunciad,' and Arbuthnot's note upon them, should find a place here:—

'Prompt at the call around the goddess roll,
Broad hats and hoods and caps, a sable shoal:
Thick and more thick the black blockade extends
A hundred head of Aristotle's friends.'

On which Scriblerus remarks:—

'The philosophy of Aristotle hath suffered a long disgrace in this University (Cambridge), being first expelled by the Cartesian, which in its turn gave way to the Newtonian. But it had all this while some faithful followers in secret, who never bowed the knee to Baal, nor acknowledged any strange god in philosophy. These on this new appearance of the goddess came out like confessors, and made an open profession of the ancient faith in the *ipse dixit* of their master.'

The *ipse dixit* referred to by Pope was the right divine of kings to govern wrong. But Arbuthnot should have known that Aristotle never said anything of the kind. However, it need not be denied that the teaching of the old logic by those who adhered to the letter without comprehending the spirit may have been open to ridicule; and Arbuthnot is not, perhaps, to blame for having seized so tempting an opportunity. It should only be borne in mind that even before Sir W. Hamilton wrote his memorable essays in the pages of this Review, the Aristotelian tradition had not been entirely perverted in the University of Oxford; and that even in Arbuthnot's time the torch of truth still burned there, though it might be through a mist.

The 'Art of Political Lying' and the treatise on 'The 'Scolding of the Ancients' may well be considered together, though the one was published in 1712, and the other not till 1731, when it seems likely that Arbuthnot's powers were beginning to fail him. The 'Art of Political Lying,' however, is in his very best style, and Mr. Aitken is quite wrong in saying that, 'owing to the abstract nature of the subject, 'it does not approach "John Bull" in interest.' It exceeds it, and, what is more, it has a living practical significance for the present generation, in which 'John Bull' is totally deficient. It would be a great public service if any competent person would reissue it in pamphlet form at the present day with illustrative notes derived from contemporary history. As Arbuthnot published it, it purported to be:—

'Proposals for Printing a very curious Discourse in two volumes in quarto, entitled ΨΕΥΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ, or a Treatise on the Art of Political Lying—with an abstract of the first volume of the said Treatise,'

And this is how it opens:—

'The author, in his preface, makes some very judicious reflections upon the original of arts and sciences: that at first they consist of scattered theorems and practices, which are handed about amongst

the masters, and only revealed to the *filii artis*, till some time when some great genius appears, who collects these disjointed propositions, and reduces them into a regular system. That this is the case of that noble and useful art of Political Lying, which, in this last age, having been enriched with several new discoveries, ought not to lie any longer in rubbish and confusion, but may justly claim a place in the *Encyclopedia*, especially such as serves for a model of education for an able politician.' (P. 294.)

The following extract will, we think, come home to the consciences of a good many amongst us at the present day:—

'In his fifth chapter he divides political lies into several species and classes, and gives precepts about the inventing, spreading, and propagating the several sorts of them: he begins with the *rumores* and *libelli famosi*, such as concern the reputation of men in power, where he finds fault with the common mistake that takes notice only of one sort, viz., the detractory or defamatory, whereas in truth there are three sorts, the detractory, the additory, and the translatory. The additory gives to a man a larger share of reputation than belongs to him, to enable him to serve some good end or purpose. The detractory or defamatory is a lie which takes from a great man the reputation that justly belongs to him, for fear he should use it to the detriment of the public. The translatory is a lie that transfers the merit of a man's good action to another, who is in himself more deserving; or transfers the demerit of a bad action from the true author to a person who is in himself less deserving. He gives several instances of very great strokes in all the three kinds, especially in the last, when it was necessary for the good of the public to bestow the valour and conduct of one man upon another, and that of many to one man; nay even, upon a good occasion, a man may be robbed of his victory by a person that did not command in the action. The restoring and destroying the public may be ascribed to persons who had no hand in either. The author exhorts all gentlemen practitioners to exercise themselves in the translatory, because the existence of the things themselves being visible, and not demanding any proof, there wants nothing to be put upon the public but a false author or a false cause, which is no great presumption upon the credulity of mankind, to whom the secret springs of things are for the most part unknown.'

The victory here referred to is the victory of General Webb, at Wynendale, in 1708, of which the whole credit was transferred by the Duke of Marlborough to his own favourite general, Cadogan, who did not appear in the field till the battle was over. We might add other examples from recent experience, as if one should say that all the Acts of Parliament passed in favour of the peasantry by one Government had really been passed by their predecessors. These, as the writer says, are the visible acts. Four or five

years are a long term to look back over. Who can tell after the lapse of such an immense interval what Government really did pass them? At all events, the illiterate won't remember, even if they ever knew. Here is an example of the safe 'translatory lie.' Another variety which has grown up with the development of the art consists in transferring the meaning of one word to another which is spelt and pronounced in the same manner. This is an invention in which, as Arbuthnot would have said, the art has been enriched in our own time. As, for instance, when the Home Rulers tell the people that the Union means the union workhouse, and that those who call themselves Unionists would have all the poor in the Bastille. If Arbuthnot could only have lived to witness this last improvement in the system!

There is a great show of impartiality throughout. 'The 'seventh chapter,' says Arbuthnot, with great gravity,

'is wholly taken up in an inquiry which of the two parties are the greatest artists in political lying. He owns that sometimes the one party, and sometimes the other, is better believed; but that they have both very great geniuses amongst them. He attributes the ill success of either party to their glutting the market, and retailing too much of a bad commodity at once; when there is too great a quantity of worms it is hard to catch gudgeons. He proposes a scheme for the recovery of the credit of any party, which indeed seems to be somewhat chimerical, and does not savour of that sound judgement the author has shown in the rest of the work. It amounts to this, that the party should agree to vent nothing but truth for three months together, which will give them credit for six months' lying afterwards. He owns he believes it almost impossible to find fit persons to execute this scheme.'

'Mr. John Ginglicutt's Treatise on the Altercation or 'Scolding of the Ancients' is much inferior to the above, but it satirised a public abuse of an analogous character. It was published, as we have said, in February 1731, and Pulteney wrote to Swift—

'that, in consequence of the growing practice on both sides of using the language of Billingsgate in referring to political opponents, Arbuthnot had written a humourous pamphlet wherein he proves from many learned instances that this sort of altercation is ancient, elegant and classical: and that what the world falsely imagines to be polite is truly Gothic and barbarous.'

Pope, however, thought it of little value; and we think the same. The irony in which Arbuthnot excelled is here at fault; it is neither keen nor well sustained.

We may notice, in conclusion, Arbuthnot's address to the

people of Edinburgh in 1706 in defence of the Union with England, then under debate in the Scottish Parliament. It was in the form of a sermon, the text being taken from the tenth chapter of Ecclesiastes and the twenty-seventh verse: 'Better is he that laboureth and aboundeth in all 'things, than he that boasteth himself and wanteth bread.' The two Scotch characteristics—pride and poverty—are here directly struck at, and the gist of the sermon is to bid his hearers put their pride in their pockets, and accept all the good things which the Union offered. He recommends it to them by the usual arguments, and there is only one to which any particular attention need be called. Arbuthnot contends that the Union with England will keep Scotchmen in their own country. Scotland will be richer, and her people will more readily find employment on their native soil than they do under a separate establishment. We mention this because the contrary argument is made use of by Home Rulers when they wish to get the labourer's vote. They tell him that the repeal of the Union will keep Irishmen at home, and relieve the English working classes from their competition. The reverse is the truth. Ireland would be poorer under Home Rule than she is now; there would be less money to be got there than there is now; and, consequently, the number of Irish immigrants into this country, in search of what they could not get at home, would be doubled. This is what Arbuthnot fully understood, showing that he was not only a wit, but a practical man of business also. We have judged it unnecessary to say anything of the doubtful works attributed to Dr. Arbuthnot, six of which are given by Mr. Aitken. But one of them contains an account of 'Peter the wild boy,' who created such a sensation in London in 1725, and who was for some time taken charge of by Dr. Arbuthnot. The account is clearly a satire in disguise upon some public man of the day. But it is hardly worthy of either Arbuthnot or Swift, to whom it has also been assigned.

Pope and Swift both survived Arbuthnot. But the year 1735 saw the final break-up of the old Twickenham circle. Peterborough died in October. Bolingbroke returned to France, and during the next seven years was only occasionally in England. In 1739 he sold Dawley. Swift, it was evident, was never to come back from Dublin. A new generation of poets was coming upon the stage. The palmy days of patronage were over. The Augustan age was at an end, and many years were to elapse ere another

literary circle such as met round Pope's table at Twickenham was again to assemble under another acknowledged chief, the last man of letters in England who occupied the throne. We pass over the thirty dark years which form the subject of one of the best-known passages in Macaulay's Essays, though the picture is decidedly overcharged, and emerge again into the daylight to find ourselves in a wholly different state of society and a wholly different literary atmosphere. The difference is greater than the mere lapse of time would account for. At Twickenham we seem as far away from our own generation as if we were in the days of Queen Elizabeth. At the Turk's Head we are among familiar figures, listening to familiar talk, and gazing on a familiar garb such as had not wholly gone out of fashion in the childhood of men still living. We feel that, if we 'wanted 'to shine' like Goldsmith, we could strike into the conversation anywhere, and find ourselves as much at home as if we were talking to our own contemporaries. But we do not feel that among the men of the Augustan age. There is a stamp upon them not borne by their successors. We do not refer to any intellectual superiority, for in our opinion Johnson was a greater man than any of them. We refer rather to what Thackeray calls the grand air. Pope and Arbuthnot and Swift and Gay and Prior did not talk only of books. They represent a period in which politics, fashion, and literature were all mixed up together. This was the direct result of the system of patronage. The great noble, or party leader, who made poets and essayists his friends and companions, introduced them to fashionable life, and expected political services in return. To render them they must be taken behind the scenes and become the depositaries of State secrets. If we may judge from the correspondence of the famous men we have just mentioned, their table talk would never be exclusively or even principally literary. Intermingled with questions of taste and of criticism would be the newest Parliamentary intrigue, the newest Court scandal, the latest tidings from Rome or Avignon. We never hear anything of this kind at the Mitre. The Twickenham men are men intimate with councils and cabinets, with questions of peace and war, with the freaks and frolics of great ladies and maids of honour. We turn to the Johnsonian set, and we find that all this has disappeared. With the decline of patronage the connecting link between the world of fashion and politics and the world of literature was broken. There are no Peterboroughs or Bolingbrokes or Oxfords at

'the Club.' Burke was a politician, and Beauclerk and Langton were in society. But it is to be noted that the talk at the Club hardly ever refers either to fashionable society or contemporary politics. It is the talk of men whose whole interest was concentred on literature and philosophy —the philosophy of life—but not the life of ball-rooms and drawing-rooms. We have reached the period when literature has become a separate and organised profession—not merely the ἄγαλμα πλούτου, sometimes to be petted by the great and sometimes left to starve, but a regular business by which men expect to live and to make regular incomes. None of the Twickenham set lived by literature in the sense in which Johnson and Goldsmith lived by it. As soon as the leading writers of the day became able to do so, their connexion with fashion and politics dropped. They went their own way, and left treasurers and secretaries, dukes and duchesses, to go theirs. The commencement of the Johnsonian era marks the parting of the roads.

It may be asked under which of these two systems the better literature was likely to be produced. On the one hand we have leisure, competence, and that acquaintance with the world and society which must always contribute to the improvement of an author's manner. On the other hand is the advantage of writing for the general public, when the author has no particular tastes or humours to consult, and when, consequently, there is more room for his own originality and idiosyncrasy to assert themselves. Neither Pope, nor Arbuthnot, nor Swift, nor Gay, nor Addison, was compelled to write against the grain to make provision for the passing day. Neither Johnson, nor Goldsmith, nor Fielding, nor Smollett had anyone to rely on but the public, and they struck out, perhaps, the more boldly and independently for being compelled to swim alone. The Twickenham school wrote for a limited circle, and, though their works are immortal, they produced only a single piece which can vie with the 'Deserted Village,' 'Roderick Random,' or 'Gray's Elegy' in widespread popularity. Yet they were not compelled to publish anything which was not good, or which they themselves did not believe to be good; whereas of the later school by many there was much written, and by all something, with which we could have well dispensed. *Nihil quod tetigit non ornavit* might have been said far more truly of Arbuthnot than of Goldsmith. The literature of the first period is like hothouse fruit, exquisite for its size and beauty; that of the other like fruit just

picked from the wall or from the bed, not so large or so fine, but with a flavour of its own which the genuine connoisseur appreciates. In the open air, of course, we shall have much that never comes to perfection, much that runs to seed and is wasted. But that which does ripen need fear no comparison with the produce of artificial culture. To quit metaphors for facts, what do we actually find? It is often said that a writer who has leisure and only works when the humour takes him will have time, not only to wait for his best thoughts and to arrange them in the best order, but to polish his style till it attains that perfect combination of force and elegance to which all literary artists deserving of the name aspire. Yet is not the 'Deserted Village' as polished as the 'Essay on Man,' is not 'Rasselas' written in as finished a style as the 'Patriot King'? Is not Smollett's 'History of England,' though deficient in those philosophic and comprehensive views which add value to Hume's, its equal in style and composition? The conclusion seems to be that the older system, though less favourable to bad writing than the later, was not more favourable to good; in saying which we refer only to style and diction, for it would, of course, be absurd to expect that a book like Butler's 'Analogy' or Bolingbroke's 'Letters on History' should be as well done by one who wrote against time for money to pay the butcher as by one who was at liberty to recline in his library and think his subject out. We simply mean that in what our forefathers called elegance the same excellence was attained by the men who wrote in haste as by the men who wrote at leisure, and that in this respect the Johnsonian school is at least equal to the Popian.

With the death of Johnson, literary coteries—such, at least, as we have been here considering—seem to have disappeared. 'The Club' founded by Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1764 still flourishes, but it has assumed a broader character. It has ceased to be a coterie, and in the space of one hundred and twenty-eight years it has included among its members two hundred of the most eminent men of the time in literature, art, science, and politics, without distinction of party. Society in Edinburgh during the first half of the present century may have presented something like the literary clubs of the eighteenth century in London. But there was no one king whom all men recognised as such, and no one set connected together by a community of tastes and ideas. Even Scott was no chief, and would not have wished to be. Literature had become what Goldsmith said

it ought to be, a republic and not a monarchy, and a republic without a Club. We shall never see another Round Table; and this is certainly to be regretted on one ground—namely, that these literary fraternities had somewhat the effect of informal Academies, and without the assertion of any unpopular jurisdiction kept up the standard of taste to a higher level than it is possible to maintain without some such Court to set the fashion. It is not necessary that there should be a literary dictator to preside over it. The leading men of letters in every generation constantly living together and exchanging ideas on the subject of style and composition will insensibly create a school of criticism as effective as a regular institution, and exerting, perhaps, more influence, because claiming less obedience. But this is a mere dream. The members of the literary craft have multiplied to such an extent, and a reading public has been created so indifferent to both purity of diction and propriety of construction, that no such natural authority can any longer exert itself, and would not be respected if it could. But such a system appeals strongly to the imagination. We can never tire of Boswell's 'Johnson,' or of the correspondence of Swift, Pope, and Arbuthnot, of the great monarch or the great triumvirate. We seem to see literature enthroned on a higher pedestal as we look at these men, surrounded with greater dignity, and conscious of nobler ideals. The present age has a work of its own to perform, none the less honourable, none the less generous, than theirs. It is to educate the people and teach them to appreciate the treasures which our great writers have bequeathed to us: a task to be discharged in addition to, and concurrently with, the prior duty of men of letters, the duty of taking care *nequid literarum respublica detrimenti capiat*; and of handing down the lamp of learning to the coming centuries not only as bright as they received it from the past, but with added brightness of their own. Their labour may produce equal results; yet it will hardly have been performed under equally interesting conditions, and it is to be feared that the nineteenth century will leave nothing to the twentieth so charming to look back upon as the nest of singing birds on the banks of the broad river, and the splendid companionship of which the subject of this article was so brilliant and beloved a member.

ART. VIII.—1. *Papyrus Grecs du Musée d'Antiquités de Leide.* Edités, avec une traduction latine, notes, index et planches, par C. LEEMANS, Directeur du Musée. Tome 2. Leide: 1885. In-4°.

2. *Les Origines de l'Alchimie.* Par M. BERTHELOT, Sénateur, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France. Paris: 1885.

3. *Collection des Anciens Alchimistes Grecs.* Texte et traduction publiés par M. BERTHELOT, avec la collaboration de M. CH. EM. RUELLE. Paris: 1887–1888. 3 vols. in-4°.

4. *Introduction à l'Etude de la Chimie des Anciens et du Moyen Age.* Par M. BERTHELOT. Paris: 1889.

AMONG the many illusions which have possessed the mind of man and led astray successive generations in the vain pursuit of an unattainable ideal, none, perhaps, has been so long-lived and so widely spread as alchemy. For more than a thousand years the votaries of the 'sacred art,' stimulated by the hope of winning boundless wealth, toiled patiently over their furnaces and retorts, neither discouraged by the constant failure of their experiments, nor deterred by the penal legislation of Church and State. The history of these fruitless endeavours, though, properly speaking, merely the history of a superstition, will always prove interesting as the record of the strange phases through which scientific knowledge has passed in the course of its slow development, and of the difficulties and obstacles against which the human intellect has had to struggle whilst seeking the solution of the many problems presented by the phenomena of Nature.

We may naturally ask, in what land and in what century arose the belief in the possibility of the transmutation of metals, and on what foundation of fact did the alchemists raise the fantastic edifice which gradually faded away like a dream, and finally vanished, as more precise methods of observation and analysis afforded a clearer knowledge of the laws which govern the universe? The alchemists themselves have always looked upon Egypt as the source whence their doctrines were derived. There, in far remote ages, Hermes Trismegistus had revealed the mysteries of every art and science, and composed 20,000, or, according to others, 36,500 volumes, to hand down his learning to future generations; and there, in the sanctuaries of the temples, were preserved

the secrets of alchemy, inscribed on tablets in hieroglyphs known only to the kings and to the priests.

In this belief they were to a certain degree right. It was, indeed, in Egypt that the supposition that the baser metals might be changed into the nobler had had its birth; but the very simple facts which had given rise to the idea were first misinterpreted, and then gradually lost sight of—submerged by a deluge of wild theories and fanciful commentaries—and the alchemists, once started on a false track, toiled vainly for centuries, seeking for an object which, as far as we can ascertain, the ancient Egyptians do not seem to have ever thought of.

The publication of the works of the early Greek alchemists has at last thrown light on the origin of alchemy: it is now possible to ascertain about what epoch the delusion first arose, and on what misunderstanding it was founded; we can follow step by step its early development; and additional help towards the solution of the enigma has been afforded by the long-delayed completion of the printing of the Leyden papyri. These interesting documents belong to a collection of papyri formed in the early part of this century by Cavaliere Anastasi, vice-consul of Sweden at Cairo, and sold, in 1828, to the University of Leyden. The greater number, consisting chiefly of contracts and other legal matters, were published, in 1843, by M. Leemans; but the three most interesting, which contain magical rites and incantations, as well as practical receipts for metal-working, remained unedited till 1885.

Discovered, most probably, in the same tomb at Thebes where they lay buried with their owner, like the magic book of Michael Scott in the Wizard's grave at Melrose, these fragile scrolls of papyrus may, perhaps, be the sole remaining specimens of those treatises on the extraction and working of gold and silver which, according to John of Antioch, Diocletian ordered to be burned, lest the Egyptians should be encouraged by the abundance of their wealth to rebel against Rome. They have preserved for us authentic details with regard to the wisdom and learning of the Egyptians, whether real or imaginary. They reveal to us the weird rites with which they sought to control the world of spirits and subdue it to their service, and the very practical knowledge they possessed of the manipulation of the precious metals. These three papyri, which M. Leemans believes to have been written towards the latter part of the third century of our era, are designated by the letters V,

W, X. It is highly probable that they belonged to a man of Egyptian race, as they are written partly in demotic characters and partly in Greek; and the owner seems to have been not only a jeweller or a worker in metals, but an adept in the black art, for the papyri V and W contain minute instructions for the performance of various magical ceremonies.

It may not be uninteresting to notice the contents of these documents, as, though they contain no reference to alchemy, they may serve to throw light on the intellectual condition of Egypt, and especially of Alexandria, where there is every reason to believe that the theories on which alchemy was founded were first evolved, and where the wildest and most fantastic superstitions were always sure of a ready acceptance. In papyrus V, for instance, which may be called the receipt-book of a dealer in 'magic and spells,' we are told with what prayers and sacrifices to consecrate and worship a statue of Eros, so as to persuade that deity to appear in a dream to a given person and command the dreamer to perform the will of the magician. We learn what mystic signs and words to engrave on a jasper or heliotrope, which, being mounted in a ring, will enable the bearer to acquire power and honour: he shall appease the anger of kings; whatever he says shall be believed, and, with one touch of the gem, doors shall fly open, and chains and rocks be rent asunder. When making use of the ring, the magic hymn known as the great 'Ouphor' was to be recited, which invoked the spirits of the heavens, of the earth, of the sea, and of the rivers, and, by their aid, could breathe life into carved and graven images. Did the magician wish to cause a person's death, he was told to inscribe the figure of a genius or demon on the right wing of a bat, and on the left wing seven barbarous names, apparently derived from Hebrew; then, with the imprecation, 'May such a one, son or daughter of such a one, never 'sleep till thou singest,' let the bat fly on the third day of the waning moon, and within seven days the person named would die from want of sleep. If, however, the magician kept the bat, he could, by washing the writing off its wings with spring water, recall the curse and spare his victim.

The second papyrus presents nearly the same character as the preceding, and contains extracts from the apocryphal writings ascribed to Moses by the Gnostics of the second century, consisting in minute and tedious descriptions of the rites for evoking the Monas, or supreme deity. Then follow various charms for rendering oneself invisible or taking the

form of an animal; for causing the sun to appear; for restoring life to a corpse; for obtaining prophetic dreams, or for sending them to others.

The third papyrus seems to have been a jeweller's note-book, and contains receipts for metal-working, many of which had, probably, been handed down from a remote antiquity. Our museums, enriched with the spoils of Egyptian tombs, bear witness to the perfection to which industrial art had been carried at a very early date in the valley of the Nile; and the necessary technical processes, perfected and developed by the experience of generations of workers, were transmitted from father to son in the various castes, or preserved in the temples as the special prerogative of the priests. The most important among these trade secrets were those which concerned the treatment of gold. The geographer Agatharchides, who wrote under the Ptolemies about 182 B.C., describes with what mystery the working of the gold-mines near Cosseir, on the shores of the Red Sea, was carried on in the times of the Egyptian kings, the earliest of whom were said to have discovered the method of extracting and refining the precious metals. Zosimus of Panopolis, who lived about the third century of our era, asserts that the art of metallurgy had been revealed to the kings and priests alone, and adds, that the knowledge of it was jealously guarded; it was forbidden to confide it to writing, and any attempt to search for gold and silver without a special authorisation was punished with death. According, however, as the ancient laws and institutions of Egypt died out under the influence of the Hellenic civilisation introduced by the successors of Alexander, and of Christianity, the barriers which guarded the knowledge preserved by the castes or in the temples were broken down, and the long-treasured secrets were published under the form of collections of receipts. Zosimus states that the Jews, who had been initiated into these mysteries, were the first to reveal them to the world, and in the time of Diocletian, the books which treated of the working of gold and silver must have become so numerous as to excite the suspicion of the Emperor, and provoke the publication of his barbarous edict. Whether these manuscripts were merely technical handbooks and collections of memoranda like that which has been so happily preserved to us, or whether any of them treated of alchemy, we cannot now find out; but it is certain that, however extravagant may have been the fancies of the owner of these scrolls when he sought to subject the demons to his will, and force them to execute his commands,

there is no mysticism in the handbook of metallurgy; the workman calls no spirits to his aid, and performs no incantations, but seeks to accomplish his object—sometimes, it must be confessed, a very dishonest one—by purely natural means.

We find in this papyrus receipts for various alloys used in the manufacture of cups and vases; for making gold and silver ink; for gilding and silvering, and for testing the purity of the precious metals. Other receipts teach the method of falsifying them by adding the baser metals—an operation called the *diplosis*, or doubling, for the mass of the gold and silver was doubled, while their colour remained unchanged; and, as the compiler of the manual remarks, a skilled workman would find it difficult, or even impossible, to detect the fraud.

The receipts which recur most frequently describe various modes of preparing *asem*, a word which originally meant a natural alloy of gold and silver, known to the Greeks as *electrum*. It was at first looked upon as a distinct metal, was considered sacred to Jupiter, and was designated by the sign of that planet; but at a later period the name was applied to all alloys, and M. Berthelot remarks that in this fact seems to lie the explanation of the origin of alchemy. Both gold and silver could be extracted from genuine *asem*, and it seemed as though it could be changed at the will of the operator into either one or the other; it could also be made artificially by mingling gold and silver, or closely imitated by some of the numerous alloys, eleven or twelve varieties of which are described in the papyrus of Leyden. It would seem, therefore, that from this fact there arose some vague notion that perhaps the imitation of the precious metals and the reproduction of their essential qualities could be brought to such perfection that the counterfeit might become identical with the reality.

The clear and simple language of these receipts is very different from the obscure and mystical jargon of the alchemists. The following, for instance, occurs three times, with slight variations: 'To make *asem*.—Tin, 12 drachmas; 'mercury, 4 drachmas; Chian earth, 2 drachmas. Melt the 'tin, add the earth in powder, then the mercury; stir with a 'piece of iron.' With regard to another receipt nearly similar, M. Berthelot remarks that the result would be an amalgam of tin for the purpose of whitening copper. Another runs: 'Take four parts of tin four times refined, three 'parts of white copper, and one part of *asem*. Melt them

'and refine them several times; then make whatever you 'wish; it will be *asem* of the first quality, which will 'deceive even the workman.' The white copper just mentioned is prepared, as another receipt shows, by mixing it with a sulphide of arsenic. According to the receipt which teaches how to give a ring the appearance of gold, so that it will stand the test of the touchstone, 'two parts of lead and 'one of gold must be reduced to a fine powder, mixed with 'gum, and rubbed on the ring, which is then heated. This 'must be repeated several times, till the ring is well coloured. 'It will be hard to discover the fraud, for the ring, if rubbed, 'will give a trace of gold, and heat will destroy the lead.' This receipt is remarkable as representing a very early method of gilding by means of lead, anterior probably to the discovery of quicksilver, which is not mentioned till the fifth century B.C.

In all the receipts, of which these are only a few specimens, there is no trace of a belief in the possibility of converting the various alloys into gold or silver, but merely a very frankly avowed intention of producing as close an imitation as possible for the purpose of deception. When the idea first arose that the real metals could be produced it is impossible to ascertain, but it is probable that it was gradually developed in the ardent imagination of the Alexandrian Greeks during the first centuries of our era.

There seems to have existed in Alexandria at that epoch a school of philosophy dedicated especially to the study of natural history, as taught in the writings of Democritus of Abdera. The biographers of that philosopher have recorded his long wanderings through the East in the pursuit of knowledge—'an exile rather than a voyage,' as Pliny calls them—and his initiation into the mysteries of the Chaldean and Egyptian priests. We are told that he wrote treatises on plants, on minerals, on colours, on the arts of softening ivory and staining glass; and his works seem to have formed an encyclopædia of scientific theories and practical receipts. There are extant but few authentic remains of these voluminous writings, which, even from an early date, were so largely interpolated by disciples and imitators that it must have been hard to know what was genuine and what was not. The marvellous legends contained in the works which bore the name of Democritus caused Pliny to look upon him as a wizard, and assert that he had found in the tomb of the Phœnician Dardanus the magic books whence he had drawn his learning. It is not, therefore, strange that those who

practised the forbidden arts of magic—and alchemy, as well as all physical science, was looked upon as a branch of magic—should have placed their writings under the patronage of the philosopher who was the first in Greece to cultivate natural history and experimental research.

But though Pliny mentions the magical lore of Democritus and the wonderful stories contained in his writings, he makes no allusion to the transmutation of metals. The *portentosiora*, which he notices, are merely wild legends concerning the virtues supposed to be possessed by various plants. He tells, for instance, of the *aglaophytis*, which grows on marble rocks in Arabia, and is used by magicians when they evoke apparitions; of the *arianides*, which must be gathered when the sun is in the constellation of the Lion, and by its mere touch inflames wood which has been anointed with oil; of the *ophiusa*, found in the island of Elephantina, a decoction of which causes those who drink thereof to see visions of serpents and feel such terror that they kill themselves.

Nor does Pliny show elsewhere that he had ever heard of transmutation. He describes very fully the usual methods of obtaining gold by washing the sands of rivers or by mining, and mentions an attempt made by Caligula to extract gold from *auripigmentum*, or orpiment. The Emperor, attracted probably by the colour of the yellow trisulphide of arsenic, melted a large quantity of it, and, as arsenical ores sometimes contain traces of gold, he succeeded in obtaining a little of the precious metal; but the expense was so great, and the result so small, that he never repeated the experiment.

It is therefore probable that the book entitled 'Physica 'et Mystica,' which bears the name of Democritus—the first work in which the artificial production of gold is described, the work which is quoted as an authority by all the early writers on the subject—was written in the interval between Pliny, who perished during the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, and Zosimus of Panopolis, the first alchemist of known date, who lived in the third century; and that the idea of transmutation rose out of the chaos of fantastical heresies, magical practices, and wild philosophical theories which formed the intellectual life of Alexandria during the second and third centuries of our era.

The manuscripts in which these early Greek treatises have been preserved to us seem to be derived from an encyclopædia compiled during the tenth century, at Constantinople, from

the works of various alchemists. The oldest and most remarkable of these manuscripts is that known as No. 299 of the Library of St. Mark's, at Venice, dating from the end of the tenth century; and next to it in importance are those of the National Library, in Paris, of the thirteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. The Greek text, now published by M. Berthelot and M. Ruelle, custodian of the Library of Ste.-Geneviève, is derived from a careful collation of all these sources, and is accompanied with notes by M. Berthelot bringing light and order into the mystical obscurity in which from the beginning the alchemists enveloped their doctrines.

First among these is the 'Physica et Mystica,' ascribed to Democritus of Abdera, a collection of fragments, among which a few receipts for dyeing in purple may be genuine, while the story of magic and the alchemical teaching are evidently spurious. The philosopher is made to state that his studies were interrupted by the death of his master, Ostanes the Magian. He therefore evoked his spirit from Hades, and learned from him that the books which contained the secrets of his art were in a certain temple. He sought them there in vain, till one day, during a feast in the sanctuary, a column opened, and revealed the precious tomes, in which the doctrines of the Master were summed up in the mysterious words: 'Nature rejoices in Nature, Nature 'conquers Nature, Nature rules Nature.'

The unknown Alexandrian who wrote under the name of Democritus gives not only receipts for making white alloys of copper, but others which, he positively asserts, will produce gold. M. Berthelot, however, shows in his notes that they can only result in making amalgams for gilding, or alloys resembling gold, or varnishes which will give a superficial tinge to metals. Two of these will serve as a specimen. We are told, for instance, to take mercury, to fix it with magnesia (a word which, according to the lexicon of alchemy published in this collection, may signify white lead, or oxide of zinc, or sulphide of antimony), or with Italian antimony, or sulphur, or selenite, or slaked lime, or alum of Melos, or arsenic. This will apparently result in compounds of various colours, for we are told to throw the white earth on copper and it will produce 'shadowless,' or white copper; and the yellow earth upon silver, and it will give gold; or upon gold, and it will give *χρυσοκόραλλον*, or coral of gold, an expression which, like *χρυσοκογχύλιον*, or golden shell, M. Berthelot believes to mean the quintessence or perfection

of gold. The outcome of the operations would seem to be various amalgams of mercury for whitening copper, or gilding silver, or imparting a reddish tinge to gold.

Another receipt tells us to take *claudianos* (an alloy of lead, copper, tin, and zinc) to polish it, and then turn it yellow by means of alum which has been decomposed by sulphur, or arsenic, or sandarach, or lime. If this composition be added to silver, it will produce gold; if to gold, it will produce *χρυσοκογχύλιον*. M. Berthelot, however, destroys the hopes of those who might feel tempted to test the worth of these brilliant assurances, by remarking that the result would be merely a golden-coloured alloy.

It should be observed that in the lexicon just mentioned, which seems to have been compiled from lists of chemical expressions of various dates, it is stated that by the word 'gold' is understood 'fragments and leaves of metal tinted 'yellow and brought to perfection;' and, further on, 'gold' is said to mean 'the golden-coloured substances which pro-'duce permanent tinctures.' Some doubt must therefore remain as to whether the author of the 'Physica et Mystica' was the dupe of his own operations, and believed sincerely that they would result in the transmutation into gold and silver of the metals employed, or whether he merely intended to express in an emphatic manner, and with a certain amount of charlatanism, what the unimaginative Egyptian workman had stated more simply; namely, that the alloy or amalgam would produce a fraudulent imitation of the precious metals.

The belief in transmutation and in the virtues of the 'powder of projection' is to be found more clearly stated in the works of Zosimus of Panopolis, the earliest known writer on alchemy whose authentic works have come down to us; for in his first lesson he exclaims, 'How beautiful it is to see 'the changes of the four metals, lead, copper, tin, silver, till 'they become perfect gold!' The idea had evidently been developed and the art assiduously cultivated in Egypt since the time of the spurious Democritus, for Zosimus quotes the opinions of many adepts, of whose writings, mostly apocryphal, nothing is known save from his pages. Hermes Trismegistus and Democritus, Moses and Mary the Jewess, Agathodemon and Cleopatra, the prophet Chymes and the 'divine' Sophar, are quoted as authorities for the operations to be performed on various minerals, which, after being duly melted, calcined, refined, and sublimated over and over, are declared to have become gold or silver.

To these more or less intelligible descriptions of chemical

processes Zosimus adds his own commentaries, which he sometimes presents under the form of allegories, or visions, as when he describes the dream in which he saw a priest standing before a cup-shaped altar raised upon fifteen steps, and heard a voice crying, 'I have descended the fifteen dark 'steps, and ascended the fifteen shining steps. The sacrificer 'renovates me by casting away the heaviness of my body, 'and when I am consecrated priest, I become a spirit.' Zosimus then asked who he was, and he replied, 'I am Ion, 'the priest of the sanctuaries; I am subjected to intolerable 'violence. Someone came hastily at dawn, cleft me with a 'sword, and dismembered me according to the laws of 'harmony. He tore off the skin of my head with his sword, 'mingled the bones with the flesh, and burned them with 'fire, to teach me to become spirit by the transformation of 'the body.' 'And as he talked with me,' continues Zosimus, 'and I forced him to speak, his eyes became as 'though of blood, and he vomited his flesh. And I saw 'him change into a deformed dwarf, and he tore himself 'with his teeth and sank down.' Zosimus on awakening came to the conclusion that this vision symbolised the composition of the white and yellow waters.

From the descriptions and receipts contained in following chapters, these white and yellow waters would seem to be different forms of the *ὕδωρ θεῖον*, the water of sulphur; or, by a play upon the double meaning of the word *θεῖον*, the 'divine' water, a substance which performs an important part in the operations of the Greek alchemists. It is first mentioned in the papyrus X of Leyden, where, according to M. Berthelot, the method of its preparation shows that it was a polysulphide of calcium, which could give black, yellow, or red precipitates, and colour the surface of metals; but the power of transmuting is not attributed to it. In the apocryphal 'Physica et Mystica,' however, it is employed to obtain gold; for we are told that *androdamas* (which is interpreted as meaning sulphide of arsenic), mingled with brine and antimony, then calcined till it becomes yellow, and boiled in sulphur-water, will produce, if thrown upon silver, *χρυσοζώμιον*—literally, juice of gold, or tincture of gold. M. Berthelot explains that this statement simply means that the silver will be superficially tinted like gold. Zosimus calls sulphur-water the 'great 'mystery,' and says that if it is coloured white by white substances, it whitens; if coloured yellow by yellow substances, it produces yellow; and that this water, like a

leaven, changes to its resemblance the substance which is to be dyed. It may be observed that this is the first clearly-expressed definition of the philosopher's stone. It was supposed to be a leaven which contained the distinctive qualities of gold, and caused the mass of molten metal on which it was thrown to ferment, changing it thereby into its own nature. This theory was accepted by the alchemists during the Middle Ages, and explained to their satisfaction the action which was supposed to take place in the process of transmutation.

The photographic reproductions of the drawings in the manuscripts of the chemical apparatus employed by the first alchemists are an interesting record of the primitive forms of the furnaces and retorts in use at the present day. The earliest in date and the best executed are those from the manuscript of St. Mark's, and they correspond exactly with the descriptions given by Zosimus and his commentators, Synesius and Olympiodorus. The alembic represented in most of these figures consists of a globe inscribed with the words *λωπάς θείου ἀπύρου*, 'vessel of unsmelted sulphur,' standing on a furnace marked *φῶτα*, 'the fires,' or *καύστρα*, 'the fireplace.' It is surmounted by an earthenware tube communicating with another globe, the *φιάλη* or *βίκος*, from which depend two, or in some cases three, tubes ending in smaller recipients labelled *βικίον εἰς ὃ ἀπορρεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ θείου*, 'vases into which flows the water from the 'sulphur.' These drawings of alembics seem to be derived from the *Κλεοπάτρης χρυσοποία*, 'the art of making gold by 'Cleopatra,' a treatise known to us only by the quotations found in the pages of Zosimus. To the same writer we owe the preservation of numerous fragments of the works of Mary the Jewess, from whom the *bain-marie* takes its name, and who, as well as Cleopatra, probably belonged to the Democritan school of Alexandria of the first or second century. In one of these is described a stove for treating metals by the vapours of mercury or of various sulphides. It consisted of a tall cylindrical vessel, with a furnace underneath, and having across the top a strip of iron called the *κηροτακίς*, the name given to the palette on which the Greek painters mixed melted wax with their colours. Over this was luted a cupola. M. Berthelot states that the metal to be operated upon lay on this iron plate; but, according to the author, it was suspended beneath in an earthenware cup, and the plate held only the substances destined to combine with it. As they melted they fell into a receptacle placed immediately

over the fire, where they were soon vaporised, and their fumes reascending attacked the metal. From this retrograde action the stove was called *καρκίνος*, 'the crab,' and the process was known to the mediæval alchemists as *ceratio*, the softening and colouring of metals by repeated sublimations.

Among the treatises published in this collection is a manual of receipts for imitating precious stones and intensifying the colour of real gems. Its title states that it is an extract from 'the book brought out of the sanctuary of 'the temple;' it quotes Democritus and his master Ostanes, Agathodemon, Mary the Jewess, and Zosimus; and though its style is far more diffuse and incoherent than that of the Leyden papyrus, it probably contains, like it, the technical knowledge of many generations of goldsmiths and jewellers, handed down from a very remote epoch. It is chiefly interesting as presenting what may be, perhaps, the answer to a problem recently discussed in the pages of a literary journal—namely, How did the Egyptians produce a smokeless light to enable their workmen to paint and carve the walls of subterranean tombs?

The statements made by the writers quoted in this pamphlet are, without doubt, absurdly exaggerated; but, after making every allowance for the wild fancies and the love of the marvellous characteristic of the Alexandrian school, we have here the proof that the Egyptians were well acquainted with phosphorescence, and that they attempted, at least, to apply it to a practical purpose.

The materials employed for colouring real or false stones were talc, sulphur, 'the water of sulphur,' and mercury. To these, which served as a basis, were added a salt of copper for the emerald; hyacinth flowers and woad for the amethyst; orcanet and dragon's blood for the *λυχνίτης*, by which name seems to be meant the carbuncle or ruby. These ingredients were boiled, and the stones were heated before being plunged into the mixture. To produce, however, the variety of *λυχνίτης* called *νυκτοφανής*, which shines at night, and seems to have been of a pale green colour, the gall-bladders of marine animals, either fish or cetaceans, were prescribed, because they shine in the dark, and Mary the Jewess is quoted as authority for the following recipe: 'If you wish 'to dye green, mix the rust of copper with the gall of a 'tortoise: that of the Indian tortoise gives a better colour; 'and the dark-blue jelly-fish produces a still finer dye. 'When finished, the objects dyed give out light.'

The receipts attributed to Ostanes are nearly the same. He, also, specifies two sorts of λυχνίτης, and after giving the receipt for colouring the red variety, which does not shine at night, he recommends, as much more important, the preparation of the more valuable stone which 'gives out rays 'like the sun, and enables its owner to read and write by night 'almost as well as by day.' The compiler of the treatise adds that every λυχνίτης, real or artificial, is visible by night, in proportion to its size and purity, but that it is only the sort known as νυκτοφανής which can guide a man on his way. The Egyptians, therefore, would appear to have been acquainted with the fact that certain precious stones, after exposure to the sun, give out a faint light for some time, while others possess that property to a much greater degree; and it would seem that, by applying to the more brilliant of these gems a varnish composed of highly phosphorescent organic substances, mixed with sulphide of calcium, which becomes luminous by insolation, they could increase their radiance. Such, perhaps, may have been the stone which Lucian saw in the diadem of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis, which, though dull by day, shone at night like a lamp, and illuminated the whole temple.

It would be tedious and uninteresting to attempt to wade through the writings of the successors of Democritus and Zosimus. Their commentaries on the lessons of their masters only render much more unintelligible what was already sufficiently obscure, by their fantastical etymologies, and their tendency to give a mystical explanation of chemical phenomena. It reflects great credit on M. Berthelot's acumen and industry that he should have so ably performed the arid labour of sifting such a mass of rubbish, and seeking out the scraps of solid fact which lay hidden underneath. His analysis of the text dispels the glamour which the adepts sought to cast round their work by the use of mysterious and ambiguous phraseology, and states plainly, in the technical language of modern chemistry, what must have been the true results of their operations.

We can thus discern by what confusion of ideas the first alchemists derived their fantastical belief in transmutation from the practical receipts founded on the experience and the observation of the Egyptian metal-workers. Their illusions were further developed and strengthened by the opinions with regard to the constitution of matter held by the Greek philosophers, especially Plato. His doctrines on the mutability of the elements, constantly changing one

into the other; and of the primordial matter, 'mother and 'receptacle of all created, and visible, and in any way 'sensible things;' the universal nature which receives all forms, but is itself formless, are evidently the principles which guided and inspired those who first sought to change the baser metals into the nobler. They believed, as we may gather from the allusions in their works, that by eliminating certain qualities from a given metal, and substituting others, they had performed all that was necessary to effect a complete change in its nature. As mercury seems to approach most nearly to the idea of the formless, colourless, primal matter, and amalgamates easily with other metals, it was usually chosen as the basis of their labours, and the requisite colour and density were given to it by combining it with different sulphates of copper and iron. The golden-coloured product of the operation was not only looked upon as gold, but was believed to possess the power of leavening other metals, and changing them into itself, if thrown upon them while in a state of fusion.

We cannot tell if the first alchemists honestly believed that they made gold. Their assertions, it is true, are so positive, that they seem really convinced that the yellow alloys which they turned out of their crucibles were identical with the precious metal. The more clear-sighted among them, however, must sometimes have had misgivings as to their success; but when the proofs of their failure were too evident to be denied, it was always easy to throw the blame on the intervention of supernatural powers. Olympiodorus, who commented on the 'Physica et Mystica' towards the end of the fourth century, warns his disciples against the insidious plots of the enemy. 'The Demon Ophiouchos impedes our 'researches; he creeps about on all sides, and sometimes 'causes carelessness, sometimes fear, sometimes an unfore-'seen event, or afflictions and chastisements, in order to 'oblige us to abandon the work.' He recommends them, therefore, to have recourse to prayer, that they may repel the wiles of the Evil One, and be guided by Heaven in the successful practice of the 'divine art.'

A fresh impulsion was given to the study of alchemy by the Arabs when, on settling down after their conquests, they applied themselves to literary and scientific studies. From the Moorish schools of Seville and Cordova the infatuation spread throughout Western Europe. The history of its developement and the lives of its votaries, their dreams and their deceptions, their vain boastings and their mis-

fortunes, have been frequently related; they do not come within the scope of this paper. It is unnecessary to say that, in spite of the positive assertions of many adepts during the Middle Ages, and even in more modern times, that they had succeeded in changing the baser metals into gold, no such transmutation has ever taken place; nor, according to the present state of chemical science, which regards all metals as simple bodies, is it possible. We are well acquainted with all the substances employed by the alchemists from the earliest times, and with many others they had no knowledge of. We perform all the operations they performed, with far more powerful reagents and more precise methods of analysis than they possessed. We have invented explosives whose destructive power vies with that of the earthquake; we have solidified every gas; we have analysed the light of the stars; we can bring forth riches from the refuse of our factories—but no modern chemist has yet discovered the magic stone which confers boundless wealth on its possessor, nor the elixir of life which prolongs his days; and those pleasing fancies still abide in that land of dreams where dwell those other illusions over which man has wasted so much time, the secret of perpetual motion and the quadrature of the circle.

ART. IX.—*A History of the English Landed Interest: its Customs, Laws, and Agriculture.* By RUSSELL M. GARNIER, B.A. Oxon. London: 1892.

IT needs no special familiarity with rural matters to discover that there is something rotten in the existing conditions of English agriculture. At every turn innumerable signs are thrust into our faces of the patent fact, that farming is at the present moment a depressed and decaying industry. Since 1879 Royal Commissions and Select Committees have been perennial. While we are writing, a National Conference is sitting. In the summer, the results of the county elections gave emphasis to the fact that a bitter antagonism existed between landlords and tenants on the one side and farm labourers on the other. The three partners, whose capital is most exclusively embarked in the agricultural enterprise, are, of course, the heaviest sufferers; but, besides the landlords, farmers, and labourers, no one class of persons, whose income is the least affected by receipts from agricultural land, has escaped heavy loss. Nor

is this all. The paralysis of agriculture reacts with disastrous effect on every other business and calling in the country.

Prophecies of the return of the piping times of prosperity have proved deceitful. The bottom is not yet reached in the fall of agricultural prices. The faint flicker of promise died out before it ever burned into a flame. The seasons continue to be unpropitious to arable farmers. The autumn was a season of rain and fog, during which heavy arrears of all sorts of farm work—sowing, ploughing, root carting, potato storing—were accumulated. Foreign corn pours into the country at prices with which English farmers cannot hope to compete. Wheat has touched the lowest price of the century; and yet the loaf but slowly follows the downward tendency of its material. Foreign barley beats its English rival out of the market for malting purposes by its quantity, if not its quality, and barley has reached the lowest price for forty years. Foreign beef and colonial mutton lower the price of stock for the producer without materially diminishing the cost of butcher's meat for the consumer. Hay is at famine prices, and the winter hardly begun. Bare of grass though the fields were, the mild weather and open month of November were indeed a godsend to the dairyman and stock-keeper. But both have been forced to reduce their stock, and to do it at a ruinous sacrifice. Nothing has sold well except pigs and those farm products which the majority of farmers either do not sell, or do not produce—such as horses, hops, hay, straw, and potatoes.

A comparison of the average prices of corn in December 1891 and December 1892 tells its own tale:—

Week ending	Wheat	Barley	Oats
	s. *d.*	*s.* *d.*	*s.* *d.*
December 5, 1891	38 11	30 0	22 2
December 3, 1892	27 0	25 5	17 2
Present decrease . . .	11 11	4 7	5 0

Without a gleam of light in the horizon, it is not surprising that the Agricultural Returns for 1892 showed diminutions in the area for corn crops of over 116,000 acres; for green crops of 27,000 acres; for grasses, permanent or temporary, of 118,000 acres. Already, as compared with 1877, 2,362,000 acres of the worst land have fallen out of cultivation. Moderate land follows in the same direction; even the

best deteriorates in quality. Six years ago Sir James Caird calculated the loss which landlords, tenants, and labourers had then sustained on their expendable incomes, after the usual outgoings had been met. He estimated that the owners of the land had lost 30 per cent., the occupiers of the land 60 per cent., the cultivators of the land 10 per cent. The total amount was, according to his calculation, over forty-two millions. In the past six years the mischief has been growing steadily worse. And it has been computed that, in 1891, as compared with 1874, there was a total loss of nearly 80,000,000*l.* in the annual value of agricultural produce. The Report of the Inland Revenue Department estimates the decrease in the value of land during the past eleven years at 11,000,000*l.* If this were capitalised at thirty years' purchase, it represents the enormous sum of 330,000,000*l.*, and this amount does not include the loss sustained by the tenant farmer, which has been put at 200,000,000*l.* The total loss is equal in amount to that of a foreign war and an indemnity at its conclusion. Where is the landlord's income to come from? Where the farmer's rent, or the labourer's wages?

When all these unfavourable circumstances come at the back of a prolonged period of agricultural depression, the oldest industry in the country is brought within measurable distance of supreme disaster. In corn-growing districts further remissions of from 15 to 20 per cent. of rent must be made, or fresh land will be thrown out of cultivation, and less farm labour employed. Ten years ago the margin for shrinkage was wider than it now is. To meet falling prices rents have been in most cases fairly readjusted, and have been reduced to an amount which little, if at all, exceeds the old rentals of 1836. To landowners any fresh reductions mean the total loss of interest on all the large sums that have been in the past thirty years expended on drainage, farm buildings, and cottages. In his speech before the National Agricultural Conference, Mr. Chaplin gave some interesting and instructive figures respecting the famous Holkham estate of Lord Leicester. Including the sum of 190,000*l.* expended in the purchase of land, there has been spent on the making and improvement of the estate in Lord Leicester's own lifetime, and in that of his predecessor, 1,095,000*l.* The net income of his estate—that is, the income after meeting the usual outgoings on an estate—was, in 1842, 33,000*l.*; in 1878, 40,000*l.*; in 1891, 23,000*l.*; and in 1892 a further large reduction has taken place. Thus, taking into consideration the reductions made during the current year, the present income amounts to not more than 2 per cent. interest on the expended

capital, leaving absolutely no profit at all from the land itself. Nor is this an exceptional case in the eastern counties. In numerous cases land cannot be cultivated for corn at a profit, even when rent free. Even the dairying districts are beginning to feel the weight of the storm, though they have hitherto escaped with comparatively little loss.

Already in every county there are dozens of landlords hanging on by their eyelids, so to speak, in hope of better times. In every county, again, a score of country houses might be mentioned which are already either closed or let, the owners absentees on the Continent, or living in towns where no outdoor expenses are required, or occupants of some smaller establishment on their own properties. Those who still can live in their own houses, if their income is derived solely from the land, can only do so by reducing the scale of their living, putting down carriages and horses, dismissing servants, employing less labour in the garden and the covert, and offering less hospitality. The same state of things prevails with farmers, who raised money in the hope of returning prosperity, and now find the margin which remains after paying interest too small for a livelihood.

Fixed charges, incurred in times, or in hopes, of greater prosperity, hang like millstones round the necks of both landlords and tenants. They may scheme day and night to pinch here and save there, in order to satisfy the claims of the rent-charger, mortgagee, or money-lender. But the time for payment not only recurs with a monotonous, persistent, mechanical reiteration, which produces a feeling of despair, but seems to return with ever-increasing velocity as the margin from which the payment is to be met dwindles lower and lower. The graphic language of Carleton's 'Farm Ballad' applies equally to landlord and to farmer:—

'We worked through spring and winter, through summer and through fall,
But the mortgage worked the hardest and steadiest of them all;
It worked on nights and Sundays, it worked each holiday;
It settled down among us, and it never went away.
Whatever we kept from it seemed almost as a theft;
It watched us every minute, and it ruled us right and left.
The rust and blight were with us sometimes, and sometimes not;
The dark-browed, scowling mortgage was for ever on the spot.
The weevil and the cut-worm, they went as well as came;
The mortgage stayed for ever, eating hearty all the same.
It nailed up every window, stood guard at every door;
And happiness and sunshine made their home with us no more.
Worm or beetle, drought or tempest, on a farmer's land may fall;
But for first-class ruination, trust a mortgage 'gainst them all.'

Many a landlord, as well as farmer, has found cause to realise the bitter truth of verses which strike home in England as well as in America. The outlook is gloomy if the so-called owners and occupiers of land have to meet fixed charges out of a falling income. Though the rental of land in England at the present day is, as has been said, not more, and probably less, per acre than it was in 1836, still the cry is continued which, in the mouths of the ignorant, solves every difficulty and closes every argument,—'Let the land-'lords come down with their rents.' What is a landlord to do who has succeeded to an estate which is encumbered with settlements or mortgages? He cannot dispose of his estate, for land is a drug in the market. Freehold farms, tithe free, will not, in many parts of the country, fetch the sum expended upon the buildings and the drainage. He cannot raise more money upon his land, in order to develope its resources, for his heroic outlay will not pay, and mortgagees are shy of land as an investment. Rates and taxes swallow up whatever is left from interest and rent-charges, and the unhappy landlord becomes a mere agent between his tenants and the tithe-owners, mortgagees, or tax-gatherers. Even the man whose estate is free is at his wit's end, unless he is the fortunate possessor of an income derived from some extraneous source. To keep his tenants is his main object: but he cannot be expected to invest capital in land, which, as an investment, is as unremunerative as Consols, and yet scarcely more secure than Argentines. And, at the best, it must always be remembered that reductions of rent are only palliatives; they do not attempt to cure the disorder.

Nor is the lot of the farmer more propitious. It is true that every one can probably mention an instance of some individual farmer who has weathered the storm, and even made money. But for such exceptions there is always some special explanation forthcoming, whether it lies in the man, the market, or the management. It is true, also, that there are people who repeat old cries, and who impute the farmer's difficulties to his extravagance, or to his attempt—in which his wife and sons and daughters have shared—to better his manner of living. Why should the farmer alone be debarred from the best results of that progess which is the boast of the nineteenth century? And the explanation of agricultural depression, which the repetition of such cries affords, though true in some cases, is palpably inadequate as a generalisation. It is as old as the hills. As early as the seventeenth century, a gallant officer of Cromwell's army,

who wrote on agriculture, attributes the troubles of the farmers to their 'high stomachs.' Their expenditure has always been the favourite target of penmen. In 1801 farmers were charged, by poetic exaggeration, with soaking bank-notes instead of rusks in port wine. In 1816 it was argued that, if farmers drank sound beer instead of sour claret, and if their wives returned from the piano to the churn, they would still be wealthy.

But such special instances of prosperity, or partial explanations of adversity, will throw no light upon a general condition of things which is palpably deplorable. The evidence of the reality of the farmer's troubles is too strong to be resisted. There is an element of truth in the fact that farmers sit too closely to routine, and that it is the John Trot geniuses of farming who have gone most completely to the wall. It is true, also, that the land cannot support two gentlemen's incomes, and that there is no real substitute forthcoming for the minute personal supervision of an omni-present master. It may also be true that the generation of men who, like a farmer in the writer's county, held it to be 'bad economy to wear out the sheets,' and who had ridden round their farms in 'the forepart of the day' before 7 A.M., is less numerous than it was. But neither elasticity in farming methods, nor rigid economy, nor early rising and the master's eye, can achieve miracles. Nor can the remedy lie in increased outlay or higher farming. The average land of England is better drained, its live stock better bred, better fed, better housed, better tended, than any other land or stock in the world. The difficulty is not, as in old times, the increase of productiveness, but the absence of profit. There is no encouragement either for landlords or tenants to expend capital. Such expenditure is heroic, but 'it is not 'war.' Nor will a further reduction in rent solve the problem of low prices, heavy taxes, and foreign competition. In many parts of the country, a farmer, following the ordinary routine of arable cultivation, could barely make a living if he held his land rent free.

Nothing is heard now of the triumphs of high farming. At present prices it is waste of money, and the instrument, which the slow progress of centuries has perfected, is abandoned at the moment when it has succeeded in doubling the produce of the soil. The margin of profit on the staple produce of agriculture has dwindled to nothing before the increasing volume of foreign competition. Corn growing has ceased to pay; even meat farming and dairying have

become unprofitable. Farmers, as a rule, are too weak, too poor, or too dispirited, to embark on new and unknown enterprises, in which their landlords cannot afford, as heretofore, to be their pioneers. Arrears, bills of sale, liquidations, bankruptcies keep in advance of reductions and remissions of rent. Hitherto the farmer has maintained his ground by receiving remissions of rent, or by making reductions in his labour bill. What is he to do when the milch cow is drained dry, or when he has reduced his outgoings in the wages to starvation point?

The brunt of the agricultural storm has been borne by the landlords and the farmer. The labourer has suffered last, as well as least, by agricultural depression. His advance since the early years of the present century is enormous. No pains have been spared to improve his moral and material welfare. He is better lodged, better fed, better clad, than he was a hundred years ago. His work is lighter, and, if tested by the purchasing power of money, his wages are higher, than they have been for centuries. But the worst aspects of his life still remain the same,—the want of continuous employment, the excess of the supply of labour over the demand, the absence of any reasonable prospect of emerging from the condition of hired service, and the almost inevitable pauper allowance which rewards the close of an industrious career. One at least of these features has been darkened by free trade. Protection *did*, at least, secure a large employment for the agricultural population. The restriction of arable land before the pressure of foreign competition in wheat-growing enables the farmer to employ fewer hands. Other features in the labourer's lot have been undoubtedly worsened by the recent depression, and there is no question that the agricultural labourer himself is far more keenly sensitive to the evils of his lot. The glut of labour is increasing; economical management, and larger breadths of grass, whether temporary or permanent, entail less and less employment; continued depression necessarily means still further reductions in the number of labourers, and, in the case of those who are fortunate enough to find employment, lowered wages. It is probably true that the skilful industrious labourer is still comparatively at a premium, and that the chief sufferers are the idle or the unskilled. But these last form an increasing proportion of the agricultural labourers. If they stay at home, their wages during the casual employment of the winter months are aided from the

rates, and thus they increase the burden of the already crushed ratepayer. If they go away, they drift to London, attracted by the golden vision of schemes like that of General Booth, and swell the ranks of those who are unemployed and like to remain so. And, meanwhile, the most promising lads in the village look to a more extended sphere than that which satisfied their parents. The educational requirements of the day prevent them from acquiring that varied experience which their forefathers began to gain as soon as they could crawl, and the drudgery of later acquisition is not to their taste. Thus from discontent, as well as from idleness, or want of work, the depopulation of the villages continues; the exodus to the towns increases in volume; and streams of young agriculturists find their El Dorado in the workhouse, fall a prey to agitators, and raise the importunate unthinking cry for that State employment which no State has ever yet been able to provide.

Such are the conditions which meet the eye of the most casual observer who cares to look into the circumstances of country life. There is, as we have said, something rotten in the conditions of agriculture. And under present conditions this rottenness is a general source of danger. It is a formidable evil that the soil should be less productive than it might be, that the landlords are impoverished, the farmers dispirited, the labourers unemployed. But it is a matter of infinite concern to the State, at the present crisis, that the agricultural labourer, endowed with political power, and imperfectly educated, should be thus deeply, yet vaguely, discontented. For great political principles he cares nothing. Standing on the border line between comfort and misery, he only appreciates questions which affect his physical well-being. He turns a deaf ear to any argument that can be addressed to him on such subjects as the maintenance of the Empire or the Union. They do not touch his pocket, so far as he can see. But the prospects of change appeal to him strongly. His position, he thinks, cannot be worse; it may be better. He is not sufficiently educated to distinguish between true and false remedies, between promises that are possible and impossible of realisation, between the nostrums of quacks and the medicines of physicians. But he is acutely conscious of his own *malaise*, and is eagerly bent on his own relief. His memory is tenacious of injuries and oblivious of benefits. Deep down in the recesses of his intricate mind are hidden vague theories of lost rights, and more distinct traditions of past

wrongs. He knows nothing of the economic laws to which his present condition is mainly due; he remembers none of the kindnesses that have been done him, for he regards them as bribes to keep him quiet; he forgets none of the occasions when his condition has been worsened to improve the lot either of landlord or tenant.

Such a picture of the agricultural labourer of to-day is not, we believe, overcharged. There are lights to the dark shadows; but the shadows predominate. Such a man, at the present crisis of his mental and social development, is the born victim of any agitator who will offer him any pecuniary advantage. For the moment, at any rate, the 'practised hustings liar' can impose upon the rustic as he pleases. The feeling of the agricultural labourer towards his employers, the fancied antagonism of what he believes to be his and their interests, his restless discontent, his deafness to any higher considerations than those of his own material welfare, are the worst features in the present depression of British farming. The contrast between rural France and rural England is, in this respect, significant and instructive. French peasants are the principal guarantees of the stability of the State; English agricultural labourers are the chief obstacles to stable government. In England the country, in France the towns, are as inflammable as touchwood in contact with political firebrands. In England it is the artisan, in France the peasant, who replies to the wild panaceas of social agitators—'Cela est beau; mais il 'faut cultiver mon jardin.'

A depressed and decaying industry, an impoverished class of landlords and tenants, a dissatisfied class of agricultural labourers, depopulated villages, and overcrowded towns—these are the features in English country life which arrest the attention of the most casual observer. All the pleasing fictions of rural felicity are rudely dispelled by experience. The idyllic squire has taken his place by the side of the Arcadian shepherd as the most unreal of poetic creations. Strephon or Corydon in Chelsea china is not more false to facts than is the top-booted, apple-faced, irascible, prosperous farmer who personates John Bull. The cheerful, grinning, smockfrocked rustic of pictorial imagination would hardly recognise himself in the hollow-cheeked, sour-visaged agricultural labourer who chews the bitter cud of hostility to the squire and the farmer. The crisis is grave. Revolutionary legislation is strenuously advocated. The example of Ireland or of Wales may at any moment spread to Eng-

land. The one bright spot in the agricultural outlook is that landlords and tenants have been drawn more closely together by community of misfortune. But the agricultural labourer is the master of both at the polling booths, and he has been easily led to believe that his interests are antagonistic to those of his employers.

The depression is a palpable fact which it is impossible to ignore. All classes suffer from it, and the State is already a loser by it in more ways than one. On this point there is almost unanimous agreement. But what is the cause? and what the remedy?

The immediate cause of agricultural depression is unquestionably the fall in the prices of agricultural produce. The English system of land tenure, the antiquated subtleties of the English land laws, and the legal relations of landlord and tenant may, or may not, have intensified the disaster. But it is at least significant that, twenty years ago, the summit of agricultural prosperity — when the methods of English farming set the example to the world; when, acre for acre, English land produced more than any other soil; when English stock was the best bred and the highest priced—was reached under the same conditions of tenure and law which are now made the scapegoats of the present difficulty. In many respects, indeed, those conditions were more unfavourable than they now are. During the past twenty years the land laws have been reformed by the extinction of hindrances to the division of landed property, and by the simplification of methods of land transfer; tenant-right has been recognised to a reasonable degree by the legislature in the Agricultural Holdings Acts; the game laws have been modified; the law of distress has been limited in its range. One condition only has changed for the worse. The price of agricultural produce has sustained a tremendous fall; it is falling now, and there is every probability that it will continue to fall. This is the one new feature in the agricultural situation of 1892 as compared with 1872, and to this fall in prices, aggravated by inclement seasons, the present depression is almost entirely owing.

And it must be borne in mind that, though some of the causes of agricultural depression may be, and are, peculiar to Great Britain, the same bitter cry of agricultural distress is heard from all parts of the globe, and proceeds from rural populations living under circumstances totally dissimilar from our own. The great corn-producing countries—Russia

and the United States—are loudest in their complaints. In another article in the present number we have described the pitch of penury to which the Russian landowners and Russian peasants are reduced by usury and famine. From the Western States of America comes the plaint of the farmers, who declare that it is impossible for them to live under the burden of their debts, and who have organised a political party to extort relief. In Germany, in France, in Italy, agricultural produce is protected by heavy duties; but landlords, farmers, peasant proprietors, and labourers complain that these duties do not render their position more endurable or less desperate. To whatever corner of the globe we turn the same cry is heard. Everywhere, however dissimilar the circumstances, the same result has arisen, and the most striking phenomenon of our times is that the oldest and most essential of our industries—the cultivation of the soil and the production of food—has become unremunerative.

On the fact of agricultural depression and on its immediate cause unanimity prevails. When remedies are proposed and considered, the widest possible divergence of opinion exists. It would be impossible to discuss all the suggestions that have been made for the solution of the agricultural problem. Some, we may hope, are impracticable; others seem impossible; others, again, are trivial in comparison with the catastrophe they are designed to avert. It is, of course, obvious that a further reduction of rent is not a cure. Falling rents are symptoms of depression; they cannot be its remedies. But there seem to us to be two main heads under which the proposed cures may be arranged. The first is State aid, either to extinguish the present system of land tenure or to support it by protection, the remission of local taxes, or a change in the currency. The second is self-help, or the different ways in which agriculturists may help themselves. On each of the above heads we propose to offer a few remarks.

The first class of remedies falls under the head of State interference for, or against, the present system of land tenure. The whole class of remedies, except the readjustment of local taxation, or a change in the currency, is open to one great objection. It has hitherto been the boast and the justification of our system of land tenure, that English landlords have done without State assistance. But before discussing the propriety of State aid to alter or support the present relations and occupiers, let us see exactly what the

existing system is. How, in other words, is the land owned, occupied, and cultivated?

And, first, as to the ownership of land.

The total cultivated acreage of England and Wales is, roughly speaking, 27½ million acres.

The Domesday Book, compiled in 1874–5, shows that there are 972,836 proprietors of land, owning between them a little over 33 million acres. But on these figures two observations must be made. The calculation includes building as well as agricultural land, and among its landowners are included 703,200 persons who between them own 151,000 acres in estates of less than one acre in extent. It is more important to note that, in round numbers, 4,220 persons own half the agricultural land of England and Wales; that an amount exceeding the whole cultivated area of the country, or more than 28 million acres, is owned by 38,000 persons; that 255,000 persons own 31½ million acres.

Secondly, as to the occupation of the land.

There are in England and Wales, excluding holdings under five acres, about 338,000 agricultural holdings, the size of which varies from five to over 1,000 acres. The average extent of agricultural holdings in England and Wales but little exceeds fifty acres. But such a statement by itself creates an entirely false impression. Nineteen millions of the 27½ millions of cultivated acres are occupied in holdings ranging from 100 acres and upwards. More than a third of the total cultivated area (10¼ millions) is occupied in holdings of between 300 and 500 acres in extent. The total number of tenant farmers is about 300,000.

Thirdly, as to the cultivation of the soil.

The agricultural land of England and Wales, thus owned and occupied, is cultivated by, in round numbers, 870,000 agricultural labourers.

These statistics have an extremely important bearing on the remedies proposed both for the alteration or support of the existing system of land tenure, and for the relief of agricultural distress. They explain the strength of the demand for theoretical legislation by revealing the weakness of the present system. They suggest that one class at least of the suggested remedies lies beyond the pale of practical politics.

The small number of persons now engaged in agriculture is the striking feature of our present system. Not more than 17 per cent., or scarcely more than a sixth of the total population, consist of agriculturists, and of this body less than a

sixth possess any proprietary interest in the soil. If this result be compared with the existing condition of France, or with the previous conditions which prevailed in this country, the contrast is sufficiently startling.

Speaking roughly, one third of the land in France is held by 50,000 owners, one third by 500,000, and one third by 5 millions. There are, therefore, rather more than 5½ millions of persons who possess proprietary interests in the soil. In France, again, the industrial population of the country is 90 per cent. of the whole, and 53 per cent. of the whole consist of agriculturists. The contrast between the former and the present conditions of the system in this country are not so startling, but they are sufficiently impressive. Making every allowance for the incorrect estimates of early statisticians, it appears that, in the reign of Elizabeth, and again in that of William and Mary, three-fourths of the total population were directly engaged in agriculture; and of this three-fourths considerably more than half possessed at this later date a proprietary interest in the soil. Coming down to later times, we find that in the early years of protection, 1811, 1821, and 1831, there were respectively 35 per cent., 33 per cent., and 28 per cent. of the total population directly engaged in agricultural pursuits.

Compared, then, with our Continental neighbour, or with previous conditions in this country, the most marked peculiarities of English land tenure are the extraordinary small number of persons for whom agricultural pursuits find employment, and the still more extraordinary small number of those who possess proprietary interests in the soil. Is it surprising that superficial observers should fasten upon these peculiarities, attribute the undoubted collapse of English farming to that which is its most marked feature, and seek to approximate the conditions of its land tenure to those which once prevailed in this country, and which still prevail elsewhere? Another feature in the existing system is the comparative isolation of the insignificant number of landlords. The direction in which legislation recently appears to be moving has, indeed, shown the farmers that they must make common cause with the squires, if they themselves are to survive at all. The artificial creation of a State-aided class of peasant proprietors means the extinction of tenant farmers just as much as it means the expropriation of landlords. Yet even then, even if landlords and tenant farmers stand loyally by one another, shoulder to shoulder, their joint forces are outnumbered, two to one, by the agricultural

labourer, who is alone to benefit by the creation of a peasant proprietary, and who is therefore taught to believe that his interests are directly antagonistic to those of landlords and tenants.

The bearing of these statistical facts upon the various remedies which invoke State interference in some form or another is obvious and important. It is a reasonable estimate of the numbers of those who own, occupy, or till, the land, to say that they but little exceed 1,200,000 persons. Two-thirds of this number consist of agricultural labourers, and the landlords constitute a bare sixth of the whole. Guided by these facts, let us examine the remedies which fall under the head of State interference, and first those which propose a root and branch change in the present system of owning, occupying, and cultivating the land.

It is upon these statistical facts, upon Continental examples, upon the conditions which once prevailed in this country, and upon the admitted collapse of agricultural industries at the present moment, that advanced 'land 'reformers' rely for the strength of their case. Their remedy is the acquisition of the land by the State, and the creation of a class of peasant proprietors. Take away the land from its present owners, relieve the tiller of the soil from the incubus of the landlords, extinguish the tenant farmer, and establish the agricultural labourer in the position of both owner and occupier, and agriculture will recover like magic.

In a former number of this Review* we discussed some of the fallacies which underlie the proposed nationalisation of the land and its redistribution among an artificially created class of peasant proprietors. We admitted that a natural increase in the number of those who possess proprietary interests in the soil was socially, politically, and, in some respects, economically, advantageous. But we showed from facts which are, we believe, wholly indisputable, that in no country in the world has such a class been created by legislation; that the standard of living among peasant proprietors is below that of agricultural labourers; that the system is not a preservative against agricultural depression; that, all over the Continent, landlords and tenants exist side by side with a peasant proprietary, and that the predominance of the one or the other is governed by economic causes. We further showed that the present landlord system of

* 'Edinburgh Review' for January 1887.

England has been the result of a natural growth; and that in America, where no feudalism, entail, or primogeniture exist, and where land transfer is rapid, cheap, and simple, the system of land consolidation in few hands is quickly supplanting the system of land distribution among a multitude of small owners. Theorists, therefore, who demand this heroic remedy in England propose to inaugurate a vast legislative experiment for which they have no precedent, and to put into general practice a system which depends for its success on special conditions of society, training, soil, climate, and geographical position. And to gratify their passion for a theoretical Utopia of agriculture, they are prepared to shake to its foundations the security of law, to undermine the stability of national credit, and to effect a social revolution which, if their favourite continental examples are of any value, will establish the money-lender, and not the agricultural labourer, in the real ownership of the soil.

If continental experience can afford no parallel to the wholesale expropriation of landlords and the artificial creation of a peasant proprietary in their place, there is certainly nothing in the peculiar history of the growth of landed property in England which can justify so unprecedented an experiment. It is undoubtedly true that in this country the small owner has been sacrificed, but his place in society has been occupied by the artisan. The concentration of large estates in the hands of capitalist landlords and capitalist tenants was an indispensable preliminary to the advantages which England gained over all other countries in the race of commercial supremacy. Without the system of large farms, the country could not have supported the thousands who sprang into existence round every centre of manufacturing industry.

But it would be unsafe to ignore the fact that there is a growing feeling in this country which blames the present system of land tenure for the present agricultural depression, and which forgets that capitalist landlords have rather been the saviours than the destroyers of rural prosperity. It is because we recognise the gravity of the present crisis, the imminent risk of experimental legislation, and the immense value of the appeal to history as well as to experience, that we heartily welcome the advent of a new worker in the field of historical inquiry. Mr. Russell Garnier, with competent knowledge and painstaking industry, has studied the various phases through which our land system has

reached its present shape. For practical purposes, indeed, Mr. Russell Garnier has not reached the most interesting part of his subject. His present volume is only an instalment of his 'History of the English Landed Interest,' and he has not carried his investigations further than the beginning of the eighteenth century. In other words, he has stopped short at the point where the present system of landholding definitely began to assume its present exclusive form.

Such a work as Mr. Garnier's has a practical as well as an antiquarian value. It is with the caution of the historical student, and not with the rashness of the legislative theorist, that the land question of the future should be approached. In the past are recorded the different stages through which English agriculture has passed, the causes—commercial, social, and political—which have effected successive changes, the conditions under which common farming, or a peasant proprietary, or a yeomanry, or a tenantry, have each at various periods proved most advantageous to the community. History affords the best corrective to the vague panaceas of theorists, as well as to the confident predictions of specialists, who, from a bird's-eye view of the examples of foreign countries, advocate systems of land tenure which can only prove successful under particular conditions of society, soil, climate, commercial policy, or geographical position. A book like that of Mr. Garnier—which epitomises with praiseworthy care and impartiality the researches of students, collects into a compact, continuous form the scattered results of independent inquiry, and presents the whole in a readable shape—will not teach farmers how to farm with profit, or legislators how to cope with existing difficulties. Its utility is rather negative than positive. It supplies admirable historical tests by which men of practical experience in the operations of agriculture may try the paper theories of those who exercise their speculative ingenuity in constructing plans for the so-called reform of our present system of land tenure. It will show, for example, why the old plan of common farming failed at one time and succeeded at another; why the wider interests of the nation demanded the divorce of a peasant proprietary from the soil; why the extinction of the yeomanry proved a necessity of the times; why the consolidation of large estates in the hands of capitalist landlords and the creation of large farms in the hands of capitalist farmers proved indispensable preliminaries for the attainment of England's commercial greatness. And, passing from the past to the

present and the future, it will show what are the only conditions under which, with any reasonable prospect of success, common farming may be restored, or a peasant proprietary re-established, or a yeomanry revived, or large estates re-divided among smaller owners, or large farms reparcelled among smaller tenants.

If the theory of expropriating landlords, and creating peasant proprietors, be rejected to the limbo of crude panaceas, the present system of land ownership, occupation, and cultivation must remain in its broad features unchanged. Agriculture must still continue to be a partnership, in which the capital of landlords, tenants, and agricultural labourers is embarked, and in which their interests are, or ought to be, identical. As State aid has been invoked for the destruction of the present system, so also it is invoked for its maintenance. In one case, the small number of landowners and tenants is the principal source of danger, lest the State should interfere; in the other, it is the principal reason why it is unlikely that the State will intervene.

The bearing of the statistical facts which we have mentioned upon such a scheme as protection, or, if we prefer to call it so, fair play, or reciprocity, or fair trade, is at once obvious. Protection in its naked form means that the breadstuffs of the community are to be taxed for the benefit of the classes directly interested in agriculture. In other words, it means hunger, created by Parliament, and perpetuated by Parliament, for the benefit of a single industry. It is quite true that other sections of the community, and the State generally, would profit by the revived prosperity of farming; but, in its direct effect and undisguised intention, protection means State-made hunger.

Let us assume, in the first place, that landlords, tenants, and agricultural labourers combined to swell with their united voices the cry for protection. What then? What prospect is there that one-sixth part of the nation will persuade the other five-sixths to pay sixpence for the fourpenny loaf in order that the additional twopence may go into the pockets of the minority? One of the speakers at the recent National Conference expressed his intention of clamouring at the doors of Parliament for the return of protection. For every man he could enrol in such a cause the free trader could muster five. What inducement can an infinitesimally small proportion of the community offer to any conceivable government which would tempt it to alienate a portion of the population which is numerically five times

the largest? What arguments can be pleaded which would justify a representative government in an elective assembly in thus sacrificing the interests of the majority to those of the minority?

To all the devices by which the nakedness of protection is veiled the same answer applies with almost equal force. It is, for instance, urged that protection is not wanted by the British farmer. He can take care of himself if only he gets fair play. All that he requires is, that every bushel of foreign corn which comes into this country should pay the same taxes that English produce has to pay. From his point of view it might be desirable that such a tax could be imposed. And it is possible that, if the Government fixed week by week the price of bread and meat on a fluctuating scale determined by the selling prices of wheat and stock, together with a fair allowance for the profits of middlemen, they might not only impose the required import duties, but actually lower the prices of bread and meat for consumers. The plea cannot, however, alter the facts. Fair play means that corn is to be sold in this country at a dearer rate than is necessary, in order that home producers may be benefited by the difference in price. Even fair play means State-made hunger for the benefit of a very small class. That good results might flow from the imposition of such a tax, and that it would mean increased employment and higher wages, is possible. But these are not the results which would be made most prominent or which appear most conspicuously on the surface. With a vast ill-educated electorate, appealed to by candidates, agents, and journalists who have sacrificed their patriotic instincts to the dictates of political rancour, what chance has such a scheme of being carried? Once more the numerical insignificance of agriculturists affords a fatal objection to the practicability of such a project.

The same argument applies to that class of propositions which seeks to attain the end of protection without enhancing the price of food. It is, for instance, proposed that all persons paying income tax under Schedules C and E should pay an additional tax of 6*d.* in the pound, and those under Schedule D an extra 3*d.* in the pound, and that the money thus raised should be applied in bonuses for corn at the rate of 15*s.* an acre for wheat, 10*s.* for barley, and 8*s.* for oats. But here again the disproportion between the agriculturists and the rest of the population interposes an obstacle. It is sufficiently obvious that such bonuses would

raise rents, and who is there that would support a measure for the relief of the 38,000 individuals who own an area exceeding the whole cultivated soil of England and Wales?

Hitherto we have assumed that, in this demand for a protected industry, landlords, tenants, and agricultural labourers make common cause. But against the whole line of suggestions which look to some form of protection as the remedy, it is notorious that the 800,000 agricultural labourers, almost to a man, are up in arms. If protection is even whispered to Hodge's wife her domestic instincts are instantly alarmed. Here and there a labourer may see that constant employment and bread at 5*d.* is better than no work and the fourpenny loaf. But his wife believes that she knows better. The extra penny would be the last straw in her endurance, and so Hodge is driven to the poll to register his vote against the candidate whose party has been cunningly identified with the reproach of dear bread. Nor is this all. Hodge is not a quick or subtle reasoner. But he never forgets an object lesson. He is told that protection would mean higher wages. It may be so; he has had no experience. But he well remembers that, in the farmer's piping times when corn was high, his own wages were lower than they now are. He is aware that his wages have risen; but he knows that the rise really consists in the increased purchasing power. He doubts whether he is not better off as he is now than he would be with a shilling a week more and bread a penny dearer. And he feels no security that the rise in the money wages would be permanent. If he could be given a lease of his improved wages, he might be more disposed to listen to argument. But without protection against the economic laws of demand and supply which regulate the labour market, he will have nothing to say to dear bread.

If the whole 1,200,000 agriculturists worked together to carry protection, they would be outnumbered six to one by the population whose interest it is that bread should be cheap; but when the demand really comes from a body of about 400,000 persons, the request becomes, in appearance, at least, too palpably absurd to be entertained. Protection is a will-o'-the-wisp which will infallibly lead the agriculturists into the slough of despond. The farmer, who sleeps in his empty cornbin and dreams of the return of that golden era, is potentially a ruined man; for every man who says that bread and meat are too cheap there are a hundred who say that both are too dear.

If State aid for the wholesale creation of a peasant proprietary and for the revival of protection are either undesirable or impossible, in what direction is the distressed agriculturist to turn for relief? Another remedy that has been suggested is the readjustment of local taxation. Let us examine the proposal and test its value.

A good case may, doubtless, be made on behalf of landlords for relief from some portion of the existing burden of local taxation. The equity of their claim was, in fact, conceded by the late Government when they proposed their abortive wheel and van tax. So long as the community was indirectly taxed for the benefit of agriculturists, it was reasonable that personalty should be otherwise relieved and that agricultural land should bear a corresponding burden in the shape of local taxation. While protective duties kept up the price of corn, and the administration of the Poor Law paid the farmer's labour bill, the incidence of rates upon the land maintained some sort of balance by compensating the community for the payment of taxes on behalf of agricultural industries; but since 1834 the Poor Law has been altered, and since 1848 protection has been abandoned. The reasons which justified the escape of personalty and the incidence upon land of the burden of rates are at an end; but land continues to bear the load, and personalty continues to escape.

Mr. Goschen, in the conclusion of his elaborate report on local taxation,* says that the burden upon land was not greater in 1868 than it was at various periods of the preceding years of the century. This may be so. But the comparison, to be just, must recognise the above stated fact—namely, that in the first forty years of this century the heavy rates on agricultural land were compensated by the high price of produce which protective duties secured and by the public wages fund which the old Poor Law maintained. A remission of local taxation is the legitimate consequence of free trade and a new Poor Law. Now that no tax is levied on the expenditure of consumers for the benefit of agriculturists, and now that farmers pay their wages out of their own pockets, it is only fair that local burdens should be readjusted or lightened. Have they been thus readjusted or lightened? On the contrary, they are enormously increased.

New charges have been thrown upon the land; old means of assistance withdrawn; the method of assessments scares

* Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, 1870, vol. lv.

away capital from agriculture; the old charges grow heavier day by day. What is the intimate connexion between land and education that throws upon the former the expenses of the latter? Why should brewers and coal merchants make a profitable use of roads which, since the abolition of turnpikes, they do not assist to maintain? Why should agricultural land be assessed at a percentage which is double that of railways or mines? Why should the tax be levied on the gross rental of land while it is only levied on the net income of funds, stocks, and shares? Why should the investor in agricultural improvements find himself assessed on his improvements and on the increased productiveness of his land? And, finally, why is it that the old charges upon land, whose weight was originally half supported by the contributions of the community at large, have been item by item increased, when those contributions are withdrawn, and when agricultural land has diminished in value? It may be said, in answer to the last question, that land has enormously improved in value, and that the difference between the eight million of rates raised in 1841 and the twenty-eight millions of 1891 is not disproportionate to this rise in value; but, in point of fact, it is only building land that has increased in value. Acre for acre, agricultural land is probably worth less than it was in 1815, when the total rates were 8,000,000*l.* and when the landed interests were still supported by protective duties and a wages fund.

The grievance of the landed interests does not end with the heavy incidence of local taxation. The evil is immensely aggravated by bad administration. For conveniences of collection the compound householder was created, and the change, thus introduced to save the time of collectors, has deprived the unhappy ratepayer of his only natural check on the expenditure of local bodies. Bound hand and foot, he is delivered over to the disastrous consequences of local mismanagement and extravagance. He suffers without prospect of redress from the lavish generosities of democratic bodies who do not, in many cases, contribute to the actual expenses. Neither the small householder nor the cottager cares about the expenditure of the rates. They benefit by the outlay, and its amount does not affect their pockets. Consequently, those who are directly interested in economy find themselves perpetually outvoted by those who have escaped their liability by a happy accident and do not contribute to the expenses which they accumulate.

But though the case for relief, on account both of the

amount of local taxation and of its maladministration, may be strongly put, it by no means follows that the relief will be obtained. It is true that a certain portion of the probate duty has been allocated in aid of local taxation; it is also true that there is less succession duty to pay on landed property. Both these facts may be taken into the fullest consideration, and yet landed property is, relatively to personalty, grossly overtaxed. Even then, however, experience has recently shown that once more the numerical insignificance of the class to be relieved is fatal to the best founded arguments for remission of local taxation. The interests affected by the imposition of a wheel and van tax proved more powerful than the handful of agriculturists. Any proposal of remission is certain to be received with open hostility by that considerable section of the community which is more or less impregnated with Mr. Henry George's flashy theories of land nationalisation. It would be far more congenial to the views of these persons, and far more in accordance with the tendencies of modern legislation, to increase the already heavy burden that is laid on the property of the few 'monopolists.' And, assuming that the relief were given, what would be the effect? The remission, like the fall of rent, is at the most a palliative; it cannot be a cure. If agricultural land were relieved by a shilling an acre, the measure would be wholly powerless to avert the impending catastrophe. On a three hundred acre farm it might put six pounds into the pocket of the landlord, six pounds into the pocket of the farmer, and give the labourer an extra shilling a week. Doubtless such an effect would be a happy one; but it would be wholly futile to expect that a remission of a shilling an acre in local taxation would enable farmers to compete with foreign producers in the production of corn.

Yet another form of State aid is advocated as a cure for agricultural depression, and that is the change in our monetary system which is known as bimetallism. It is contended that the continuous fall in prices is due to the enhanced value of gold, and that the balance would be restored if this country adopted a gold and silver standard in the place of a single gold standard. The subject is exceedingly abstruse, and cannot be adequately handled except by financial experts. But certain facts are true beyond dispute.

In the first place, there have been five conspicuous epochs of agricultural depression during which marked disturbances of the currency were also present. At the beginning and at

the close of the sixteenth century, at the end of the seventeenth century, between the years 1765–73, and during the years 1813–36, the disordered state of the currency constituted an important factor in agricultural distress. Again, the most prosperous era for agriculture, 1854–73, which the present century has witnessed, was literally a golden age, because it synchronised with the large influx of gold consequent on the discovery of new gold fields, and, as a result, a rapid rise in prices. The presence of this factor, alike in adversity and in prosperity, suggests that the present crisis may be similarly affected by disturbances in the currency.

In the second place, it is obvious that any rise in the value of gold—any increase, that is, in its purchasing power—necessarily lowers prices, just as the influx of gold and its consequent cheapness necessarily raises prices. And there can be no question that, at the present moment, gold has risen in value, both absolutely and relatively. It has risen *absolutely* from its comparative scarcity. The evidence before the Silver Commission of 1876 proved that the production of gold was diminishing, and the same evidence was given before the Select Committee on Trade in 1885. Since 1873 there has been a gradual drain upon English stores of gold, so that between the years 1877–81 the exports of English gold exceeded the imports by over 11,000,000*l.* Not only was less gold produced, but the financial condition of other countries created a larger demand for the metal. Within the last fifteen years several European nations, as well as the United States, have replaced their paper currencies by specie payments. During the same period, also, Germany adopted the golden system with a subsidiary silver coinage in the place of the single silver coinage, and her policy was followed by Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. If a gold standard is to be adopted in India, the scarcity of gold will be yet further increased. And, owing to the immense influx of silver, gold has also risen in purchasing power *relatively*. This rise will, in all probability, be yet further enhanced when America throws her stores of silver upon the market. The absolute and relative increase in the purchasing power of gold was estimated by so great an authority as Mr. Giffen at 30 to 35 per cent. as long ago as 1888.

There are, then, these three features—the influence of the rise of gold in cheapening produce, the presence of currency disturbances at previous epochs of agricultural prosperity and adversity, and the admitted increase at the present

moment in the purchasing power of gold. It may well be that the English farmer is injuriously affected both by the famine of gold and the glut of silver. In the sale of his own produce he suffers from the scarcity of gold; in competition with foreign rivals, such as the corn merchants of India and the farmers of America, he is handicapped by the glut of silver, which enables those two countries to speculate in the exchange. Whether the English farmer does, or does not, so suffer is a point which has hardly yet been discussed. But there can be no question that the instability of silver is a deplorable feature of modern commerce, and that any proposal which will settle the silver market, provide against sudden depreciation, and check speculation in the ore, would be heartily welcomed.

So far it is probable that there is little division of opinion. But before seeking the remedy for the admitted effects of any disturbance of the currency, there are certain points which must be proved. In the first place it must be shown that bimetallism will adjust the balance and will restore the former purchasing power of gold, which, it must be remembered, has risen not only relatively to the value of silver, but absolutely from its own increased scarcity. Secondly, it must be shown that the present purchasing power of gold is something more than the restoration to the former level—a return, that is, to the value which it enjoyed before the influx of gold consequent on the discovery of new mines. In other words, it must be decided whether gold was from 1851 to 1873 unduly depreciated, or is now unduly appreciated—whether prices were not, from 1851 to 1873, inflated, and have only now reverted to their real values. And, thirdly, it must be considered how far the fall of prices is due to the rise in the value of gold, and how far it is caused by over-production—how far, in other words, the present crisis is due to scarcity of sovereigns, and how far to a glut of produce.

These three points are not, we confess, established to our satisfaction. Meanwhile it must be remembered that, if any change is eventually made, it will certainly not be made for several years to come; that, if ever the change of front is made, it will be made in deference, not to the wishes of landlords and tenant farmers, whose stake, though great, is small in comparison with the wider financial interests of commerce and manufacture; that on this point, as on so many others, there is no means of enlisting the sympathies of the

agricultural labourers, who number two-thirds of the whole agricultural interests. Bimetallism is not a cry to take the country by storm. It cannot be set up as a rival either to 'the 'land for the people' or 'protection to British interests.' And while we heartily desire to see the question threshed out by experts, who are not interested, as most financial authorities in England are, in the appreciation of gold, we cannot think it prudent for agriculturists to pin their faith to State aid in the direction of a complete change in the currency laws, and to neglect for this, at present, dubious boon, the fast-fleeting opportunity of setting their house in order for themselves, and mitigating by strenuous efforts every remediable evil of their condition.

It is in fact to some form of self-help that the landed interests must look for the best prospect of relieving their present distress. Looking to their numerical insignificance, it seems plain that, if they want help, they must help themselves. It has hitherto been the chief justification of our system of land tenure that English landlords have done for themselves what in other countries the State has undertaken. Their public spirit has vindicated their position. It may still do so, now that they are on their trial. If they are disunited among themselves, their weakness will be intensified. In union lies their only hope of successfully resisting rash and experimental legislation. And the first duty of agriculturists is to discover what steps can be reasonably taken to strengthen the ties between landlords and tenants, and what to obtain the support of the agricultural labourer.

What, in the first place, can be done to improve the existing relations of landlord and tenant?

The first answer, no doubt, would be a further reduction of rent. But rent means not only the money paid for the use of the land, but also the interest on the landlord's capital, which has been sunk in the land. On most of the estates in this country rents have been adjusted to the fall of prices, and no further reductions are possible, unless the landlord is to be deprived not only of the whole profit of his land, but also of the interest derived from his expended capital. Some mechanical mode of establishing a continuous balance between rent and the prices of agricultural produce is a more legitimate demand than the further reduction of rents. A sliding scale which shall automatically adjust rents to the rise or fall of prices might with great advantage be more generally adopted. Such a sliding scale as that which was introduced

on Lord Tollemache's estates * serves as an example of our meaning. Difficulties might arise as to the percentages, and it is probable that the scale is less equitably adapted to falling than to rising prices. But the difficulties would at least be reduced to a minimum; much friction would be avoided; and the tenant would receive as a right what he now asks as a favour.

An indefeasible right should also be secured to tenants in any improvements which they have effected upon their farms. To give this right has been the object of the Agricultural Holdings Acts. But the object has been half-heartedly pursued. The provisions of the Act of 1875 were optional, and those of 1883, though compulsory, are cumbersome and inadequate. Agricultural improvements may be classified under three heads. First, there are those permanent improvements which are effected by landlords, on which no question arises. Secondly, there is the increased fertility of the soil which is produced by the use of artificial manures, and which is of a temporary nature and quickly exhausted. Thirdly, there is the effect of skilful farming, which lasts for several years, but is also capable of exhaustion. It is on these two last heads, and especially on the third, that difficulties arise. To secure to tenants the full benefit of their improvements, to give them greater security for their outlay, and to protect them against the alternative of a notice to quit or an increased rent, several proposals have been made. The most important is that which recognises a dual ownership in the land. Tenant right, thus interpreted, carries with it the three F's—fixity of tenure, fair rents, and freedom of sale—and places the tenantry under the tutelage of a Land Court. But it is probable that never in the history of English farming was such a proposal more dangerous or less required

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* Average price of three crops.

	s.	d.		Rise or fall upon the rents.
	44	0	. . . .	Rise of 25 per cent.
	41	6	. . . .	„ 20 „ „
	39	0	. . . .	„ 15 „ „
	36	0	. . . .	„ 10 „ „
	34	0	. . . .	„ 5 „ „
Standard	31	6		
	29	0	. . . .	Fall of 5 „ „
	26	0	. . . .	„ 10 „ „
	24	0	. . . .	„ 15 „ „
	21	6	. . . .	„ 20 „ „
	19	0	. . . .	„ 25 „ „

than it is at present. It is dangerous, because to make such a demand is to divide two classes whose interests are inseparably united, and to divide them at a moment when their friendly union is their only chance of survival. It is unnecessary, because nine tenants out of every ten have more fixity of tenure than they want: land competes for tenants, not tenants for land; and every farmer can drive his own bargain. Dual ownership is not justified by the history of English farming, and the intervention of a Land Court between Irish landlords and tenants has not contributed to the prosperity of either class. And to the principle of open sale in the market, apart from the question of dual ownership, there is one fatal objection. The incoming tenant buys up the improvements of the outgoing tenant, and therefore enters upon the farm with his own capital exhausted or reduced. It is, in our opinion, wiser to adhere to the principle, and improve the details, of the existing law of agricultural holdings than to take refuge in an experiment which in another part of the country cannot be claimed as a success. The value of any additions to the letting value of land made by the skill and capital of tenants should be estimated—if necessary by a body of experts and arbitrators—and the value of the improvements capitalised at seven years' purchase. If the tenant who has made the additions remains on the farm, the capitalised sum should be deducted from the increased rent over a period of seven years. If he is an outgoing tenant, it should be paid to him by the landlord, and the rent proportionately raised for the incomer. Whatever demands tenant farmers may make of the State, they must remember that the tendencies of modern legislation threaten their very existence even more directly than they menace the existence of landlords. A Land Court is more likely to be erected for peasants, than it is for tenant farmers who occupy large holdings.

Other points in which the business relations between landlords and tenants might be improved are the law of distress and the equal division of rates between owners and occupiers. The effect of the existing law of distraint is to bring men into competition for farms who have not the requisite capital for the undertaking, and to tempt landlords to accept a higher bid for their land than they know the tenant can afford to pay. The equal division of rates between owner and occupier is a reform which has been long before the country. More than twelve years ago the Duke of Richmond's Commission recommended it, and the measure is

more necessary now, when every cash payment by the farmer means a sale of his produce at ruinous prices, and when the county councils are already in operation, and village councils threaten to follow, and when the expenditure of local bodies is rapidly increasing.

If the existing business relations between landlord and tenant were modified in these respects, if rents were without exception fairly readjusted to meet the times, if full security for their outlay on improvements were afforded to tenants, if the law of distress were so far modified as not to be the instrument of unfair competition, and if rates were equally divided between owners and occupiers, there ought not to be the slightest vestige of antagonism between the two classes. They are already united by community of interest and the presence of a common peril. Such changes as those suggested would transform business relations into hearty co-operation.

We do not propose to offer advice to farmers on the practical side of their business. Our concern is rather with the framework of their industry. Continued falls in prices crush the spirit of enterprise out of agriculturists. But these are not the times when farmers can afford to sit tightly to routine. It is in corn-growing districts that the distress is most severely felt, and we cannot help thinking that, in the eastern counties, where the blow has fallen the heaviest, more advantage might be taken of mixed farming on the French system, and that the making of cheese and butter, and the breeding and rearing of cattle, might be, there as well as abroad, extensively practised on light arable soils. Markets and not soils ought to determine the question of produce under the improved conditions of modern agricultural science. Some of the best foreign butter is produced not from pasture-fed cattle, but from the yield of tares, clovers, roots, and rye. If the soil is too light for permanent grass, varied farming pays, and it is peculiarly adapted for the growth of beef, mutton, veal, butter, milk, and pork, in the production of which lies the best hope of British farmers.

Every practical change in farming that can be suggested for depression is necessarily local in its application, and space permits us only to deal in generalities. As things now stand, landlords and tenants may be, and, we believe, are, united; but the agricultural labourers stand aloof if they do not declare open hostility. What can be done to enlist the cultivator of the soil on the side of owners and occupiers?

What prospect can be offered to them which will weigh in the balance against the proposed creation of a peasant proprietary?

The attitude of hostility towards farmers and landlords which the labourer has assumed, and which was expressed by his votes at the recent elections, and through his representatives at the recent Conference, is one of the principal dangers of the present crisis. The votes of the cultivators of the soil are double as many as those of the owners and occupiers put together, and they are, therefore, more certain to make their voices heard and to have their claims satisfied. There can be no question that what the agricultural labourer wants is to acquire an independent position on the soil either as a peasant owner or as a peasant occupier. He is tired of being always a servant; he wishes to be if not an employer of labour, at least master of his own. Until his wishes are to some extent satisfied, he will remain discontented, rebellious against the existing system of land tenure, and prepared at any moment to vote for revolutionary changes in the ownership and occupation of the soil.

If there were no arguments for change besides the unfounded discontent of the labourer, we should be the last to advocate any concession to his demands. But, in the first place, every peasant owner or peasant occupier who acquires an agricultural holding is at once attracted by the magnetic influence of self-interest to the cause of the landlords and tenant farmers. He becomes one of their class and one with their interests. In the second place, every peasant owner or peasant occupier weakens the case for subversive changes in our present system, because the fact of his existence demonstrates that our land laws and tenures are not so inelastic as to be incapable of adaptation to new requirements. In the third place, there is a definite prospect that small holdings may be made to pay where large farms cannot be worked with profit. In the fourth place, peasant holdings offer him a ladder in the social scale, and relieve the dreary hopelessness of his lot. And, lastly, the acquisition of some proprietary interest in the soil would give him some definite stake in the country and give fresh stability to settled government. To multiply peasant holdings is at once to strengthen the landed interests in the very point of numbers where they are most susceptible to attack and most incapable of resistance; to checkmate the determined move which is made for the subversion of the present system of tenures; to vary the farming industries which have been too much

confined to one single branch; to open up fields of profitable enterprise which the large farmer almost necessarily neglects.

Co-operative farms are not, in our opinion, the shape which small farming should assume. Jack is as good as his master, and one idler drags down the rest. Neither do we think—at least, in the first instance—that peasant freeholds are the most desirable form for the change to take, although the new Small Holdings Act contemplates their creation. To buy his holding the peasant must in some way or other borrow money, and the charge will weigh him down, while in bad seasons he has no one to fall back upon except the money-lender. It is rather to peasant tenancies, with their wide scope of varieties, that we look forward with the greatest hope.

What are the peasant tenants to produce? The answer is easy. A sum of thirty-five millions sterling is annually paid to foreigners for such articles as bacon and hams, pork, poultry, rabbits, lard, cheese, butter, eggs, potatoes, apples. These are exactly the commodities which small tenants might produce at a profit, and in the production of which their contiguity to the home market would be of the greatest advantage. Many of the articles enumerated above are of that perishable nature which gives home producers the natural monopoly of distance. It would probably be universally admitted that peasant holdings might be made to pay when occupied by men who make no outlay on wages, who exercise an unflagging vigilance and an untiring industry, and who are lavish only of their labour and sparing of everything but themselves. If English agriculturists are forced to discard the steam plough, they may yet learn to make spades trumps.

A practical difficulty in the creation of peasant tenancies is the initial outlay required for the necessary buildings of a twenty acre farm. But the requirements of small holdings are simple and need not be expensive. Suitable farm buildings, exclusive of the dwelling, can be erected for between thirty and forty pounds. If necessary, the precedent of Ireland might be followed, and money advanced from State funds. Or the Prussian land banks might be imitated in this country. Or, hating as we do the idea of State interference with English agriculture, it might be provided by the landlords themselves under some such system as that of the *Caisses de Crédit Raffeisen*. This system, which was originated by M. Raffeisen, of Neuwied-am-Rhein, has proved successful wherever it has been tried. Societies of landlords form

syndicates, and issue 3 per cent. bonds upon the security of their land. The money thus raised is advanced to farmers for their buildings and their stock at easy rates from 3½ to 4 per cent.

Peasant tenancies, thus provided by landlords, are, in our opinion, less experimental than peasant proprietaries under the patronage of the State. If landlords and tenants can unite more closely together, the increased friendliness of their relations will be a gain. But unless they can not only mitigate the hostility of agricultural labourers, and by natural means bind to their side by the strong tie of community of interests a very considerable portion of the cultivators of the soil, we regard their union as practically powerless. It is only when more closely united, and at the same time increased in numbers, that they can hope successfully to defy the divisions and antagonisms which threaten to subvert the existing system and to make their voices really heard in the councils of the State. The landed interests, if consolidated as we have indicated, and organised as a political force, might exercise a political influence which, divided as they now are, they are far from possessing. Nor need the organisation be only, or indeed mainly, political. It should be commercial also. The agricultural union should establish branches in every town for the sale of all farming produce, and thus bring the producer into direct communication with the consumer.

To sum up what has been said. The key to the agricultural situation, so far as the demand for State interference is concerned, lies in the numerical insignificance of owners and occupiers of land, and the hostile attitude of the cultivator of the soil. State interference is far more likely to subvert than to maintain the present system. Protection is less likely to be granted as a boon to landlords and tenants than the creation of a peasant proprietary as a boon to agricultural labourers. If landlords and farmers could only clear their eyes of the dust of protection, they would see the danger as clearly as those who stand aside from that agitation. To invoke State aid is dangerous, as well as useless. In the union of the three capitalists who are now engaged in the cultivation of the soil lies the path of safety. How to secure the hearty co-operation of the agricultural labourer is the pressing problem. But we cannot conceal our forebodings that if landlords do not use their opportunity to secure that co-operation, the State will intervene from a direction which is diametrically antagonistic to the present landed interests.

ART. X.—*Twenty-five Years in the Secret Service: the Recollections of a Spy.* By Major HENRI LE CARON. London: 1892.

IT has been for many generations the boast of British politics, that under our constitutional system political changes, however extreme, may be sought by the employment of what are known as 'constitutional means.' If an oppression or an injustice, a wrong or a grievance, exists, every opportunity is afforded by our Constitution for its exposure, and, if possible, for its redress. British citizens had thus until recently grown up in the belief that, though in some countries, and in an earlier period of our own history, it was possible to palliate, or to excuse, or even to justify, the commission of acts of violence in the pursuit of political ends, here in England at the end of the nineteenth century there existed no valid reasons to diminish the guilt of those who had recourse to the methods and the tactics natural to the political conspirator.

The great change brought into our political controversy by the late Mr. Parnell has hardly yet received sufficient attention. To the country Mr. Parnell appeared to be an active member of Parliament, the leader of a small party below the gangway. His object was, indeed, virtually to repeal the Union, an end deemed inadmissible by all British statesmen; but no one questioned his right to advocate that policy in Parliament or out of it, and to persuade, if he could, the people of the United Kingdom of the righteousness and the expediency of the ends he sought. But Mr. Parnell was not walking in the footsteps of the men who, having been in their earlier days reckoned extreme politicians, have at last, by force of character and ability, won from the House of Commons and from the country the respect and confidence which gave them power. Our free institutions have made us acquainted with the popular demagogue. We have seen again and again the sobering effect of responsibility and of established position upon the noisiest of agitators. But it was not as an agitator that Mr. Parnell won power. For the first time in our modern history, we find working together in the closest alliance a parliamentary party and a treasonable conspiracy. Mr. Parnell in the last few years of his life wielded greater power in Parliament than many British statesmen. Yet it was in truth quite as much to his career as a conspirator as

to any qualities of statesmanship that his position in and after the year 1886 was due. The language of Mr. John Bright at the end of 1887 was justified at the time, and has since been proved up to the hilt:—

'Mr. Parnell's right hand clasps the hand of Mr. Gladstone on this side of the Atlantic, and with the other he maintains a fraternal greeting with the gang in New York, by whom outrage and murder were and are deemed patriotism in Ireland, and who collect the funds out of which more than half the Irish party in the Parliament at Westminster receive their weekly and monthly pay to insult the Speaker, and to make useful legislation impossible.'

These remarks suggest themselves after the perusal of the singularly interesting volume the title of which appears at the head of this article. Apart, however, from the importance attaching to the account Le Caron is able to give of the doings and projects of as monstrous and wicked a conspiracy as ever existed, the tale of his own life is a very curious one.

Henri Le Caron, whose real name is Thomas Beach, was born at Colchester in 1841, and the circumstances of his early youth appear to have been hardly such as would make especially congenial to him a life of constant adventure and danger. To the teetotal rearing he received from his parents he is duly grateful, attributing to it some of the successes of his later life 'in keeping clear of danger through intoxica-'tion when almost all of those with whom he dealt were 'victims to it.' Apprenticed to a Quaker draper in his native town for seven years, the lapse of twelve months was quite sufficient to convince him and his employers also that he had no special call to that vocation, and by mutual arrangement he found himself early in the year 1857 'free 'once more.' Three times in the course of his boyhood he ran away. Before he was sixteen he was in London, subsequently making his way to Bath and Bristol, 'always in 'search of change, though everywhere doing well.' This restless spirit led him to France and to Paris, where he knew not a soul, and where he was soon in a fair way rapidly to exhaust his little stock of money. Straying by chance one Sunday into the English church in the Rue d'Aguesseau, his heartiness in the service and the singing attracted the notice of a member of the congregation, who not only helped him with an immediate loan of money, but got him into the Church choir, and before the week was out had found him a permanent situation. His time in

Paris appears to have been the most settled and the quietest of his life.

'And so the weeks came and went without discovering any change in my position, till an unlooked-for incident once more brought the wild mad thirst for change and excitement back to me, and sounded the death-knell of my quiet life. On April 9, 1861, the shot was fired at Fort Sumter which inaugurated the War of Rebellion of the United States. That shot echoed all over the world, but in no place was the effect more keenly marked than in the American colony in Paris, which even in these early days was a very numerous one.'

The young teetotaller, the Quaker's apprentice, the choir boy of Colchester and the Rue d'Aguesseau, had now become a prosperous tradesman in Paris; but the war excitement was too much for him, and at last, 'throwing care and discretion to the winds, he took the plunge and embarked in the "Great Eastern" on her first voyage to New York.'

Beach was in search of adventure. He had no thought of permanently residing in America. His name of Le Caron, and the passing himself off as a Frenchman, were expedients adopted partly to save his parents anxiety on account of their son's position, and partly out of mere joke. Enlisting for three months, the period in which, at first, the Northerners supposed the rebellion could easily be suppressed, he served throughout the whole war, and took part in many of the bloodiest engagements of that sanguinary strife.

On one occasion, when in command of a troop of thirty horse engaged upon scouting duty in Tennessee, he and the greater number of his men were surprised and taken prisoners by a band of Confederate soldiers. They were to owe their liberty, perhaps even their lives, to the courage and presence of mind of the daughter of the house where they were being entertained. We give the story in Le Caron's own words:—

'A large log smoke house was improvised for a prison, and in this my comrades and myself were placed, tortured with indignation and with hunger, as the riotous sounds which followed proclaimed to us that our captors were partaking of the supper which had been originally intended for ourselves. Our position altogether was anything but a happy one. Death was very near. Irregular troops like those with whom we had to deal seldom gave quarter. If we escaped immediate death, it would be only to be brought within the Southern line to be condemned to a living death in prison.

'We sat and pondered; and as the probabilities of the future loomed heavily and darkly before us, the sounds of revelry in the adjoining house gradually died away. Our captors, filled with the good things provided for us, gradually dropped to sleep, and soon nothing

was heard but the measured movement and breathing of the guard stationed at the door. In a little time, however, there was perfect silence; and our watchful ears detected the absence of our sentry's person. Curious, but silent, we anxiously waited, and soon heard the withdrawal of the bolt by some unknown hand. Opening the door, we found the pathway clear. My brave Tennessee girl, finding the band of irregulars all steeped in heavy slumber, had decoyed our guard away on pretence of his obtaining supper, and, returning, had unbolted our prison house, prepared to face the consequences when the sleeping ruffians awoke. Through her action our safety was assured, and after walking fifteen miles we reached camp in the morning to join our comrades, who had given us up for lost.'

A year and a half afterwards Le Caron again met his gallant rescuer, and she became his wife.

'She is the principal legacy left me of those old campaigning days of mine—as bonny a wife and as sympathetic and valuable a helpmate as ever husband was blessed with in this world. Many years have gone by since we first met in Tennessee, when she, a bright-eyed daring horsewoman, and I, a happy-go-lucky cavalry officer, scampered the plains together in pleasant company. Little thought either of us then of the future that was in store. Yet when these years came, and with them the anxious moments, the uncertain intervals, and the perilous hours, none was more brave, more sympathetic than she. Carrying the secret of my life close locked up in that courageous heart of hers, helping me when need be, silent when nought could be done, she proved as faithful an ally and as perfect a foil as ever man placed like me could have been given by heaven. A look, a gasp, a frightened movement, an uncertain turn might have betrayed me, and all would have been lost; a jealous action, a curious impulse, and she might have wrecked my life; a letter misplaced, a drawer left open, a communication miscarried, and my end was certain. But those things were not to be. Brave, affectionate, and fearless, frequently beseeching me to end this terrible career, in which each moment of the coming hours was charged with danger, if not death, she tended her family lovingly, and faced the world with a countenance which gave no sign, but a caution which never slumbered.' (P. 19.)

When at length the armies of the North prevailed, Le Caron had attained the rank of major. With wife and family he settled down at Nashville, in Tennessee, little dreaming, doubtless, of the business to which he was about so soon to devote the coming years of his life.

At the close of the American Civil War there were cast upon the world many thousands of disaffected Irishmen, who, trained to arms by years of service in the field, now hoped to find fresh scope for their energies in establishing the independence of Ireland and in wreaking their vengeance on the detested British nation. Amongst Le Caron's old

companions in arms was 'General' O'Niel, a man who had served as an officer in a regiment of coloured infantry, and who had, like Le Caron, on the re-establishment of peace, settled in business in Nashville. The attempt at a rising in Ireland, organised by Irish and American Fenians in 1865, under the direction of the notorious Stephens, had completely failed, and the Fenian Brotherhood in America, dissatisfied with their want of success, became divided into two hostile sections, of which one, including the majority, led by Colonel Roberts, repudiated Stephens altogether, and declared its belief that 'no direct invasion or armed insurrection in Ireland would ever be successful in establishing an Irish Republic upon Irish soil, and setting her once more in her proper place as a nation amongst the nations of the earth' (p. 26). To these men the invasion of Canada appeared to be the project which afforded the best prospect of inflicting injury upon British power. The preparations were carried on with scarcely a pretence of concealment. Arms and ammunition to the extent of millions of rounds were purchased from the United States Government, and collected at different points along the Canadian frontier; thousands of men were regularly embodied and drilled; money appears to have been abundant, much of it being raised by the issue of Fenian bonds (a facsimile of one of these is given) for twenty dollars each to credulous patriots, whereby the Irish Republic, in exchange for cash down, bound itself to repay the same sum with interest. 'Very many of the persons displaying this credulity were Irish girls in service in the States, and thus came into vogue the sneering reference to the agitation being financed by the servant girls of New York.'

As an intimate friend of O'Niel, Le Caron became acquainted with many of the details of the plot, which so little pains were taken to conceal. As an Englishman he loved his country, and he determined, if he could, to thwart the designs of her enemies. It was, however, at first merely by way of giving startling news that in his letters to his father at Colchester he mentioned the information which was almost daily reaching his ears. Without his son's knowledge, the father, startled at the news that he received, laid the letters before Mr. Gurdon Rebow, the member for the borough, who in his turn, no less impressed with the importance of these communications, disclosed their tenor to the Home Secretary. At the request of the latter, it was ultimately arranged that Le Caron should transmit to his

father, and through him to the Government, every detail as to the contemplated invasion of Canada with which he could make himself acquainted. Henceforward, therefore, the story which Le Caron has published is accurately described as 'The Recollections of a Spy.' In 1867 Le Caron visited his parents at Colchester, was introduced by his father to Mr. Gurdon Rebow, and was by the latter put into personal relations with certain officials of the Government. The meeting took place at No. 50 Harley Street, and then and there

'the proposition was made that I should become a paid agent of the Government, and that on my return to the United States I should ally myself to the Fenian organisation, in order to play the *rôle* of spy in the rebel ranks. I knew that this proposal was coming. I had thought over the whole matter carefully, and I had come to the conclusion that I would consent, which I did. My adventurous nature prompted me to sympathy with the idea; my British instincts made me a willing worker from a sense of right, and my past success promised good things for the future.' (P. 38.)

In the 'Edinburgh Review' of July last an account is given* of the researches of Mr. W. J. Fitzpatrick into 'secret service' in the days of Pitt. It is remarkable that in almost every Irish conspiracy some one at least among the leading conspirators has been regularly trading with the Government of the day in supplying them with full information of the plans of his associates. It is astonishing with what success time after time the part of spy and informer has been played in Ireland by the professed patriot. Father O'Leary, Turner, and McNally not only enjoyed throughout their lives the confidence and admiration of the friends whom they were betraying; they have received since their deaths the admiration of a 'patriotic' posterity. McNally, for instance, was one of the most popular barristers of the day, the colleague of Curran, Ponsonby, and Emmet, and with them constituted the leading strength of Irish Liberalism. The able and trusted counsel who defended the victims of the Rebellion of 1798, who defended Robert Emmet and other rebels five years later, who, as an honoured patriot, had received the freedom of the City of Dublin, who, 'having on his deathbed been received into the 'Church of Rome, acquired a reputation for sanctity, super-'added to his reputation for patriotism, which survives to 'the present day,' is now known to have been from the

* 'Irish Spies and Informers.'

year 1794, if not earlier, to his death regularly supplying the Government with information, even telling them beforehand of the line of defence contemplated by his clients. The Government archives still contain some of McNally's briefs, annotated with his own hand.*

Blacker treachery than this it would be impossible to conceive. Le Caron's action was of a different character. He is an Englishman, the enemy of the enemies of his country. His first adoption of the part of spy was due to his desire to prevent bloodshed, to hinder the carrying into the peaceful province of Canada the calamity and the horrors of war. His service was at first unrewarded. His claim is to rank with the military spy, who, taking his life in his hand, enters the enemy's lines to procure information important to the success, perhaps essential even to the very existence, of his comrades in arms. We have here no instance of the Irish patriot who has 'turned traitor' for hire, who sacrifices the cause to which he is attached in order to reap rich rewards for himself. 'The Spy' of Fenimore Cooper's tale claimed in its day no cold approval for the useful, though despised, business of a detective. He drew out the admiring sympathy of a generation of novel readers for the devotion with which he sacrificed his reputation and risked his life for the sake of serving his country.

Le Caron makes upon his readers a similar claim. In his introduction he assures us of 'the absolute trustworthiness' of his tale.

'This,' he says, 'may seem strange language coming from one who, for over a quarter of a century, has played a double part, and who to-day is not one whit ashamed of any single act done in that capacity. Men's lives are, however, not to be judged by the outward show and the visible suggestion, but rather by the inward sentiments and promptings which accept conscience at once as the inspirer of action and arbiter of fate. It is hard, I know, to expect people in this cold prosaic age of ours to fully understand how a man like myself should, of his own free will, have entered upon a life such as I have led, with such pureness of motive and absence of selfish instinct as to entitle me to-day to claim acceptance at the bar of public opinion as an honest and a truthful man.

'Yet such is my claim. When years ago, as these subsequent pages will show, I was first brought into contact with Fenian affairs, no fell purpose, no material consideration prompted me to work against the revolutionary plotters. A young man proud of his native land, and full of patriotic loyalty to its traditions, I had no desire, no intention

* See 'Edinburgh Review,' No. 361, p. 101.

to do aught but frustrate the schemes of my country's foes. When, later on, I took my place in the ranks of England's defenders, the same condition of mind prevailed, though the conditions of service varied.

'And so the situation has remained all through. Forced by a variety of circumstances to play a part I never sought, but to which, for conscientious motives, I not unwillingly adapted myself, I can admit no shame, and plead no regret. By my action lives have been saved, communities have been benefited, and right and justice allowed to triumph, to the confusion of law-breakers and would-be murderers. And in this recollection I have my consolation and reward.'

Every Government—Mr. Gladstone's, no less than Mr. Pitt's—makes use of the services of informers, just as every efficient police administration employs the services of detectives. Are we to admit, and even to justify, the system, and at the same time to denounce as absolutely vile its indispensable instruments? Surely to some extent it is legitimate to deceive men, even by false pretences to enlist their confidence, in order to defeat the nefarious objects which they have in view. May not the detective deceive in order to obtain details of a projected murder which his discoveries alone will enable him to prevent? May not the informer worm himself into the confidence of men in order to frustrate plans involving the sacrifice of thousands of lives? These are the arguments and questions Le Caron puts before us. He was a true man, he asserts throughout; true to his country, but keeping no faith with the would-be murderer and the traitor. His employers, those who profited by his deceptions, were, it is admitted, honourable men. He asks his readers to say the same of him. The true service which he owed to his cause, his country, and his employers required from him the persistent deception of those to whom he owed no duty to tell the truth. This undoubtedly is a curious claim to confidence; one in support of which and against which much might be said. Like Lancelot,

> His honour rooted in dishonour stood,
> And Faith unfaithful kept him falsely true.

The average mind is justly impatient of a claim to confidence which it requires something like casuistry to maintain. Most men find it possible to be true to their country without being false to their friends, and there are not many Englishmen who will envy Le Caron his services to his country, however great they may have been. The important

question for us, however, is not whether Le Caron should be reckoned patriotic or base. The question is whether or not in the tale that he tells us he is speaking the truth. He tells us that he is a man without imagination.

'For me there is no such thing as romance to be indulged in here. The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth is what I have set myself to tell regarding all those matters with which I shall deal. There are many things, of course, to which I may not refer; but with respect to those upon which I feel at liberty to touch, one unalterable characteristic will apply all through, and that will be the absolute truthfulness of the record.'

Le Caron is here, we think, unjust to his own powers. We should not, with his own story of his life before us, ourselves deem him *incapable* of 'romancing.' Reasonable men will not believe the truth of his story on the mere ground that he could not, if he would, deceive the unsuspecting. They will cautiously imitate the practice of the criminal courts, where the evidence of an accomplice is held to require corroboration. Nobody, of course, thinks of dismissing testimony as worthless or incredible because it comes from an accomplice, but lawyers think it right to weigh it with special care, to test it, and to search for corroboration in the surrounding circumstances. We do not for a moment say that Le Caron was an accomplice. There appears to be no reason whatever for such a suspicion; but we say that, if Le Caron's story has been subjected to such tests, and has stood them, as would, if he had been an actual accomplice with the men whom he denounces, have entitled that story to credence, then it would be worse than folly to disbelieve his tale because, forsooth, the narrative is that of an 'informer'! And it must be borne in mind that his evidence was subjected to the severest test before the Parnell Commission. It was delivered under oath; it was exposed to long and able cross-examination by Sir Charles Russell; it might have been corroborated by a series of documents in the archives of the Home Office: but it remained absolutely unshaken.

In 1870 O'Niel had become President of the Fenian Brotherhood, and Le Caron, in view of the second 'invasion' of Canada, was appointed 'Adjutant-General, with the rank 'of Brigadier-General. We had quick promotion and brave 'ranks in the Fenian army!' He had already, as 'Inspector-'General of the Irish Republican Army,' in which office he received a considerable salary, distributed fifteen thousand stand of arms and millions of rounds of ammunition, and

had stored them at different points along the frontier, keeping the Canadian Government throughout accurately informed of the plans of the invaders. On April 26 O'Niel led his army across the frontier, of course without the least suspicion that the colleague who with him had arranged everything, and who now stood near him on a hillside watching the proceedings, had betrayed him. He tells us :—

'They were a funny crowd. All were armed, but few were uniformed. Here and there a Fenian coat, with its green and grey faced with gold, caught the eye, but only to stand out in contrast with the surrounding garments of more sombre hue and everyday appearance. The men marched with a certain amount of military precision, for all had received some amount of military training. At last they reached a little wooden bridge by which the water was crossed, and deploying as skirmishers in close order, they advanced with fixed bayonets cheering wildly. Not a soul appeared in front. The dark Canadian trees hid from their view the ambushed Canadian volunteers; and, fixed in their belief that nothing was known of their coming, they advanced in a spirit of effervescent enthusiasm. But not very far, however.

'A few paces, and on their startled ears came the ringing ping ping of the ambushed rifles, as the Canadians poured a steady volley right into their ranks. Utterly taken aback they stopped, broke rank, and fled, as in 1866, an ungovernable mob, to return for a moment in order to pour a volley upon their almost invisible enemy, and to finally retreat up the hill to where I stood, still under the fire of their adversaries, leaving their dead to be subsequently buried by the Canadians.'

President Grant, who was then in power, was a very different man from President Johnson, under whose eyes, if not with whose tacit approval, the Fenian raid of 1866 had been planned. General O'Niel was arrested in the very midst of his army by the United States Marshal, almost as soon as he had recrossed the frontier. He was placed in a covered carriage, and driven off full speed to some place where he could be kept in safe custody for trial.

'As the conveyance flashed by me I caught through the carriage window a hurried glimpse of the dejected face of O'Niel, who was seated between two men. I undertood the situation in a moment, but said nothing. To have given the command to shoot the horses as they turned an adjacent corner would have been the work of an instant, but it was no part of my purpose to restore O'Niel to his command.'

With this arrest 'the invasion' practically collapsed. A year later we find O'Niel again seeking the assistance of Le Caron in aid of the rising of half-breeds under Riel against the Canadian Government. The British spy readily supplied him with 400 breechloaders and ammunition, of

course taking care at the same time to keep both the Canadian and the British Governments fully acquainted with the projects of his old friend. O'Niel once more crossed the frontier, and, in consequence of the information supplied, was immediately arrested with all his party and war material, and Riel, thus deprived of the expected assistance, surrendered to Lord Wolseley without firing a shot.

The main interest and importance of Le Caron's 'Recollections' attach to the consecutive history which he is able to give us of the rise and growth in America of the conspiracy known as the Clan-na-Gael, and of its connection with what was called the Irish constitutional party, operating in Great Britain and Ireland under the leadership of Mr. Parnell. Amongst the disaffected Irish in America a desire had long been felt to unite in one vast organisation all 'patriotic' Irishmen at home and abroad; to merge in one great association the various smaller conspiracies into which the Fenian Brotherhood had branched, such as the 'Knights of the Inner Circle,' the members of the 'Brian Boru Circle,' and the like, and to bring about, not by means of the open measures which had proved so disastrous in Ireland and Canada, but by the determined efforts of a widely spread, absolutely secret, and absolutely unscrupulous conspiracy, that grand revolution which was to result in the establishment of Irish independence.

This movement hardly became general before 1873; but in that year, merging all other societies in itself,

'the Clan, now known as the V.C. or United Brotherhood, established subordinate bodies, or "camps," as they were called, almost simultaneously in all the leading centres of the United States. Secrecy was the text preached in every direction. Every member was bound by the most solemn of oaths to keep secret all knowledge of the order and its proceedings which might come to him, under penalty of death. A Masonic form of ritual was adopted; grips, passwords, signs, and terrorising penalties were decided upon, and all the pomp and circumstance of mystery, so dear to the Irish heart, and so effective in such a conspiracy, were called to the aid of those who now inculcated this new doctrine.'

No secret was made amongst its members as to the end for which the Clan-na-Gael was working. The official printed constitution stated that its

'object is to aid the Irish people in the attainment of the complete and absolute independence of Ireland, by the overthrow of English domination: a total separation from that country, and the complete severance of all political connexion with it; the establishment of an independent

republic on Irish soil, chosen by the free votes of the whole Irish people, without distinction of creed or class, and the restoration to all Irishmen of every creed and class of their natural privileges of citizenship and equal rights. It shall prepare unceasingly for an armed insurrection in Ireland.'

Thus the objects of the Clan-na-Gael were Fenian objects; the ultimate means to be employed were the Fenian means of armed insurrection in Ireland, and the directors of the Clan were themselves Fenians. Yet, in the view of the chiefs of the Clan, the time for insurrection had not come, and till the hour had struck the British enemy was to be injured by secret warfare alone.

It is from 1881 to 1886 that the history of the Clan in America is of most interest. In 1879 and 1880 the Irish Land League was founded in Ireland, and rapidly spread itself through the country. Mr. Davitt was its father. He, and also Messrs. Harris, Dillon, W. O'Brien, W. Redmond, J. O'Connor, J. J. O'Kelly, then or afterwards members of Parliament, were found by the three English judges, after elaborate inquiry, 'to have established and joined in the 'Land League organisation with the intention, by its means, 'to bring about the absolute independence of Ireland as 'a separate nation.'*

Thus from 1881 onwards there were three organisations at work. The Clan-na-Gael conspiracy in America, the Irish Land League in Ireland, the Irish Home Rule members led by Mr. Parnell at Westminster. What were the relations between the three?

Let us pursue a little further Major Le Caron's account of the Clan-na-Gael, of which it is hardly necessary to say that he soon became a prominent member, founding 'a camp,' and taking a part in the most secret doings of the governing body of the conspiracy. The Clan was officered by Fenians, by men who for the most part had been imprisoned in 'British dungeons,' but who had subsequently been amnestied through the exercise of the Royal clemency. Devoy had been sentenced to penal servitude for ten years, and had been amnestied. O'Donovan Rossa had been sentenced to imprisonment for life, and had been amnestied. Burke, Luby, and others had in the same way been sentenced by British judges, and released by the British Home Secretary before their sentences had expired. Ford, who was not a member of the Clan himself, kept in immediate communi-

* Report of the Parnell Commission.

cation with that association through the medium of his nephew, who was one of its members, and edited 'what was 'undoubtedly, though unofficially, their mouthpiece, the '"Irish World."' It is unnecessary to recall to our readers the kind of work which was advocated by that infamous 'organ of dynamite'! O'Donovan Rossa and Patrick Ford advocated in public that work which in secret the emissaries of the Clan-na-Gael endeavoured to carry out. The 'Skirmishing Fund,' the dynamiters' treasury, was in 1877 transferred from the 'Irish World' to what was, in fact, the trusteeship of the Clan-na-Gael. In the following year the father of the Land League, Mr. Davitt, himself a released Fenian, visited the United States, was met there by Devoy, 'put in an appearance at several Clan-na-Gael 'camps, and took part in their proceedings as a duly 'accredited brother and representative.'

At that time Devoy was giving prominence to his great project known as the 'new departure,' which, as Le Caron declares, and as we think is substantially proved,

'was nothing more nor less than the scheme which found its developement and outcome in the Parnellite movement—viz. the bringing together the two forces of Irish discontent—the Constitutional and Revolutionary sections—and while allying them for strategic and financial purposes, yet so arranging the compact that each was allowed to work in its own way for the accomplishment of the object which all had in view—the repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland.'

In January 1880 Mr. Parnell arrived in the United States, his ostensible object being to raise funds to succour the distressed peasantry of Ireland.

'All doubt as to the possibility of working the new move, and making it subservient to the requirements of the Revolutionary organisation, took immediate flight after he had been one week in America. In the view of the conspirators scattered through the States, Mr. Parnell had given himself over body and soul to the chiefs of the Clan-na-Gael. At every point, under every circumstance, without a single exception, well-known and trusted men of the secret councils were by his side and at his elbow, pushing him forward into prominence here, bespeaking a welcome for him there, and answering for his thorough fealty to the grand old cause at all manner of times. Nor did his own utterances leave any room for question. Brimful of references of deep meaning, and constantly lit up with the flashing of bayonets and rattling of musketry, his speeches breathed the sound of war and the policy of the hillside in every note, till men listening to his accents thought that at last the hour and the man had come.'

Mr. Parnell was recalled to Ireland by the necessities of

the General Election of 1880, and Mr. Davitt took his place in America. This time the latter saw little or nothing of the Clan-na-Gael. He was on the constitutional tack. He had founded the Land League in Ireland, and was now eagerly bent on establishing an Irish Land League organisation throughout the States. He saw a great deal of Le Caron, and had with him many an interesting talk.

'I was quite *au courant* with Land League matters, for as an official of the Clan-na-Gael I had been instructed to develope the movement in every district, which I accordingly did, following the usual practice of enrolling my colleagues of the Clan-na-Gael as members of the League Branch, and thus keeping the control in our own hands. At public meetings held in favour of the open movement—it will be observed I speak of the Land League as the "open," and the Clan-na-Gael as the "secret," movement—I frequently presided, and when the occasion arose introduced Davitt and Devoy.'

In January 1881 Devoy visited Le Caron's neighbourhood. The Clan-na-Gael leader and the secret service agent had many a confidential chat together, in the course of which the latter was informed of the difficulty found in restraining the more ardent spirits in Ireland. The leaders there were against a rising whilst the organisation was in its then weak condition; but many of the followers were crying out that something should be done, and it was feared lest dissatisfaction with a policy of inaction would weaken the ranks of the organisation. At the same period Le Caron was in communication with Alexander Sullivan (then a member of the executive of the Clan, afterwards its president, and since known to the public from his connexion with the Cronin murder) and with Meledy, also a leading member of the Clan, and from them he learnt 'that a new 'plan of campaign was coming into force, nothing more or 'less, indeed, than one of cold-blooded murder and destruc-'tion.' A supply of hand grenades had been offered to the organisation, and the informer Carey subsequently confessed that it was with a hand bomb just perfected that he and other members of the Invincible conspiracy had arranged to assassinate the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Early in the year 1881 Le Caron visited Europe, and at the request of the Executive of the Clan-na-Gael took charge of certain documents which it would not have been safe to trust to the Post Office. Devoy accordingly placed a couple of sealed packets in his hands for delivery—one to Patrick Egan, the treasurer of the Irish Land League, and the other to O'Leary, formerly a Fenian convict, and at this time

recognised as the official intermediary between the Clan-na-Gael and the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Ireland. Both resided in Paris, and to Paris accordingly Le Caron repaired, *viâ* London, where, in passing, he had an interview with Mr. Anderson, on behalf of the Home Office, to whom he showed the two packets. Egan was living in Paris in some style, 'a man of bright and cheery presence.' A close intimacy sprang up between the two, Le Caron evidently finding his own circumstances in the French capital pleasant enough.

'Egan lived in the most extravagant fashion, and as he would pay for everything, and would not allow me to share in any outlay, I had the best of all things without any strain on my pocket whatever. He frequented the most expensive cafés, had the choicest of dishes, would only be contented with the best boxes at places of entertainment, and in a word spent his money right royally. The information should be pleasant reading for the poor dupes in America and Ireland who subscribed to funds over which he was then presiding.'

With a leading member of the Clan-na-Gael coming to him straight from Devoy, Egan, of course, did not think it necessary to maintain any reserve. He boasted of his having in former days been the backbone of the Fenian organisation in Dublin, he admitted that he had been a member of the Supreme Council of the Fenian body there, and he did not attempt to conceal his own view that the open agitation was but a branch of the movement to obtain the separation of Ireland from England. Of all these conversations Le Caron made careful notes, and reported them to his chief in London. With Egan he shortly afterwards travelled to London, was taken by him for the first time to the House of Commons, and was by him introduced to Mr. Parnell and to several Irish members as 'one of our friends, 'from America.' Le Caron and Egan went back to Paris, where they resumed their former habits of intimacy, till the expressed desire of Mr. Parnell to see the former once more before his return to America again brought Le Caron to London.

The story told by Le Caron of his interview with the Home Rule leader at the House of Commons is, of course, but a repetition of the evidence given by him on oath before the Special Commission. Having gained admittance to the Lobby, he followed Mr. Parnell to a corridor outside the Library, and there the latter, pacing to and fro with his companion, told him in low tones how he wished him to act on his return in producing hearty co-operation between the

moderates and the revolutionists and between the movements in Ireland and America. Those in America, he observed, had the power of stopping the supplies, and in that way could control the home organisation. He expressed his belief that Devoy could do more than anyone else to bring about a clear understanding and alliance, and he commissioned Le Caron to use his influence with Devoy, and to arrange for his presence in Paris at as early a date as possible. Mr. Parnell further asked him, after seeing Devoy, to proceed to Alexander Sullivan, W. J. Hynes, and other persons (who were active members of the Clan-na-Gael), and endeavour to bring about a good understanding. The Irish leader then discussed more generally the position of the Irish question.

'His remarks on this point were a veritable bombshell to me. He started off by saying that he had long since ceased to believe that anything but the force of arms would accomplish the final redemption of Ireland. He saw no reason why, when we were fully prepared, an open insurrectionary movement could not be brought about. He went carefully into the question of resources and necessaries. He stated what the League could furnish in the way of men and money, and informed me as to the assistance which he looked for from the American organisation. He spoke of having in the League Treasury at the end of that year an available sum of 100,000*l*. He discussed with me the details of the position occupied by the home and American revolutionary organisations, and defended the American policy for the time being. I parted with him with the assurance that I would do all he wished. . . . The manner of the League chief had been grave and impassive, as was his wont; he had been business-like all through; there was no uncertainty, no indistinctness, in his utterance. He had certainly made a plunge, but it was a plunge taken with all deliberation and premeditation. . . . On reaching the street I called a hansom at once, and, late hour though it was, drove straight to Mr. Anderson's private house, in order to acquaint him with what had happened, whilst the facts were still fresh in my memory. Carefully I went into every detail, and as carefully Mr. Anderson followed, taking a note as I went along of the principal points. The early dawn had crept upon us ere my report was finished, and concluding at last, I took my departure, to lose no time in getting that sleep for which I commenced to pine, and which I considered I had very fairly earned.'

Le Caron before returning to America went to Ireland and visited Kilmainham prison, where he made the acquaintance of Mr. Dillon and of Sheridan and Boyton, who were confined there, the two last being, it may be remembered, according to the late Mr. Forster, leading spirits amongst the outrage-mongers of the West of Ireland. In his visit to Europe, this paid agent of the Home Office or of Scotland

Yard had exchanged views with every variety of Irish Home Ruler, with Revolutionists such as Sheridan and O'Leary, and with reputed Constitutionalists such as Mr. Parnell. On his return he was able to report to his associates of the Clan-na-Gael that Irish patriots of every kind were all working for a common end—viz. the establishing of an independent Irish Nation, an achievement which in the end could only be brought about by an armed insurrection. And for this ultimate insurrection the Constitutionalist member of Parliament no less than the Revolutionist and the Fenian was preparing.

We cannot follow at length Le Caron's narrative as to the means by which the Clan-na-Gael acquired complete control of the Irish Land League or National League in America. We have already seen how, in pursuit of definite instructions from the executive of the Clan, Le Caron had succeeded in officering his own district branch of the Land League with trusted members of the Clan. This system was pursued throughout. From the account that Le Caron was able to give of the ultimate aims of Messrs. Parnell and Egan, the Clan had little reason to fear that co-operation with the League would hamper them in accomplishing their ends. At last the matter had been put in its true light. The League was a great engine working for the independence of Ireland. The Clan would use it for that purpose.

In August 1881 a great Convention of Irish revolutionaries was held at Chicago. It lasted for a week, and was attended by Dr. Gallagher, the manufacturer of dynamite who is now in Portland Gaol, undergoing a sentence of penal servitude for life; by Lomasney, the supposed author of the attempt to blow up London Bridge, who perished in the attempt; by Devoy, and by others of light and leading in the Clan. It ended in the appointment of Alexander Sullivan as president of the Clan, with headquarters at Chicago. A graphic description is given of this strange assembly, for Le Caron was of course present. To our mind, however, the statement of accounts of the Skirmishing Fund furnished at this Convention, and set out at page 193, affords the best key of all to the complete comprehension of the methods by which the patriots of the Clan-na-Gael endeavoured to keep alive the game of rebellion, and to injure the British oppressors of Ireland.

At the end of the same year, and also at Chicago, took place the public Convention of the Irish Land League of America. It was then seen that the tactics of the Clan-na-

Gael had succeeded, that the secret organisation had completely captured the open movement, several of the most violent members of the Clan being elected, in pursuance of the resolutions of the Clan caucus, members of the central executive of the League. At this Convention several visitors from Ireland, amongst them Messrs. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., and Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., attended, and took part in the proceedings.

In April 1883 another public Convention of the Land League, now called the National League, was held, this time at Philadelphia. The Clan had been steadily pursuing its old tactics, with still more conspicuous success; for, out of seven members of the executive of the newly named organisation, five were members of the Clan-na-Gael, and the new president was Alexander Sullivan himself, the chief of the Clan! Amongst those who attended were Egan and Brennan, lately the treasurer and secretary of the Irish Land League, whose sudden flight across the Atlantic was due to the disclosures made by Carey the informer in Dublin of the details of the plot to which Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke fell victims.

The internal history of the Clan for some years consisted in the fierce dissension which raged between Sullivan, its chief, and the notorious Dr. Cronin, with whom Devoy was closely associated. Cronin, as well as being an active member of the Clan, high in its counsels and a keen advocate of dynamite, was president of the Chicago branch of the Land League, thus affording another of the very many instances of the personal identity of the chief officials of the 'secret' and the 'open' movements. He and Devoy had the strongest suspicion that Sullivan had fraudulently misappropriated the funds of the association with which they were connected, and the making and the investigation of these charges of course intensified against him the enmity of the Sullivan faction. As will be remembered, Dr. Cronin was foully murdered by members of that faction in 1889, and the evidence adduced on the trial of the conspirators for his murder not only produced their conviction, but served to confirm in the strongest manner the accounts given by Le Caron to the Special Commission of the history, objects, and methods of the Clan-na-Gael.

In 1884 the Clan was steadily bent upon 'the capture' of the open movement. At the Convention of the Irish National League at Boston in August, which was attended by Le Caron 'in the dual capacity of League delegate and

'Revolutionary official,' we have it, on the authority of Mr. Sexton, M.P., who was also present, that a large number of the people present were 'connected with the extreme 'section.' Yet this hardly gives an adequate idea of the predominance of the Clan at that 'constitutional' gathering; for the judges of the Special Commission have informed us in their report that

'James Morony (Clan-na-Gael) was the temporary presiding officer, and M. V. Gannon (Clan-na-Gael) the permanent presiding officer of the Convention, and Patrick Egan (Clan-na-Gael) was elected president of the Irish National League of America after Mr. A. Sullivan had declined the appointment, and Roger Walsh was appointed secretary. The Convention was called to order (i.e. was presided over) by Alexander Sullivan, president of the Clan-na-Gael.'

That is to say, the Convention of the National League—the open movement—in its public meetings was entirely controlled by the secret conspiracy. It was at this Convention that another Irish M.P. belonging to Mr. Parnell's band assured the assembled patriots that 'we will work as 'long as we have life for the consummation of that object 'for which our fathers worked far more bitterly than we 'may be called upon to work, until we have made Ireland a 'nation, and given her a harp without a crown.'

To most men, therefore, it will appear to be beyond all doubt that the secret and open organisations were at that date operating with much harmony for the accomplishment of a common object. Let us turn, however, to what did not appear till the criminal trials in England, the inquiry by the Special Commission, the story told by Le Caron, and the Cronin trial in America had dragged to light the deeds and the plots of that infamous conspiracy, the Clan-na-Gael. It is not easy to the ordinary English mind to believe that men in a respectable position of society, associating with decent people, can actually be conspiring to take the lives of those who have done them no personal injury, and can even twist their consciences into the belief that they are acting the part of patriots. Whatever may be the real motives of these men, the story told by the Dublin town councillor Carey, the evidence adduced against the dynamiter Gallagher, and a large mass of other testimony, amply prove that murder and outrage have for some years past been deliberately organised by educated men, as a political force. The murders and outrages that have been attempted have not been isolated outbreaks of personal

vengeance or hatred. A very few years ago Cabinet Ministers hardly trusted themselves to walk down St. James's Street, after dark, unguarded. A humiliating state of things to exist, surely, amongst a people who have themselves always been singularly free from the crime of assassination! What sort of men are those who actually carry on the operations of a dynamite war? Le Caron describes Gallagher at the Convention of the Clan-na-Gael at Chicago in 1881:—

'A young man, with his neat, trim beard and gold-headed cane. . . . As you watch, and as he speaks in that quiet, gentlemanly fashion of his, you can well believe that he is a man of whom it might afterwards be boasted that he was introduced to Mr. Gladstone himself. Save in his sentiments, there is nothing of the dynamiter about him; but in the matter of his speech there is no room for doubt. Quiet and self-controlled though he be, his talk is the talk of war; and the enthusiasm which lights up his countenance is that strong, steady flame which will steadily burn till England's dungeon doors close upon him, and cut short his career of recklessness.'

At the end of 1882 this gentleman crossed the Atlantic, visiting Liverpool, Glasgow, London, and Dublin, and on his return was able to report that 'he had made all arrange-'ments for commencing his branch of the active work.' When he was again at Chicago 'we had many chats to-'gether. We were fellow-doctors, and "we chummed to-'"gether" in a fashion very agreeable to me.' His talk ran so exclusively upon the use of dynamite and the great work that it was to accomplish against the British Government, as to become positively wearisome. His colleagues were as sanguine as himself when, on March 27, 1883, they arrived, to the number of eight, on board the 'Parthia,' at Liverpool. A nitro-glycerine factory was established by some of these gentry at Birmingham; but, thanks to the vigilance of the police, the whole plot was discovered. Gallagher himself was arrested; and upon him was found no less a sum than 1,400*l.*

'What the actual designs of the dynamite band were are not, and probably never will be, known. Quite sufficient for the public must be the fact that so enormous was the quantity of nitro-glycerine discovered, that, according to experts, it was quite equal to the blowing up of every house and street in London, from one end to the other. Pleasant discovery this for the ordinary British citizen who laughs at dynamite, and pooh-poohs the existence of any condition of things calling for a more elaborate secret service. The arrest and the discomfiture of the Gallagher band had one very useful result. It effectively put an end to all idea of manufacturing dynamite on English soil. Unfortunately, however, it did not put an end to the

Dynamite Campaign. It simply affected the weapon, not those who were prepared to employ it.'

A second batch of dynamiters from America followed, during whose stay in London occurred the explosions of 1883–1885 at the railway stations, the Tower, the House of Commons, and other places. Of this group two—viz. Cunningham and Burton—were brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced to penal servitude for life; whilst a third, Lomasney, as has been already mentioned, perished in the unsuccessful attempt to blow up London Bridge. Daly and Egan were convicted of treason felony in 1884; the former, having been found in possession of infernal machines and bombs, received a life sentence, whilst the latter, though found by the jury to have taken part in the conspiracy for the employment of the bombs, was less directly implicated than his companion, and received a sentence of twenty years' penal servitude. It was Daly, it will be remembered, who aspired to emulate the fame of Guy Faux by blowing into atoms the House of Commons whilst in session, by means of a bomb dropped on to the floor of the House, and who had actually twice reconnoitred the ground of his attack from the Strangers' Gallery.

At every period of the world's history it has always been possible—no doubt it is so now—by means of money, to procure men to commit the most atrocious crimes, men who are necessarily amongst the most degraded of human kind. What is strange in the history of the dynamite war is the position and the education of those who have directed the movement. Le Caron's account of Gallagher has already been quoted. His account of Dr. Cronin is even more curious:—

'When a young man he studied medicine at the St. Louis College of Physicians and Surgeons . . . and graduated with high honours, becoming eventually Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics in the College. . . . In 1881 he moved to Chicago, and from the moment of his arrival went in enthusiastically for Irish politics, and took a leading part in both revolutionary and Land League matters. He identified himself with the Clan-na-Gael, and was prominent in all gatherings of the Irish of every kind. He was strong in social instincts, and was quite a figure at social gatherings, where he used to great advantage the fine tenor voice of which he was possessed, singing national songs especially with great spirit and enthusiasm.'

When the policy of dynamite had been decided upon, and the campaign against English Government buildings and persons was being inaugurated, 'Cronin (who was anything 'but a saint) was an ardent advocate of the policy, and, 'owing to his scientific attainments, he was appointed as

'chief instructor in the use and handling of explosives, 'acting all this time, be it marked, as president of the 'Chicago branch of the Land League as well.'

We might search far in the pages of history before we should discover a more singular group than this trio of American doctors—Dr. Le Caron, Dr. Cronin, and Dr. Gallagher. All were men of education and of some social position—to some extent public men. The first was a candidate, and very nearly a successful candidate, for the House of Representatives. All three were high officials of the Clan-na-Gael, 'a body,' as we are told by the three judges of the Special Commission, 'actively engaged in promoting 'the use of dynamite for the destruction of life and property 'in England.' Le Caron was indeed so acting, in order to prevent the contemplated destruction taking place, in order to save life and to protect his countrymen at home from the designs of murderous villains. He was, however, a trusted officer of the Clan, and it is certainly startling to find that the members of so infamous a conspiracy, one so entirely without excuse, one for which no palliation on the ground of political motive can be justly urged, should have been organised and directed by men occupying such respectable positions amongst their fellow-citizens.

At the end of 1885 Mr. Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule became known, and the Clan-na-Gael, whilst taking credit to itself for the great result apparently so nearly achieved, determined for the time being to hold its hand, expressing, however, the expectation 'that it would resume 'active operations after the exigencies of the Constitutional 'party were past.' In August 1886, in secret convention of the Clan, it was resolved 'to maintain the same relations in 'the future to open societies, working for the same purpose 'as themselves, that they had done in the past.'

Le Caron's career as a spy came to an end for ever when in February 1889 Thomas Beach stepped into the witness-box and testified on oath to the story which is now more fully narrated in this volume of his 'Recollections.'

Le Caron was not brought from America to give evidence before the Parnell Commission as a witness for the 'Times.' 'The Spy' throughout all these years was known in his true character to Mr. Anderson alone. His relations were with Scotland Yard and the Home Office, through Mr. Anderson. With the 'Times' he had no kind of connexion. He was in England in December 1888, attending at Colchester the bedside of his dying father. After the

funeral he came to London and saw Mr. Anderson, who was at first strongly averse to Le Caron's proposal to enter the witness-box, and thereby to put an end to his future usefulness to Scotland Yard. Ultimately, however, Mr. Anderson consented, and delivered to Le Caron the whole of the latter's very voluminous correspondence with him, including Clanna-Gael circulars, &c., with the exception of those 'papers 'which he had made official by passing them on at the time 'of their receipt.' With the utmost secrecy Le Caron went through the whole mass of papers and prepared his evidence. Great was the effect produced by his entirely unexpected appearance in the witness-box. Personally intimately known to many of the defendants, but known of course only as an active leader of Irish revolutionaries in America, the unexpected entrance into Court of the 'Fenian general' on the side of the 'Times' gave a shock evidently of the most painful kind to those who had already suffered so much from the famous 'charges and allegations'! Absolutely unknown though he was to the public who thronged the Court, the least observant could not help being aware of the importance with which the mere entry into the witness-box of 'Thomas Beach' was regarded by the defendants. And assuredly the testimony which he gave with regard to the conspiracies of the American-Irish across the Atlantic was, in many respects, the most instructive matter brought under the notice of the Parnell Commission.

At the end of the volume Le Caron once more repudiates the name of 'informer,' as that word is usually understood. From first to last he boasts that he allied himself with Fenianism in its various forms only in order to defeat it.

'Nor have I been an *agent provocateur*. Although I always voted for politic reasons on the side of the majority, even to the joining in the vote which meant dynamite, on no single occasion was I instrumental in bringing an individual to the commission of crime. True, I had to take many oaths. But what of that? By the taking of them I have saved many lives. Which counts the weightiest in the balance of life? And who is it that sneers at me for my conduct in this regard? An honest man's criticism I can accept; but for the judgement of those double-oathed gentlemen who, having first taken the Fenian oath, then rushed to Westminster to swear allegiance to the Crown and Constitution they had aforetime sworn to destroy, I have nothing but contempt and derision. Away with such rubbish and cant as they indulge in to the regions where common sense finds no place.'

Le Caron professes the deepest sympathy and pity

'for the poor, deluded Irish in the States . . . animated by the purest,

if the most mistaken, of patriotic motives, who give their little all in the hope and trust that the day will come in their lives when Ireland will be a land flowing with milk and honey. But, for the blatant loud-voiced agitator, always bellowing forth his patriotic principles, while secretly filling his pockets with the bribe or the consequences of his theft, there can be no other feeling but that of undisguised loathing.

'I speak but of what I know from personal experience, when I say there is no greater fraud in this nineteenth century of ours than the modern Irish patriotic agitator in America. Gold is his god, his patriotic principles—save the mark!—his breviary and his beads, holding aloof which he stands at the corner of the market-place, so that he may be seen of all men, and paid tribute to by some.

'By jobbery, trickery, treachery, and delusion of the meanest and most despicable type he works his way along, rising higher and higher in the ranks of his fellow-conspirators, till at last, in the position of responsibility and power, he sells the votes he can command, and pockets the funds over which he has control.'

It is in fighting 'such scoundrels as this' that Le Caron has spent a quarter of a century. He boasts of the work that he has done, of the service he has rendered to his countrymen at home and of the service he is now doing by his disclosures to the many thousands of Irish dupes in America, whose subscriptions have furnished to these rascals a rich reward. He has done something to tear off the mask from these men's faces, and in the consciousness of good work done he finds his reward.

We have put before our readers the main outlines of Le Caron's story. Having regard both to the tale itself and the man who tells it, a stranger story has rarely been told. Is it substantially true? If so, is it not a story which carries with it much instruction for us?

It is not often that readers of autobiographies have a firmer basis for their belief in the truth of the narratives they read, than arises from the credit they may be disposed in each case to give to the bare word of the author. Here we have the main substance of the book, and even a very large amount of the detail of the story, given on oath in a court of justice. The Special Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament in 1888 were by that Act vested with the authority, powers, and privileges of judges of the High Court of Justice. Evidence was given before them upon oath, and false evidence exposed the lying witness to all the penalties of perjury. The Commissioners could compel the attendance of any witness, and order the production of any document. Sir James Hannen and his colleagues were as able men, and as impartial men, as ever presided at a trial.

Le Caron was cross-examined for days by the most powerful cross-examiner of the English bar. He was *not* cross-examined by Mr. Davitt, who heard his examination in chief, and who had every opportunity of exposing the perjury of Le Caron if he chose to consider his evidence as perjured.

Le Caron left the witness-box with his evidence on every material point practically unshaken, and the judges in their report record their belief in the truth of his testimony. They searched, they tell us, as they were bound to do, for corroboration, and they found it even as regards the detailed account given by Le Caron of his interview with Mr. Parnell in the corridor of the House of Commons. Our interest in the story told is of course in its chief outlines, and the elaborate inquiry before the judges into the accuracy of every detail is not required in order to enable the public to estimate the political importance of Le Caron's revelations. It must be remembered that Le Caron's testimony did not for the most part consist in telling a story for the first time, fraudulently concocted, it might have been suggested, to suit the exigencies of the 'Times' newspaper, and in order to convict the Parnellites of treasonable intentions and of alliance with a murderous conspiracy. His story was mainly told in the letters which he had written years before to an agent of the Home Office, and in the circulars which he had enclosed with his own reports, all of which were obtained out of official custody. What took place in the witness-box was the making public of information previously accessible only to the Home Office and the Administration.

The Parnellites might, of course, have called Mr. Anderson, if they or their counsel were prepared to throw discredit on the witness's allegations as to what passed between him and 'the Spy.' Mr. Anderson must have believed Le Caron. Was he his dupe? The agent of Scotland Yard was at hand, and it would have been easy to investigate by means of his evidence the whole of the relations which had existed for so many years between the two men, had the defendants so desired. Again, with regard to Patrick Egan. It is reasonable to suppose that he would have come to the rescue of Mr. Parnell, Mr. Davitt, and his other friends, had it been in his power to prove the falseness of Le Caron's story. He need not, indeed, have come to this country at all (though he would of course have had to submit to cross-examination), as his evidence might have been taken by commission in America at the defendants' instance, and been produced before Sir James Hannen. Of the large number of persons

named in the course of this narrative by Le Caron, not one was called in order to refute him; and so it happened that the story he told was left practically unanswered, subject only to the statements of Mr. Parnell and Mr. O'Kelly that they knew nothing about him, that they did not remember his face, and did not even know his name.

What strikes us most strongly, when contemplating the manifestations of Irish discontent during the last thirty years, is the persistency with which the extreme faction, under various names and forms, has been pressing towards the same goal—that of Irish national independence. The spirit of Fenianism, unquelled by its defeats in Ireland and in Canada, survives. Stephens has long since disappeared, 'General' O'Niel has for years been in his grave; but the ends for which these men worked are still the objects of Irish conspirators, though the longer-headed amongst them have learned by repeated failures that their accomplishment must for the present be sought by craftier methods than those of invasion and insurrection. For these the time is not yet ripe. The wiser policy, in their opinion, is to strive in the meantime to establish by peaceful means in Ireland a national Government, a national treasury, a national armed force. When in 1886 Mr. Parnell read the Home Rule Bill he said to his colleagues (as he himself has told us), 'Here is the Bill. It 'is a Parliamentary bid; it is nothing more.' And his colleagues told him 'they would accept it *pro tanto*.' His own account in 1890 of his reception four years earlier of the Home Rule Bill should be considered with his statement to Le Caron in 1881, when he was anxious to secure the support of the physical force party, viz. that nothing but the force of arms would accomplish the final 'redemption of Ireland.' If the 'final redemption of Ireland' meant the complete national independence of Ireland, and it could mean nothing else, there are few who do not share his belief that it is by arms only that such a solution can ultimately be reached.

In the evidence and the findings of the Special Commissioners, a fairly complete history of the Irish movement on both sides of the Atlantic stands revealed. Le Caron's narrative gives sequence and colour to the facts elucidated by that Commission. As to the main purport of the history there can hardly be serious dispute. When Fenianism, with its attempts at insurrection, had failed ignominiously, members of the Fenian conspiracy continued to band themselves together in America to achieve the Fenian object of

a separate and independent Ireland. Though Fenianism, as such, ceased to occupy the attention of the British public, it is perfectly clear that Irishmen were still working steadily by means of secret conspiracy to accomplish the great object of Fenianism. In 1880 it became all-important for Mr. Parnell and his Parliamentary followers, the leaders of the Irish Land League, to secure the cordial alliance of the extremists and the men of violence in America and in Ireland. How did they endeavour to do this? 'Not by 'winning over the Fenians from their illegal and insurrectionary courses to a constitutional policy, but by retaining 'their assistance by making it clear that the Land League 'leaders did not condemn their flagrantly illegal acts.'* We have already seen, on the same authority, that the very object for which the Irish Land League was founded was the establishment of an entirely separate and independent nation in Ireland. During the secretaryship of Mr. Forster from May 1880 to May 1882 the Land League endeavoured, with much success, to establish its authority in Ireland. Mr. Forster never ceased to warn his countrymen, and Mr. Gladstone joined in the warning, that the real force which gave its authority to the League was the fear of outrage and assassination. Mr. Forster believed that he would paralyse Mr. Parnell's power for evil if he could force him to declare himself in perfectly unmistakeable language to be the determined enemy of outrage and intimidation in Ireland. He finally retired in April 1882 from the Government rather than concur in any bargain with the Home Rule leaders as to the conditions upon which alone it appeared that Mr. Parnell and his friends would seriously exert themselves in putting a stop to the perpetration of these crimes.†

We know now that the Clan-na-Gael, 'a body actively 'engaged in promoting the use of dynamite for the destruction of life and property in England,' since April 1883 controlled the Irish National League of America, and that these two organisations transmitted the sum of 60,000*l.* to the Parliamentary Fund out of which payments were made to Irish members of Parliament.* We know now of the intimacy of the relations in America between Land League and Clan-na-Gael, and how the principal officials of the one organisation became the principal officials of the other. We know now that Patrick Egan, the ex-secretary of the

* Report of the Special Commission.

† Life of Right Hon. W. E. Forster, vol. ii. p. 438.

Land League of Ireland, joined the Clan-na-Gael. We are told by Le Caron, and the judges believed him, that he was himself an intermediary between Mr. Parnell, Egan (the secretary of the Land League), and Devoy of the Clan-na-Gael. It is established beyond all doubt that the Irish Land League in America, the Clan-na-Gael, the Irish Land League of Ireland, and the Irish Parliamentary party led by Mr. Parnell were working together in cordial co-operation towards some political end. How much the leaders of any one association may have known of the more secret doings of the others, we cannot with certainty tell. What it is important to notice is, that there appears to have been no difference of opinion whatever amongst these associations, or amongst their members, as to the object for which they were all working. Different opinions were entertained amongst them as to the best means of accomplishing it. Some approved of open insurrection, some approved of dynamite, whilst Mr. Parnell thought his Parliamentary operations would put Ireland, by constitutional methods, into a better position for obtaining by force of arms 'the final redemption of Ireland.' There is no trace of a suggestion anywhere that we can discover that Irish patriots on either side of the Atlantic were subscribing their money or laying their plans in order to bring about in Ireland some 'generous extension of local govern-'ment.' That all these movements were movements to achieve absolute Irish independence and complete national separation from the hated British people, appears to have been in many cases expressly stated, in others tacitly assumed. We are speaking of what is now revealed to us of the behaviour of Irish patriots when amongst themselves, not of the speeches of the Parliamentary leaders of a so-called constitutional movement when addressing themselves directly or indirectly to British electors.

We must repeat that the story told by Le Caron has long been known to Scotland Yard, and therefore to the Home Office and the Administration. The judges found that it was not proved that Mr. Parnell knew that the Clan-na-Gael controlled the Irish National League of America, which two associations were the paymasters of his Parliamentary following. It was, however, proved that Scotland Yard knew this perfectly well. In 1886 7,500*l.* was paid to the Parliamentary Fund, and for years previously Scotland Yard had been well aware that the Clan-na-Gael was a dynamite conspiracy and that the Clan-na-Gael had captured the Irish National League of America, and therefore that the

Clan-na-Gael was, in fact, itself the paymaster of the Irish Parliamentary party. It is singular that the British Government should have been better informed than the Parnellite members themselves of the true character of their Irish-American allies. Who would have dreamed that Lord Spencer and Sir William Harcourt had positive knowledge where Mr. Parnell himself was without suspicion? The language of Mr. Gladstone and of leading members of his Ministry from 1880 to 1886—of Mr. Forster and Sir William Harcourt, of Lord Spencer and of Sir George Trevelyan—is only consistent with knowledge on their part that they were contending with something much more violent than a constitutional agitation. They held—and Sir George Trevelyan continued to urge down to the spring of 1887—that to yield to the demands of Mr. Parnell was to 'put the lives and safety of law-abiding Irishmen in the 'power of the lawless and unscrupulous.'

These ministers were in complete possession of the facts established before the Parnell Commission, for they had Le Caron's reports before them. It would be cruel to inquire whether this knowledge regulated their conduct or effected their conversion. For ourselves we can only declare that as early as 1883 we ventured to assert in these pages that a great conspiracy existed for the disintegration of the Empire, and that there would be no peace in Ireland until it was put down. Mr. Gladstone declared at the time that the 'resources of civilisation' were equal to the task. But far from putting down the conspiracy, he succumbed to it. He negotiated with the leaders of the Nationalist party; he accepted their alliance; and he eventually obtained a majority in the House of Commons based entirely on their support. That is the capital charge against the course of policy he has adopted.

We have no desire in any controversial spirit to recall the past utterances of statesmen who, for reasons which seem good to them, have abandoned their former principles. We are concerned here, and the British people are concerned, with the facts of the present situation. The Prime Minister, supported by a large following, wishes to withdraw from the people of the whole United Kingdom who at present govern England, Scotland, and Ireland, all responsibility for the government of Ireland. His proposal is to entrust the future destiny and welfare of Irishmen to the patriotism, wisdom, and justice which will animate the majority of a democratic Irish Parliament assembled in College Green. To

the people of Great Britain, Ireland is to remain attached only by that union of hearts which, it seems, cannot flourish till almost every trace of a more material union between Englishmen and Irishmen has been swept away. Upon what experiences does Mr. Gladstone rest his expectations? Have he or his friends any evidence, inaccessible to the rest of the world, to oppose to the well-established facts of the Irish conspiracies, agitations, and 'constitutional 'movements' of the last thirty years? Do Parnellites or anti-Parnellites show the slightest inclination to break off their relations with their former Fenian allies? Amongst the anti-Parnellites Mr. Davitt is one of the most influential leaders. He still avows, or did so in 1889, his longing for the accomplishment of the old Fenian object—national separation. With Mr. Davitt, Ford the dynamiter is a good Christian, and he considers that the President of the United States acquired additional honour by sending as the representative of that country to Chili, that fugitive from justice—Patrick Egan of the Clan-na-Gael.* Who can doubt that, with an Irish Parliament, Ireland would quickly become filled with such good Christians? Parnellites and anti-Parnellites are at the present time equally clamorous for amnesty. They are anxious to have again in Ireland the Gallaghers, the Dalys, and the other patriots who have suffered in British dungeons for their oppressed country. As regards criminals who have escaped to America, or who are undergoing imprisonment in Ireland, an Irish Parliament would, no doubt, quickly give effect to its patriotic sympathies and restore both exiles and prisoners to an honourable freedom in their native land. Is it reasonable to suppose that such men as the Alexander Sullivans and Devoys, as Ford and Egan, as the late 'General' O'Niel and Dr. Cronin, men who were ranked by their fellow-countrymen in America amongst the foremost patriots, and who wielded the greatest influence over them, would have no power in Ireland after their recall? It was Mr. Davitt's Fenianism, not his more recent so-called constitutionalism, that made him popular and powerful in Ireland. As it has been with him, so will it be with others, and so almost of necessity will it come about that the leaders of the new Irish nation will be chosen from amongst those who in the past have most hated the English name, and who have shown by the whole course of their lives their determination to throw off all connexion

* See 'Nineteenth Century' for March 1889.

with the British people. At this very moment, a fresh act of violence under the walls of Dublin Castle attests the undying hatred of their murderous confederates. Such crimes are not personal but political. They are designed, contrived, paid for by higher powers than the miscreants who are employed to execute them. The dynamiters are the tools of the Irish politicians.

The Parnell Commission, the story of Le Caron, and the Cronin trial have placed before the world much of the evidence upon which, doubtless, the stern denunciations that were uttered against the Parnellite members by Mr. Forster and Sir William Harcourt when speaking for Mr. Gladstone's Government were founded. As early as March 1880, Lord Beaconsfield, then Prime Minister, had pointed out 'that 'danger in its ultimate consequences scarcely less disastrous 'than pestilence and famine was distracting Ireland,' since a considerable portion of the population was aiming at severing that constitutional tie between England and Ireland which had been productive of much good to both countries.* The sensation caused by the enquiry as to whether or not members of Parliament were personally mixed up with treasonable conspiracies, and had themselves organised outrage and crime, has had the effect of directing the attention of the public to the methods of the late Mr. Parnell and his friends rather than to the object for which they have never failed to strive. Yet, politically, the importance and the danger lie far more in the steadiness with which they have been working towards their great end than in the means they have from time to time employed. To the character of Mr. Parnell and his associates it was of the utmost importance that they should show, if they could, that with dynamiters, outrage-mongers, and boycotters they had neither alliance nor sympathy. The British people could not but feel interested in the personal character of the men to whom it was proposed to entrust the government of Ireland. But the political object of these men is of greater importance than their personal character. If the views of Mr. Parnell and Mr. Davitt as to Irish independence should ever animate a national government in Ireland, Great Britain and Ireland will be within measurable distance of civil war. Mr. Parnell's 'constitutional' method consisted in Parliamentary obstruction. The Parliament of the nation was to be paralysed so long as a separate Parliament was

* Letter to the Duke of Marlborough, March 8, 1880.

denied to Ireland. With his eighty votes he imagined he could intimidate or tempt statesmen to yield, when the ruder violence of his allies would only drive the British people into firmer resistance. Mr. Parnell was a more dangerous separatist than Mr. Ford.

British statesmen cannot surely be so blind to the conditions of the age in which they live as to frame a constitution for this kingdom based on the principle that the people of Great Britain and Ireland constitute two nations. If they have sufficient power over their party to force it to accept such a constitution, stern facts will ultimately assert themselves, and the constitutional edifice which Mr. Gladstone is now striving to erect will at the first touch of reality fall to the ground like a house of cards.

The publication of Le Caron's narrative at the present crisis in the relations between Great Britain and Ireland will most opportunely help to turn men's minds to the consideration of what has been the moving spirit of recent Irish discontent. The Parliament of the United Kingdom has assuredly in recent years shown its willingness to listen to every tale of Irish wrong and of Irish grievance; to alleviate distress and to protect the weak to an extent never dreamed of on this side of the Irish Channel. The House of Commons, however, whilst remedying wrong and passing the most sweeping reforms, has hitherto, whether the Liberal or the Conservative party prevailed, sternly refused to abdicate its position as the virtual sovereign of the British Islands. Before many weeks are over the House of Commons will have to decide one way or the other on as momentous an issue as was ever laid before Parliament. What is to be the basis of the Constitution? What is to be the fundamental theory upon which the people of the British Islands are to be governed? If Mr. Gladstone accepts the view of 'Ireland 'a nation,' which we have seen is the sentiment of every 'patriotic' Irish association of importance either in Ireland or in America, he cannot refuse to that nation such privileges as even our self-governing colonies enjoy. A great deal will soon be heard of such questions as the control of the Irish judicature, of the Irish police, of the right to legislate in respect of Irish land, and respecting the religious institutions of the country. If Mr. Gladstone and Parliament accept the principle which is held universally by Irish Home Rulers, of 'Ireland a nation,' it will be childish to expect Irish Home Rulers to be satisfied for any

length of time with the denial to them of any of the most important of national rights. Parliament must make a definite choice between two antagonistic principles of national government. In the political sense Ireland can neither take its place as a nation amongst the nations of the earth, nor in relation to Great Britain, without ceasing to be part of the nation constituted by the people of the three kingdoms. Politically there cannot be an Irish nation and at the same time a British nation, which includes Ireland. Between the views of the Irish Home Ruler on the one side, and the British and Irish Unionist on the other, there can be no possible compromise. Their principles are fundamentally opposed. Amongst British Home Rulers, however, there are a very large number who, in consequence of that suppression of all discussion of Home Rule projects which has been so strictly enforced by their leaders, have not yet fully realised what Irish Home Rule necessarily involves. Many of these will have a rough awakening. They ought, no doubt, as Mr. Asquith used to urge, to have been given by their leader more light long ago. But light was refused them, and they continued, like good party men, to clamour for Home Rule without knowing what it meant. For the moment this was their least inconvenient course. What are they to do now? It is natural, perhaps, for party managers and wirepullers to deprecate any attempt at independent action or language in their well-drilled battalions. Still, there must be some spirit left even in a party which has undergone the humiliating experiences of the last seven years; and the employment of the machinery of the caucus by a party leader to coerce men whom he has refused to trust must surely, unless self-respect is dead amongst the representatives of the people, be in many instances fiercely resented.

At various times during the present century have Irishmen, in greater or less number, called for Repeal of the Union. Never has it been clearer than at the present time that the ultimate end at which modern Irish repealers are aiming is complete separation; and never was there a time when it would have been more discreditable than now for the people of the United Kingdom to fling from their shoulders all responsibility for the good government of Irishmen. The exercise of this responsibility may be arduous, but upon its continued exercise depends the maintenance of right, of justice, and of peace in Ireland. That country is torn with dissension. The Protestants of prosperous Ulster, sworn

never to forego the privileges which in their own countries Englishmen and Scotchmen enjoy; the pretensions of the Roman priesthood to establish by the worst of all tyrannies and the grossest illegality their own political supremacy; the hatred of this ecclesiastical power, and of every vestige of the British connexion, by the Parnellites, are the three most powerful forces at present dividing Ireland. Amongst them all justice is done and the peace is kept by the authority of the people of the United Kingdom, which includes Ireland, and by that authority alone. For our part we cannot believe that the representatives of that people, as a whole, will declare that the burden of the duty laid upon them is too heavy for them to bear. They may rest assured that in trying to escape from the performance of their duty, still greater difficulties, still greater dangers, will be created both for Ireland and Great Britain.

It can hardly be doubted that most Liberals will in time see that Mr. Gladstone, in leading them away from the old principles of their party, has led them into grievous error. Their old leaders, including Mr. Gladstone himself down to his seventy-sixth year, were right in firmly refusing the claim for Repeal and for Home Rule. No one now has any excuse for remaining ignorant of the spirit and motive power of Irish disaffection manifested throughout the present generation. Risings in Ireland, invasions of Canada, Land Leagues and National Leagues in Ireland and America, dynamite in England, and, more dangerous perhaps than all, a deliberate and prolonged attempt from within to paralyse the House of Commons, have all been tried. They have been the means by which a great conspiracy has been steadily working to achieve its end—viz., the separate and independent nationhood of Ireland.

The British public will shortly grasp in a way it has never yet done the full meaning of the issue between the Unionist and the Home Ruler. A definite meaning is to be given to the phrase 'Home Rule' by a Home Rule Ministry. It is even rumoured that Mr. Gladstone will propose that, whilst a separate Parliament and Government are to be established in Ireland, Irish members shall continue at Westminster to exercise a decisive voice in the government of Great Britain! The eloquent and often quoted words of Mr. Macaulay in 1833, when replying in the House of Commons to Mr. Daniel O'Connell, can hardly be forgotten. Their spirit cannot but still animate many members of the Liberal party:—

'Though a young member of the Whig party, I will venture to

speak in the name of the whole body. I tell the honourable and learned gentleman that the same spirit which sustained us in a just contest for him will sustain us in an equally just contest against him. Calumny, abuse, royal displeasure, popular fury, exclusion from office, exclusion from Parliament—we were ready to endure them all rather than that he should be less than a British subject. We never will suffer him to be more.'

We do not know what may be the result of Cabinet cogitations. But we believe that the same spirit which sixty years since animated the Liberal party still influences the British Parliament and the British people.

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1893.

No. CCCLXIV.

ART. I.—1. *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland.* By J. T. BENT. London: 1892.

2. *Bechuanaland and the Land of Ophir.* A Paper read to the British Association. By J. MACKENZIE. November, 1888.

3. *Matabele Land.* A Paper read to the British Association. By Captain C. E. HAYNES, R.E. 1887.

4. *The Native Tribes of Bechuanaland.* By Captain C. R. CONDER, R.E. 'Journal of Anthropological Institute.' August: 1886.

5. *The Bushmen and their Language.* By G. BERTIN. 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,' Vol. XVIII. Part I.

6. *The Gold Regions of South-East Africa.* By T. BAINES. London: 1877.

AFRICA appears to be regarded just at present, by our countrymen, as an Eldorado, with a magnificent future before it. The public and the press are alike enthusiastic, and statesmen follow in their wake. The sentiments which lie at the root of this enthusiasm are such as do honour to the heart, if not to the head. They include the old spirit of adventure, not yet dead among us; the desire to support good work done by excellent men in civilising the natives; and the hope of stamping out for ever the evils of the slave trade. It may be vain to attempt for the moment to stem this current of popular opinion, for experience must be bought, and that dearly; but it is certain that an awakening

to the light of fact must follow the dreams in which so many now indulge—an awakening not, perhaps, to colossal disaster, such as has overtaken France in Panama, but to the dreary realities of African life, which have been so truly yet so painfully painted in the 'Story of a South African 'Farm.'

Already the schemes of the East Africa Company have led to difficulties, of which the outcome is uncertain, and have cost the lives of more than one distinguished public servant. The picture which Drummond has drawn of empty settlements, and graves of the known and of the unknown, whose ambition was directed to opening the great natural highway of the Lakes and of the Stephenson road, leading almost to the Equator, seems to have been forgotten. The thirst for gold is unabated by any remembrance of former failures in the regions of the Cape Colony; and the South Africa Company is as jubilant as though it had already a balance to its credit.

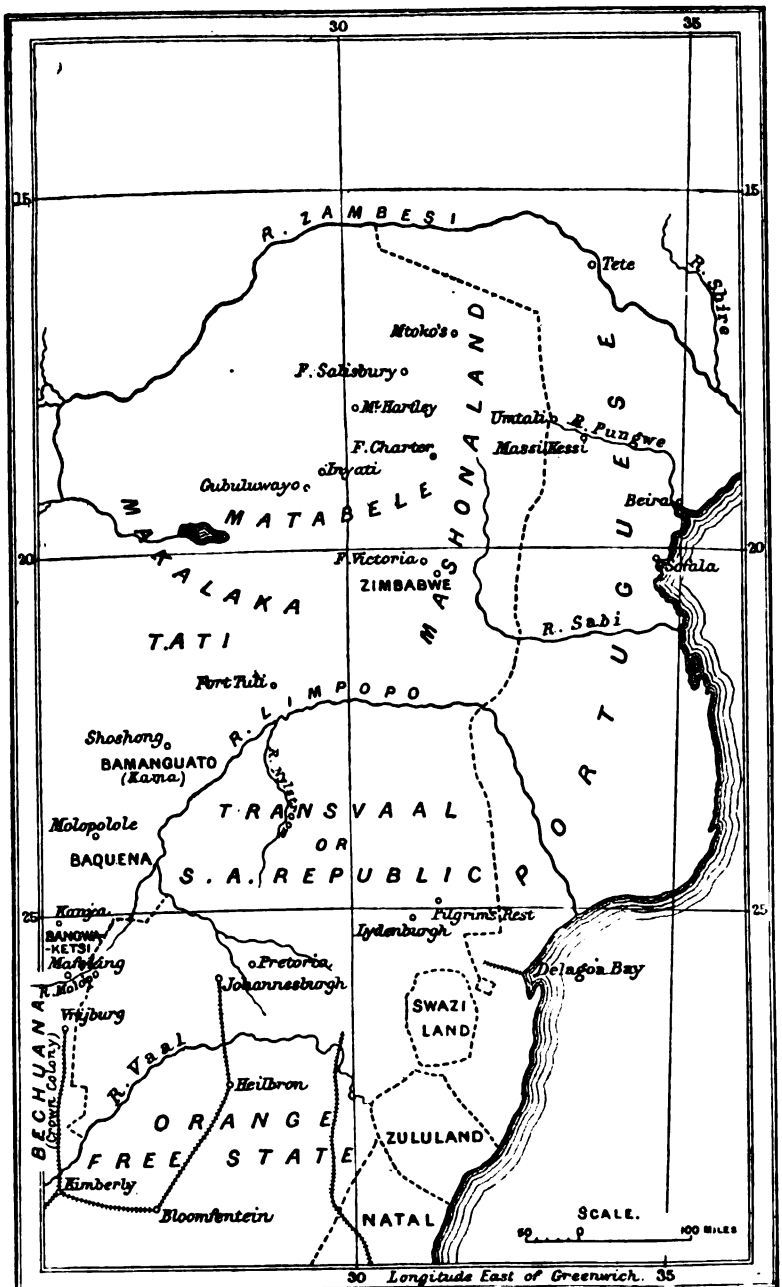
Yet the difficulties to be encountered in Africa are enormous, and the benefits uncertain, and at the best very much exaggerated. Adventure may lead to disaster, when the adventurer is ignorant of fact. Missionary enterprise has prospered without the aid of the Maxim gun. And when we consider that the Arab power in Africa is some two thousand years old, and shows at present no signs of decay, it will appear easier to talk than to act effectively in stamping it out. Perhaps the most cheerful indication is that to which Professor Drummond has called attention—namely, the rapid extermination of the elephant, for it is on ivory that the Arab trade depends, and the waste of native life, the horrible massacres of the weak and the sufferings of the strong on the march, are due to the absence of other transport which might carry the tusks (worth some 30*l.* a pair), for each of which an elephant has been killed. The diminution of game within the last half-century is indeed one of the most remarkable incidents in African history.

The appearance of Mr. Bent's book at such a time is most opportune. He is a hardy and courageous traveller, and writes in a fair and prudent tone. His experiences and opinions, in regard to the new regions of the South Africa Company, have considerable public value, and his conclusions agree with those of others, who have had long acquaintance with these regions, and who are without any personal interest in the fate of recent speculations. There are two great difficulties to be met in South Africa, in

addition to that of transport over enormous distances, the first being climate, and the second native interests. In regions near the Tropic of Capricorn the European is placed in a dilemma; for where water abounds, and cultivation and transport are easy, a peculiarly fatal fever is also prevalent; while in regions where the air is dry and bracing the absence of water renders a thick population impossible, at least for the present. The native question is equally embarrassing; for the African races are numerous, and do not as yet show signs of dying out like the Red Men of America, and public opinion, when alive to the facts, will no longer countenance the old brutalities, by which the early colonists—sometimes acting in self-defence—cleared the land for their own possession.

Mashonaland, which is at present the centre of interest, is a narrow strip of territory north of the Transvaal, running four hundred miles from the Limpopo or Crocodile River to the Zambesi, and forming part of the kingdom of the Matabele Zulus. It is the most remote and inaccessible part of that great plateau, founded on a granite basis, which stretches a thousand miles north and south, and eight hundred miles east and west, inland of the Cape Colony, rising to an average height of about four thousand feet above the sea, and including the Transvaal, with the Crown Colony of Bechuanaland to its west, and the Protectorate of Bechuanaland with the Matabele lands to its north, reaching to the great natural boundary of the Zambesi on the north, bounded by the Kalahari Wilderness on the west, and by the Portuguese possessions of Mozambique on the east. It is a journey of nearly twelve hundred miles from Cape Town to the Victoria Falls, and the area in question, roughly speaking, is double that of France, Germany, and Austria combined. Our South African possessions thus equal in extent our Indian Empire; yet they present as great a contrast as possible in the number of inhabitants.

It is generally admitted that the best and most important portion of the great plateau is that which lies between the Vaal and the Limpopo Rivers, and which boasts the name of the South African Republic. This country is as large as Great Britain, and possesses in most parts a healthy climate and a fertile soil. Its average height above the sea is four thousand feet, and it rises at its highest to seven thousand feet. In considering Mashonaland, it is impossible to leave this region out of account, for all questions, social and political, regarding the future of colonisation in these regions are bound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Beira
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F. Victoria
ZIMBABWE
Sofala
R. Sabi
TATI
Fort Tuli
R. LIMPOPO
Shoshong
BAMANGUATO
(Kama)
R. Tuli
TRANSVAAL
OR
S. A. REPUBLIC
Molopolole
BAQUENA
Kanya
Pilgrim's Rest
Lydenburgh
BANOWA
KETSI
Marabing
Pretoria
Johannesburgh
Delagoa Bay
R. Vaal
Vrijburg
SWAZI
LAND
Heilbron
ORANGE
FREE STATE
ZULULAND
Kimberly
Bloemfontein
NATAL
SCALE.
100 MILES
Longitude East of Greenwich.
F.S.Weller

up with the question of the Transvaal. The latter country is one well fitted for European habitation. It produces two crops of cereals in the year; it has good grass lands for cattle; tobacco is grown, and in the north there is cultivation of sugar, coffee, and cotton. It is sufficiently watered, and, in addition to its gold mines,* silver, iron, copper, saltpetre, and sulphur have been discovered. Lead is known in the Marico district, and good coal occurs in thick seams. The gold reefs stretch from Lydenburg to Rustenburg, and the Johannesburg mines are not far distant from the growing capital at Pretoria. Already a railway has pierced this region, connecting the gold fields with the Cape, while the Portuguese railroad on the south has touched the frontier. The future of this great province is no longer doubtful, and the telegraph has long connected it with the civilised world.

The Transvaal was discovered and settled by the sturdy descendants of Dutchmen and Huguenots, who left the Cape settlement in disgust when slavery was abolished in 1838. It is divided out into farms, each of ten square miles in area, and the boast of the old-fashioned Boer used to be that from the door of his cottage he could look to the horizon on either hand over his own land, and without seeing another house. The original settlers were rude and ignorant men, and the national character has not been improved by such isolation, or by constant intercourse with a native race of slaves. The language is full of Kaffir words, and, hateful though it be to the Boer to be so told, there is no doubt that the half-bred population presents a considerable element in the country. Just before the 'crowning mercy' of Majuba, this country contained only 43,000 white folk and 774,000 natives—the English numbering 5,000 in all, two-thirds of whom lived in the towns. The land system thus gave an average of ·3 souls per square mile for the white, and 7 souls per square mile for the total

* The gold mines of the Lydenburg district, on the east, are both alluvial and quartz reef. The latter yielded sometimes over 6 oz. o gold to the ton; the field was discovered in 1869. The alluvia workings at 'Pilgrim's Rest,' further east, were discovered in 1873 and produced a fair return to the miners, of whom there were already a thousand in 1874. See Baines (*op. cit.*), pp. 88, 139. The number of workers in this region afterwards increased, and the Sheba mine proved very lucrative; but the Johannesburg field eclipsed that on the east in 1885. Improved communications would much increase the prospects of the eastern gold fields.

population—that is to say, three white persons and seventy natives on each farm. Quite recently, a rush of from 30,000 to 40,000 Europeans—English, Germans, and Jews—has raised Johannesburg to the rank of a city, and when the right of voting is acquired by the new comers, the Boer element in the government will be swamped. At present, the administration is mainly in the hands of Hollanders, or new immigrants from the old home, whose superior education makes them indispensable, but who are more bitterly hated than even the English by the original Boer landowners.

West of the Transvaal is the Crown Colony of Bechuanaland, which owes its existence to Sir Charles Warren's campaign of 1884–85, and which is the country of Moffat and Livingstone, and of the remarkable men whom they gathered round them at Kuruman, nearly a century ago. It is an eminently uninteresting region, less well watered than the Transvaal, and shading away on the west into the Kalahari wilderness. In area it is about twice the size of Wales, and its native populations have probably never exceeded 30,000 souls. They were gathered in large villages at considerable distances apart, and not, as in Zululand, scattered in small groups near each other. The reason for this was the distribution of the springs and streams. The country presents alternately flat limestone plains, covered with sour grass, and with the monotonous grey *vaal* bush, and red sandy plateaux, from which rise strange knolls of limestone and granite. Here you may gaze on an expanse of yellow short grass, stretching to an horizon on which the curvature of the earth is clearly distinguishable, and where the spire of an anthill, or the solitary form of a deer, alone breaks the outline of a scenery reduced to the barest elements—blue sky and yellow grass. In the limestone districts the water sinks in, and might perhaps be obtained from deep wells; in the granite and sand regions it is on or near the surface, and the scenery is more various. But the whole of this region has been shorn of its acacia forests, which have been devoured by the steam engines of Kimberley; and in 1884 the wood wagons were coming to the grey iron town of diamonds from distances of two hundred miles. With the woods the game has also disappeared; the lion is now very rarely found, if found at all, and the antelopes alone remain in diminishing numbers. In the middle of the colony stands the town of Vrijburg, which, when Sir Charles Warren reached it in 1884, consisted of

about six Boer cottages of brick, but which has now its railway to Kimberley. In six months it sprang up from a hamlet to an iron town, full of stores and drinking bars, with billiard tables and French cooks, much as Kimberley arose from the original 'camp,' with its huts of biscuit tins, to become a city lighted with electric light, with its club, its churches, and its dark grey funnel-like mines—a mushroom civilisation in the midst of the endless veldt.

Reaching the Molopo at Mafeking (*Maheking*), the town of the brave and luckless Montsiwa, the traveller passes out of the Crown Colony northwards into the 'Protectorate' of Bechuanaland, where native tribes are not as yet crowded from their springs into locations. This region has the Kalahari to its west, and is extremely deficient in natural water supply. The habitable portion is quite as large as the Transvaal, and the climate (except to the north) is as good as that of the two regions already noticed. The Kalahari, or 'poor land,' which here encroaches far eastward, is not, properly speaking, a desert, for it is covered with open bush, and water exists beneath the surface, which consists of sand on a basis of tufa. When, however, Mr. Bent speaks hopefully of 'artesian wells,' he seems to forget that synclinal strata do not exist on these flat tablelands. Water has been obtained at Kimberley in deep wells, and might be so obtained in Bechuanaland. The Boer system of constructing dams wastes half the water obtained, by reason of evaporation. Probably in the future, rain-water cisterns, rock-cut, or iron tanks, will have to be used by settlers. The sand rivers, which occur at intervals, sometimes contain water so near the surface, that the zebra digs with his hoofs a pool from which to drink. The supply on the whole is, however, so deficient, that the native population of a country larger than England and Scotland together does not exceed 150,000 persons, who hold all the natural waters, which are barely sufficient for their wants, and without which they must perish.

In the neighbourhood of Kanya—the first native town reached from the south—the scenery begins to change from the monotony of the Crown Colony to that picturesque African landscape which Livingstone has described. The old forests of acacia, and other thorny trees, still exist, with plentiful bushes of many species. Here the lion still roams, and great droves of gnu and quagga mingle with the numerous kinds of antelope. In the Limpopo, to the east, there are crocodiles; in the long grasses there are puff-

adders and other deadly snakes. Here, in the early morning, you see the springbuck, throwing himself like an arrow vertically in the air, in pure sportiveness, as he feeds on the dewy grass. Here the hornbill flies lightly from tree to tree, in spite of his enormous and heavy-looking beak. From the solitary thorn tree depend the 'hanging nests' of the weaver bird, like glass bottles with the neck below; while huge haycocks in the branches of forest trees send forth whole flights of little sparrows, from the famous bird towns of the sociable grosbeak, which are not, as the old pictures represented them to be, republican umbrellas under which all sat in common, but rather houses built one on another, in each of which a pair of birds has its private abode. Here over the flat pools the black kingbird hovers, with his long tail, like that of the bird of paradise, outweighing his body; and the respectable 'secretary birds' waddle in pairs, protected by law, and intent on snakes; while the *koran* bustard rises frightened, with a noise like clockwork running down.

The winter in Bechuanaland is charming, with a bright still frosty air; the heat of the summer is cooled by the daily thunder showers, and only the spring and autumn are at all unhealthy. In December (at midsummer) the giant thunder piles rise from the grass horizon about 10 A.M., and a circular storm of violent rain, preceded by clouds of red dust, sweeps round from north to south, and back by the east, with thunder echoing from the granite knolls, and lightning such as is not often seen elsewhere. The streams from the Transvaal come down in flood, and rush away in a few hours, to be lost in the Kalahari, or in the Orange River, unutilised by man. But by evening the storm is over, the Southern Cross shines bright, the 'Coalhole' is the only cloud in the starry sky, and Jupiter's moons can be seen through a field glass, while, as we approach the town of the great Kgama, the tail of the Northern Bear rises above the horizon.

The forests, however, are doomed to feed the south; the game will soon be scarce; the quiet of the native tribes will soon be a thing of the past; the great grey clouds of the guinea fowl, which scud along the coverts, will soon be thinned; the baboons, who sit in council on the granite knolls, will retreat to more northern woods; and the land gambler will traffic in native rights, where once the English name was honoured, as represented by the kind teachers from Kuruman.

There is a theory, it is true, which has found acceptance since Livingstone's time, that the country is slowly drying up. Yet native traditions preserve the memory of droughts quite as disastrous as any of modern times, and Captain Haynes's explanation of the falling level of the northern lakes (Ngami and Makarikari) appears to be more likely when he attributes it to the gradual deepening of the river channels which carry the waters to the Zambesi. It is, however, certain that the rainfall is a vital question each year to those who live in this region. The land produces sugar cane, and pumpkins, marrows, water melons, beans, vetches, and ground nuts, with Kaffir corn. It is fit for many other products, and there is no doubt that it is a fine ranching country; but its great want is water. Save where the granite crags rise in fantastic groups, there are no landmarks, in plains where each bush is like another, and many a hunter, who has crossed unwittingly the narrow red track called a road, has perished of thirst, unable to find his camp, and not knowing on which side of the path he stands.

In the north of the Protectorate the country falls from about four thousand to about two thousand feet above sea level in the vicinity of the Lakes, which drain towards the Zambesi, and here we enter the belt of fever land, which surrounds the great river, and bars the further advance of the white colonist on the north. It was here that a whole missionary expedition to the Makololo was stricken down, and only two children rescued by the relief party that followed. The Zambesi fever is among the most deadly in Africa; but the uplands to the south are entirely free, and Europeans soon recover, if they retreat in time to the drier plateau. The region near these northern lakes is well wooded and well watered; the giant baobab here makes its appearance, and the banyan fig, called by the natives *more-ou-maoto*—'the tree with legs.'

Turning to the north-east, we enter a still finer country, conquered sixty years ago by the Matabele Zulus, of which region Mashonaland is the eastern district. This kingdom of Lobengula contains about 160,000 square miles, or nearly half as much again as the Transvaal, with a native population of 200,000, and an army of 15,000 soldiers drilled like the Zulus. It has many streams, which flow into the Zambesi or the Limpopo, and it rises to between five and six thousand feet above the sea. The crops are fine and certain; the forests are immense; the

breadfruit tree, baobab, cork tree, and mimosa attain great size; and there are palms, bananas, olives, lemons, medlars, and other wild fruits; while cotton is already grown in the lower lands. The people are rich in cattle, sheep, and goats, and are still strong enough to protect their conquest. The pastures are too rich for sheep. Captain Haynes reports the cultivation of green peas, cabbages, and beans. Gold is found at Tati, as well as in the Mashona district. Iron is common. The climate, with 7° F. of frost in winter, is splendid. On this fair region, therefore, the white colonist and the land gambler fix their hungry eyes.

Mr. Bent has given us one of the first full accounts of the Mashona district, east of Matabeleland proper, which latter he only skirted on the south. Three forts have been built by the South Africa Company, on the side of Lobengula's capital—Gubuluwayo—and the most northern of these, Fort Salisbury, is the newest of mushroom towns, with its drinking saloons, iron houses, and billiard table, its Jesuit fathers and Catholic nuns—a town rising from a barren waste towards the northern part of the region. Mr. Bent speaks well of the climate as a whole, though at Zimbabwe, towards the south, he suffered from the fever of swamps and streams, which has been so fatal at Fort Victoria and at Fort Salisbury—where also there are swamps—to the first settlers under the new charter. The season was unusually wet, with soaking misty rain; but it is doubtful whether the parts of the country near the streams will ever be as healthy as the dry regions to the west. This country is rich for agriculture and pasture, and the scenery, where the giant rose-red crags of the granite rise among the reds and greens of the foliage, is highly picturesque. In the streams the blue lotus flowers, with pampas grasses, and—as Mr. Bent assures us—papyrus; the aloe, the yellow everlasting, the pink bignonia, the red Indian shot, the osmunda, and tree fern, and the white flowers of the sugar tree, he also mentions; chillies, capers, rice, and monkey nuts, with huge tomatoes, appear in some cases to show the introduction of foreign seeds by the Portuguese.

The natives, long harassed by Matabele raids, have taken refuge on the granite hill-tops. They are expert smiths, and of old have been in contact with civilisation from Asia. Their diminutive cattle and small fowls seem to indicate that the region is too near the equator to be favourable to such domestic fauna. For them there have been hard times

under Matabele tyranny, and hard times seem still in store under the rough rule of the white police.

Traversing the greater part of this region, Mr. Bent returned to the east coast by the notorious Pungwe route, finding everywhere in the uplands of Manicaland a rich country, a fine climate, and a population happy until the white man settles among them. In the valleys he found rank vegetation and fever, and passed finally into the dreaded belt of 'fly-country' where the *tsetse* still abounds, where the crocodile and hippopotamus swarm in the rivers, where lions are numerous, and the gnu and the zebra stare at the traveller unmoved; buffaloes, wild pigs, and even elephants, he found along the Pungwe, which is a muddy stream among mangrove and bamboo swamps, in a country at times covered for miles with water. What the much-abused Portuguese had done, before they were lawlessly attacked by British invaders, may be judged from his account of the vegetable farms and comfortable houses of Massi Kessi. That the Portuguese should not welcome the new adventurers or assist them to enter their country was but to be expected, seeing how insolent was their first behaviour. The country behind the Mozambique littoral has been Portuguese ever since 1498 A.D., and Matabeleland was reached by this route in 1560 by the missionary Gonzalo de Silveira, whose travels were fortunately written before he was murdered by the natives. The history of the occupation includes many episodes of massacre and injustice to the native and Arab inhabitants near the gold mines, but on such a charge we have no right to cast the first stone when we review the history of our own African colonies.

From this sketch of the country we may now turn to the equally interesting question of native population; this is one not, as a rule, well understood in England, and in treating it even Mr. Bent makes occasional mistakes. The population of South Africa, when the Dutch arrived in 1652 A.D., and even a century ago, when the British conquest occurred, was mainly Hottentot and Bushman. The first Kaffir war occurred in 1819, but Bechuanaland was already then inhabited by the mild and peaceful nation with which Moffat and Livingstone made friends. The Hottentot belongs to quite a different race from that of the Bechuanas, Kaffirs, Zulus, and Basutos. The latter are branches of the great Bantu family of mankind, covering all Southern Africa below the equator. The Hottentots, with their yellow or coffee-coloured complexions, small figures, oblique eyes, and strange

agglutinative dialects, full of varying clicks, reminded the early Dutch settlers, as they have reminded later travellers, of the Chinese. The growth of the hair, in small isolated tufts, is, however, unlike that of any Asiatic race. The Hottentot and the Bushman are probably remote branches of one original stock, and have much in language and in physical peculiarities in common. Neither of them has any racial resemblance to the negro, except the intolerable odour of the first, from which it is said that the Bushman is free. There is little doubt that both races came originally from the north-east, and the Bushmen have traditions of a yet earlier unknown race which preceded them.

It is an instance of the danger of quoting second hand that Sir John Lubbock has followed authorities who said that the Hottentots had no religion. The later researches of Hahn, and of other scholars, have shown that their religious ideas, though vague and few, were like those of the Bantu about to be described. Their deity, *Heitzi Eibib*, lived in 'a great hole in the north;' they prayed also to their dead fathers, and sang rude hymns to the lightning; and their superstitions as to the mantis or walking leaf are well known. A peculiar physical conformation among Hottentot women, called the *tablier égyptien*, is said to connect them racially with the ancient Egyptians. They are also fond of adorning their bodies with red lead, and the hair with black lead; and this kind of painting was common among the earliest races on both sides of the Mediterranean. The Hottentot physique is not unlike the earliest pure Egyptian type, but the language is not recognisably connected with that of the Delta.

The Hottentots were a brave, cheerful, lazy, and dirty race, often most faithful to their white masters, but who have suffered for centuries from ill-usage and degradation, from brandy and injustice. The Korannas, on the east, have been almost entirely exterminated, and the Namaquas driven into the western deserts. They leave behind them a considerable Griqua population, born of Dutch fathers and Hottentot mothers.

The little Bushmen have always created much interest among anthropologists, as representing man in his earliest condition as a mere hunter. Whether they were from the first ages diminutive or have decreased in stature through the hardness of their desert privations is unknown. They resemble the Hottentots, and the *tablier* is usual among their women and believed to be a mark of race. They are said to

resemble closely in physique the Andaman Islanders, but their history is unknown. The discovery of Bushman paintings on the rocks of Manicaland by Mr. Bent is new, and interesting as marking their wide diffusion. Such drawings also exist near Vrijburg, and in other parts of Bechuanaland; but the Bushmen are now found only in the Kalahari, to which wilderness stronger tribes drove them out. They are remarkable for their untameable love of a wandering hunter's life, for their skill in mimicry, and in painting forms of men and beasts in red, yellow, and black clay, daubed on rocks, as well as for their strange legends of animals, collected by Bleek, and their arrows poisoned from the spurge or the venom of snakes. At one time they were shot like game by the Boers, and they are rarely seen in settled lands.

The races which drove out these earlier peoples were Bantu races, speaking liquid languages which had no clicks, although, in the south-west, Hottentot influence has brought clicks into the dialects of the Zulus and Kaffirs—the latter term being an Arab designation meaning 'Pagans' (*Káfir*, pl. *Kufár*). The Bechuana, spread over all the Transvaal and Bechuanaland proper, are of inferior physique to their brothers of Basutoland, or to their warlike cousins the Zulus; but the original stock is the same. The races are much mingled, and the Zulu, Kaffir, and Hottentot may all be seen in Kimberley. There is Hottentot blood among the Bechuana; and Mr. Bent repeats a suggestion which has commended itself to other travellers as well, that there may also be traces of an Arab admixture to some small extent.

The pure Muchuana is not, as Mr. Bent somewhat loosely calls him, a negro. The head is better shaped and more intelligent, the features are finer, and the hair less woolly. The colour is often very dark, but never really black. Negroes are only found among the captives of Matabele raids from the Zambesi. But the Bechuana have the negro odour; and the three nastiest things in South Africa are: Cape brandy, colonial swagger, and the native smell. The name Muchuana—in the plural Bechuana—is pronounced with the soft sound, like the Italian *c*, and has nothing to do with that of the Baquena, or 'Crocodile people,' though English people persist in speaking of *Bequeanas*. It seems perhaps to come from *chuana*, 'black,' as meaning a dark people, in contrast to the yellow or coffee-coloured Hottentots; yet Mr. Bent asserts that the word has no meaning in native speech.

The most important question regarding this mild and in-

telligent native race, who have been wronged and robbed by the white man, because he has found it safe so to treat them, is that of their government and laws. Each tribe has its king or chief, who appoints, from his own family, the ruler of each of the settlements within his borders. The local chief assigns the mealie lands among his followers; but he has no power to disturb so long as these are tilled. The land belongs not to king or chief, but to the tribe. Cultivation is the only individual title, and no dispossession is lawful save by the consent of all. Hence it follows that all grants made by kings to white men, either through fraud or by aid of brandy, are unlawful. For the king could only assign such lands if they were vacant, or if it were proved that the consent of the tribe was given, through the local chiefs in a general assembly. It is ill to argue with the wolf; but the land speculator who claims on such documents is but cloaking robbery, carried out by the aid of firearms, to the ruin of native settlements which depend on the waters he seizes. 'Dry farms' do not fetch a high price, but farms along rivers have never willingly been resigned by native tribes. The deliberations which give force to native resolutions are tedious and lengthy, but the speeches made on such occasions are remarkable for their eloquence, outspoken honesty, shrewdness of judgement, and love of justice. The native often stands higher in the scale of true civilisation than the white brigand who, because he knows of guns and railways, of newspapers and brandy, regards with contempt a people whose simple integrity rebukes his cunning. Popular government was known to the Bechuana, in its native form, long before commissioners appeared, or Volksraads were voted into power. The only difference is that the individual does not vote, but expresses his opinion to his chief—the youngest man speaking first, as on a court martial at home —and that the chiefs, the youngest first, communicate the opinions they so form to the king, in the great council of the tribe. A king who disregards the general wishes soon finds his tribe diminishing; for, without any violent revolt, the families melt away, to join some other leader famous for his justice or his valour. The white land-gambler, with his bogus treaty, is not only glad to see such retreat, but assists it, by stealing cattle, interfering with women, and shooting those who resent his unjust deeds. This, then, is the 'natural law,' by which, as Cape politicians assure us, the black race retreats before the white—not before the civilised —man. Brandy, disease, and injustice follow in his train.

There is no more pitiable sight than to see the scion of a good English family paying native wages in brandy, from behind the counter of the store. The degradation which ensues is not confined to the natives; and a half-bred race of weak physique makes its appearance, which inherits the vices of both parents. Not that the native is naturally either sober or moral, for Kaffir beer was drunk by all who could get it, and morality has never been highly esteemed; but because 'Cape smoke' is the most poisonous of all alcoholic drinks; and because the dissolution of native society, under powerless chiefs, leads to frightful excesses, which leave their mark on tribes now decimated by disease. The ruin of the forests, and the disappearance of the game, also rob the native of his food supply; for the Bantu are great flesh-eaters. Thus, after the campaign of 1885, the Batlaping tribe, along the Hartz River, was stricken with famine, under the very eyes of Englishmen willing but powerless to assist; and deprived of its lands by a commission ignorant or unmindful of the requisites of native life, to be shut into districts where life was impossible to the native, in order that white men with 'concessions' might enjoy the fat of the land. The food of the Bechuana, when Kaffir corn fails, and game is not found, consists of locusts, caterpillars, mice, and the berries of the *moretlwa*. Salt they eat greedily in preference to sugar. Fish they rarely eat, though *Batlaping* means 'the fish people' of the Hartz. Beer is the national drink of modern Africa, as it was of ancient Egypt, and is often drunk to great excess.

We must not be tempted to dwell too long on Bechuana religion, though the Cape Blue-books, and accounts of officers, shed much light on the subject. Some are now Christians by profession, and some by conviction, the sincerity of which is evinced by a noble life. The old ideas were vague. *Morimo*, the great spirit, was undefined; and the term also applies to ancestral ghosts, propitiated with offerings of beer. The old Chaldean theory of a firmament, and of a sun travelling through the earth, exists, with belief in black and white magic, in charms, ordeals, medicine-men, and memorial stones piled up or set in trees. There are sacrifices for rain on the hills; and men kneel before great trees, calling to *Morimo* for food. There are curious flogging ceremonies (at the *Boguera* feasts), when boys are circumcised, and initiated, on reaching early youth; and secret rites of the Bona Dea (called the *Boyali* rites), to which men are not admitted. Kgama, the first great

Christian chief, was the first who dared to marry a wife not subjected to *Boyali*; and it was said (but proved untrue) that he would have no children. The rites at marriage and burial are also of interest, the harvest-festivals of dancing to rude music, and the feast of general license, like the old Saturnalia. The soul, called *Moya* or 'breath,' is said (in the case of chiefs, at least) to pass into certain beasts; and the superstitions concerning such animals are a marked feature in native belief.

Each tribe has its *Seboga*, or 'thing to shun,' after which the tribe may be named, and to which it is said to *bina*, or 'dance.' Thus the crocodile (*kwena*) is shunned by the Baquena, and the lion (*tao*) by the Batuana, or 'lion folk.' Mr. Bent found the same belief among Mtoko's people in Mashonaland, who say that ancestral spirits dwell in certain ghostly lions, as among Zulus in snakes found near chiefs' tombs. The *Seboga* of the Bamangwato is the duiker antelope, and of the Batlaping the fish (*tlapi*). Others may not look at a quagga or zebra; and the Matabele shun the hippopotamus. Such ideas are found among savages all over the world, and may be connected with the beast-worship of the ignorant lower classes in ancient Egypt, which was unknown among Semitic races.

The Bechuana are a cheerful race, and the native children, playing with toy kraals and mud oxen, are very lively. There are four social grades—king, chief, ploughman, and herdsman, besides the Makalahari, or hunter vassals, who are not Bushmen, as Mr. Bent, in common with others, imagines, but only the poorer tribesmen living in the bush and hunting for themselves and for the king. As regards dress, it is European up to the borders of Matabeleland, Scottish missionaries having introduced the plaid and the 'Tam o' Shanter' bonnet, with cotton gowns from Manchester. Yet in outlying villages the beautifully sewed karosses of skin are still to be seen, while beads are still much worn by women, and native straw hats by men.

Beyond the Bechuana country Mr. Bent found the Makalaka arrayed in nothing save the small apron of decency; yet, as usual among savages, much given to adornment by shining necklaces, earrings, and bracelets, with fashions of the hair peculiar to each tribe, and tattooings of the body due to superstitious ideas.

The Sechuana language is liquid and melodious. It is a dialect of the great Bantu family, which is said to be remotely connected with those of North Africa. In struc-

ture and in vocabulary it is unlike any Asiatic tongue, but the great difficulty in studying African languages comparatively lies in the rapid changes known to be constantly occurring among tribes separated by great distances and wholly illiterate. That the Bechuana came from the north-east is shown by the offering of first fruits by their chiefs to the ancestral stock of the Bahrutzi in the Transvaal. They easily acquire Dutch and English, and Montsiwa's sons can write the latter, and can even draw maps of their country.

The native villages of neat huts, thatched, and with round walls of clay, number some two thousand dwellings on an average in any important kraal, with cattle-yards and screens of thorn. The cultivation of the mealie gardens, which used to be done with the hoe by the women, is now performed by oxen in English ploughs among the more prosperous tribes. Before the disastrous days of 1883, when freebooters invaded the present Crown Colony, the Batlaping had a regular trade with Kimberley, and natives even came from Mashonaland to earn the price of a wife at home; but such trade was ruined, never more to be revived, when the white farmers settled in the country.

The Crown Colony was the home of two great tribes—the Batlaping, now ruined by their drunken chief, and the Barolong, under Montsiwa, to whom England owes something, and for whom little has been done in return. This remarkably shrewd and sturdy old chief held on to his possessions, and stood siege by the Boers, remaining faithful to 'the great Queen' at a time when it was declared in Parliament impossible that a British expedition could reach his country. Sir Charles Warren effected his relief, and the boundary laid down for him on the east satisfied his demands; but the Cape Government seems to have owed him a grudge, and has paid it by erecting a township close to his capital against his wishes. When Mr. Bent derides the poor aged man, in his disappointment and illness, receiving the miserable pittance allotted in exchange for loss of lands and herds, he shows that he does not know Montsiwa's past history very well, and never saw him in the days when he was truly great.

Beyond the Crown Colony Batuen has, it appears, now succeeded his somewhat weak father; but the boundary dispute to which Mr. Bent refers is not a new question due to civilised influence. The Bechuana have always been particular in defining boundaries, and this very question

was a source of trouble before 1884. Next to the tribe of Batuen, whose town is Kanya, and who are called Bangwaketzi, come the Baquena, under the aged Sechele, at Molopololi. This chief, though shrewd and progressive, has always been shifty, and his conversion to Christianity was always suspected. He is now a wreck, in the midst of his grotesque assortment of civilised toys.

A very different man is the famous Kgama ('the harte-'beest'), chief of the Bamangwato, and one of the most remarkable men in South Africa. His courage has kept the Matabele away from the South. His paternal kindness to his 'children,' his justice, honesty, and shrewdness, Mr. Bent acknowledges. He has been a sincere Christian from his youth, and his story, told by Mr. J. Mackenzie in 'Ten 'Years beyond the Orange River,' is most interesting; for he came under the influence of a strong and upright man, and the happiness of this tribe during his long reign has been mainly due to the practical teaching of John Mackenzie, the successor on whose shoulders the mantle of Moffat fell, and whose influence in Bechuanaland has been so great that Mr. Gladstone expected him, with the aid of a few policemen and a flag, to rule this enormous tract, without money or physical force, in the face of the armed freebooters trespassing from the Transvaal—a belief in the 'one man' which cost not only the Bechuanaland expedition, but also, in other lands, the lives of Palmer and of Gordon.

We cannot, however, agree in regarding the prohibition of drink by Kgama as intolerant. He has had bitter experience of its effects among the southern tribes. In his own words, 'Beer is the source of all quarrels and disputes. 'I will stop it.' It is among the scandals of our present occupation that drink shops, where natives obtain liquor (though against the law), appeared, contrary to the enactments of chiefs like Montsiwa, as soon as the British rule was established. It may be urged by politicians in a country where votes must be regarded and where drunkenness is rife among Europeans, that prohibition is not possible; but there are instances among North American States which show that such laws can be enforced by civilised nations. At present British governors proclaim their inability to do that which Bechuana chiefs have really effected.

The reign of Kgama draws to a close, for he is now sixty-five years old. What may be the fate of his tribe hereafter is unseen, but his name will long be remembered. Like Saul, he has cut off the witches from the land, and he has

established peace and just government and general sobriety. He has brought five hundred ploughs into his country, and has maintained its freedom against Boers and Zulus alike. The prohibition of drink is directly due to missionary influence, and the Bechuana owe much to the shrewd and kindly Scots of Kuruman, who were their teachers before the land speculators ventured so far north. The enthusiasm for England, which led all these chiefs to offer land (even though it were but waterless desert) to English settlers, under the direct rule of the Queen, was due to the character of the Englishmen whom first they encountered as friends. There is no exaggeration in what Mr. Mackenzie said to the British Association on this subject in 1888:—

'It is one thing to hurry over a wide region with a European flag. . . . It is quite another thing . . . by protracted and friendly intercourse of European subjects with the native people of a country, to obtain so much of their confidence and their esteem that they invite you to enter their country as a protecting power . . . . The men who (did this) never used their influence with chiefs and people to obtain land for themselves. Their landed possession, in the country of their adoption, is the grave in which they or their children lie.'

Entering Matabeleland, we come to a very different social condition—a fierce military tyranny under a tyrant who is the slave of fear and superstition. It is more than seventy years since Mosilikazi fled from the wrath of King Chaka in Zululand with a large horde which devastated the Transvaal and Bechuanaland, but which was repulsed in 1823 by the firearms of the Griquas at Kuruman. This horde, which the Bechuanas called Matabele or 'naked men,' then split up; the Bataung attacked Basutoland, and the Mantatis marched north, wasting as they went, till Mosilikazi found the fine country now called Matabeleland, where the Zulus became masters of the Bechuana tribes, whom they called Makalaka or 'ruined people.' Here Mosilikazi died, and Lobengula, the present king, acceded in 1870.* His reign has been signalised by continual expeditions to east and west, preying on the now extinct Makalolo and on the Makalaka. The old Zulu system is maintained, but the forces are recruited with captives taken as boys from the tribes laid waste; and the early spirit of this warlike tribe

* Lobengula is not the son of the queen, who would be the true heir, but of another of Mosilikazi's wives. He was adopted by the queen and made heir, when the true prince—Kuruman—was executed by his father's order.

has somewhat decayed, so that recently an *impi* has returned to the king defeated.

There is no doubt that Lobengula looks with suspicion on the advance to Mashonaland, which he has so long prevented, and that he foresees its inevitable results. The Matabele were on good terms with Moffat, to whom they sent a deputation in 1828, and who visited them in 1854. They allowed a respected colonist, Mr. S. Edwards, to settle at the Tati gold fields long ago, but traders generally have been very jealously watched. In 1885 Captain Haynes, R.E., journeyed with Mr. Edwards, as Sir C. Warren's representative, to Gubuluwayo, the king's kraal, and was well received. Since that time the Matabele have been friendly to England, and have granted to the South Africa Company the right to search for minerals in Mashonaland, though it appears not to be clear whether rights to mark out farms have also been obtained. Captain Haynes has given an interesting account of the country and the people, and of the monarch whose titles it requires a quarter of an hour for the herald to proclaim each morning—a custom which Dos Santos mentions in Manicaland as early as 1684. Surrounded by wives and witch-doctors—of whom the chief wizard is bitterly opposed to white men—Lobengula spends most of his time in brewing magic potions, and in receiving reports from the village Indunas, and dealing out barbarous punishments. It is said that the Matabele have explored beyond the Zambesi, and have found a country to which they would willingly retire, but that they are unable to take their cattle over the river. Perhaps it might in the future be possible to build a gold bridge for a flying foe by establishing ferries; but at present the Matabele are too strong for the scattered white population of Mashonaland, and Lobengula receives a subsidy of 100*l.* per month—tribute from the South Africa Company. The line of advance from Kgama's country to Mashonaland might, in war time, be easily cut, and if it has already been found very difficult to provision so remote a post as Fort Salisbury in time of peace, the difficulty of its relief in case of a Matabele war may be judged.

The Makalaka of Mashonaland, so long harried by these Zulu tyrants, are a timid folk, who are, however, further advanced in civilisation than other tribes, having long been under the influence of the Arabs and Portuguese. With the latter they still carry on, to a small degree, the old trade in alluvial gold, brought down in quills. They can raise copper, and the iron smelting is a monopoly of certain families

of native smiths. They have learned to make cotton garments, and the Portuguese found them mining for gold in the quartz reefs. Mr. Bent speaks of them as honest and courteous; but it is sad to find that they were surly and suspicious near the British settlements of Fort Salisbury and Umtali. Near the former a native kraal has already been burned for cattle stealing, and a white man has been murdered. Mr. Bent describes the iron piano-like instrument of their music, similar to that of other tribes north of the Zambesi, and their game played by moving stones in and out of rows of sixty holes in the ground, which resembles the *mankala* game of Arab shepherd boys, and may not impossibly have been learned from the Arabs.

A great part of Mr. Bent's volume is devoted to the interesting ruins of Mashonaland, which are certainly older than the Portuguese conquest, and represent the only traces of ancient civilisation as yet found in South Africa. He has done good work for the cause of exploration, and has shown courage in undergoing fatigue, privation, fever, and perhaps some danger; and he writes with modesty and prudence. But it must be confessed that his descriptions are at times so obscure as to be difficult to understand, even by aid of the excellent plans which he furnishes. His archæology is weak; and the quotation of so obsolete an authority as Montfaucon, or of Perrot and Chipiez, who are themselves popular retailers of second-hand knowledge, is not likely to carry weight.

As much good work, no doubt, still lies in store, which Mr. Bent may be expected to accomplish, it is well to say that writings which have permanent value might be expected to rise above the fashionable slang of the day. Mr. Bent should bear in mind the terrible French dictum—*le style c'est l'homme.*

The ruins in question are not new discoveries, though they have never before been excavated. They are mentioned by early Portuguese writers, and have long been known, at Tati and elsewhere, to hunters and settlers. They were visited by Herr Mauch in 1871, and their legend forms the basis of the novel called 'King Solomon's Mines.' Although the name Zimbabwe is commonly applied to the finest example, south-east of Fort Victoria, this is not a local name, but is applied by the natives to many such ruins. Mr. Mackenzie gives the word as *Ma-Zimbaoe*, and the Portuguese spelt it *Zimboe*. It is possibly connected with the Sechuana word *Seōbō* for a 'shelter.' The ruins, consisting of round

enclosures with very thick walls, made of small drystone granite courses, arranged with considerable regularity, are found wherever there are remains of ancient gold mines, and appear to be clearly the relics of former forts, intended to protect the traders or the miners, which it is difficult to suppose were built by the natives, although stone krantzes (or strongholds on the hills) of inferior workmanship are common in both Bechuanaland and Manicaland, which were certainly made as defences against the Zulus. The native tradition assigns the Zimbabwe ruins to white men, who came long ago for the gold. If native tribes were strong and warlike, and the traders without firearms, it is possible that such fortresses may have been necessary for defence against them; but they would rather seem to have been erected against some civilised race like the Portuguese, by the Arab chiefs, whom the latter found in possession of the gold-bearing region. Dos Santos, in 1689, describes these ruins, and speaks of a Zimboe on a mountain (whereabouts is not clearly stated), to which the native king went yearly, at the first new moon in September, to visit the ancestral tombs. For eight days the people danced and drank beer, in honour of the *Mozimos* or ancestral spirits (the Sechuana *Modimo*), and a witch doctor was supposed to be possessed by the spirit of the dead king, and to prophesy to the living monarch.

De Barros, in 1552, also describes these ruined stations more exactly, and speaks of an inscription, which has not, however, been found. The Arabs stated that the buildings were very ancient, and had been erected to protect the gold mines. Alvarez (wrongly quoted by Mr. Bent as Leo Africanus) attributes them to the devil. A letter now in Lisbon, dating 1721 A.D., repeats the earlier accounts; and the natives say that the white men were poisoned by the black men—a story which, if it has any foundation, can hardly be very ancient among African migratory peoples. There is so far no evidence that the buildings need be regarded as very much older than the time of the Portuguese settlement on the east coast, about 1500 A.D.

The popular legend that these gold mines represent the Land of Ophir and the home of the Queen of Sheba was taken by the English from the Dutch, by the latter from the Portuguese, and by them from the Arabs. All alike seem to have been profoundly ignorant of Old Testament geography. It is agreed by scholars, such as Lenormant, Canon Rawlinson, and others, that Ophir and Sheba were in South-

ern Arabia, near Yemen, as is indeed very clearly stated in the Bible.* Conto, a Portuguese writer, however, says (as quoted by Mr. Bent), that from these mines 'the Queen of 'Sheba took the greater part of the gold which she went to 'offer to the Temple of Solomon, and it is Ophir; for the 'Kaffirs call it *Fur*, and the Moors (that is, the Arabs) *A fur*.' This is the basis of an absurd theory, to which, however, Mr. Bent does not commit himself. It is to be remarked that the Talmudic tales about Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (*Belkís*), which are repeated in the Korân and in the Moslem commentaries on the same, were known in Arabia before Muhammad's time. It is quite possible that the Arabs, who so localised the legend, were settled in this region before the era of Islam; and no traces of Moslem belief seem to have been found. But wherever the idea was first propagated, it is certain that it has no foundation, and that the Queen of Sheba was a Yemenite princess.

With the theories of Mr. Swan, to which Mr. Bent partially subscribes, it is not proposed to deal at any length. He sees in these ruins the remains of temples of Phœnician star-worshippers, and is a believer in esoteric architecture, in the star orientation of Greek temples, and in other equally problematical theories of a certain class of antiquarians. It is fortunate for those who spend time in tracing the relation of buildings to the transit of stars that the sky is full of stars from which to select. Mr. Swan honestly admits that he cannot make his theoretic lines fit with any star of the first magnitude, nor were the stars best known to Arabs and Phœnicians here visible. Those who have practical acquaintance with antiquity know that the astronomical observations of early races were rude and simple; that esoteric architecture is a modern craze; that the standards of ancient measurement, linear or angular, were as a rule extremely imperfect; and that the new theory of orientation of Greek temples rests on the false basis of a supposed Solar year; for the Greek year, which determined the incidence of festivals on certain days of the month, was, as all scholars know who have studied the subject, a Lunar year, which had no sidereal connexion.

There is a curious circular tower at the large Zimbabwe ruin, where Mr. Bent made excavations, which he compares with the *nouraghs* of Sardinia, with the pillars of Hierapolis, and with the sacred cone of Ashtoreth in Phœnician temples.

* Gen. x 28, 29.

There is no evidence, however, of the worship of towers by the ancients, in which some followers of Briant still believe. The *nouraghs* are hollow, and not, like the Zimbabwe tower, solid; and it is unknown when or by whom they were built. The refuge towers of the Afghans might be quite as well compared. Nor is a tower the same thing as a pillar, such as Phœnician and Arab hermits (like those of India) used to ascend, long before St. Simon Stylites copied their custom. Nor, again, is it the same thing as the cones, found in Cypriote and other temples, which the priests anointed at certain festivals. There are, indeed, several 'altars' shown on Mr. Bent's plans; but when we investigate his descriptions, it appears that most of these are 'restorations,' in accordance with Mr. Swan's theories; that one is a 'heap of rubbish' where the explorers 'fancied' there might have been an altar; and that the one remaining—which is not fully described—bore apparently no distinct marks of having served such a purpose. These theories are therefore not much in advance of those of Herr Mauch, which the explorers condemn; and the opinion of Holub, supported by the passages from early writers already mentioned, gives no doubt the true explanation—namely, that the buildings are forts to protect the mines. Mr. Bent compares the curious buildings in Malta called Hagiar Kem, which are of unknown origin. They are built of very large masonry, quite different from that of Zimbabwe, and they differ entirely in plan and details. An altar or table does, indeed, occur in this case, but it is unknown when or by whom the Hagiar Kem ruins were built. The fact that a building is rudely circular does not prove that it was a temple, without other evidence; for the circle is the easiest of all forms for primitive man to describe, and circular plans belong to council-places, to hut-circles, and to fortresses, as well as to places of early worship. The rude plan of the Zimbabwes does not recall that of any known Phœnician or Asiatic temple, though at Mecca and elsewhere the Arabs have, from a remote period, worshipped in circles of menhirs. The natives were found still sacrificing at the great Zimbabwe by Herr Mauch in 1871; but this was probably because it was an ancient place of royal sepulture, as already described, although Mr. Bent did not light on any tombs still existing.

From theory we turn, therefore, to consider the history of the region, the details of the principal site (Great Zimbabwe), and the character of the ornament, pottery, weapons, and

other such discoveries, all of which have primary importance in judging of the probable history of the ruins.

It is well known that as early as the second century (A.D.) the Yemenite merchants, at a time when South Arabia was famous for its riches and its trade with Rome, India, and Africa, had reached the Zambesi mouths, and had begun to obtain gold from natives of the interior. Yet earlier Agatharchides (about 146 B.C.; see 'De Mare Ærythræo,' 102) speaks of the wealth of Arabia: of vases and utensils in gold and silver, beds and tripods of silver, rich furniture, pillars plated with gold, doorways set with precious stones, and ivory. The Arabs built stone towns, and even churches, before Muhammad's time, and were early able to write; for the popular impression that they were all nomads living in deserts is contradicted by the remains of their early greatness (when they were bold traders by sea and land) and by the notices of classic writers. But it was not from Africa alone that they thus early obtained ivory and gold. The latter existed in all parts of ancient Asia, and the Indian trade brought to Yemen, in the fourth century of our era, not only gold and ivory, but amber, sapphires, pearls, perfumes, cotton, and silk from China.

By 35 A.D., however, Kharabit, the Yemenite king, possessed a long reach of the East African coast. The early Moslem writers of the ninth and tenth centuries speak of *Sofâlat edh Dhahab*, 'The Lowlands of the Gold,' being the settlement so called, on the coast south of the Pungwe River, where the Portuguese founded a town in 1505. When Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape and reached Natal in 1497 A.D., he found Arab pilots in these waters, and the Portuguese found the inland regions of the Monomotapa monarch ruled by Arabs, or—as they called them, from knowledge of the race nearer home—by Moors. The treaty with this potentate ceded to Portugal the mines of gold, silver, and copper. Stations were created at Tete and other places further south, where annual fairs were held. Expeditions were organised to the mines, and in the Mazoe valley, north of Fort Salisbury, have been found fragments of Nankin china, Venetian beads several centuries old, and other evidences of Portuguese trade and occupation. The natives were found digging shafts and galleries for the gold, which sometimes collapsed and buried the miners. Soon after the accession of Sebastian, Francis Barreto commanded a warlike expedition to Zimboe in the interior, whence the native king fled. He made a forced treaty with the Mongas,

and ascended the Zambesi to Chicovo in search of silver mines, but was obliged to retreat without finding them, leaving a garrison of one hundred men, who were massacred. The natives are said, perhaps without real foundation, to have been cannibals. Finally, in 1807–9, the Portuguese crossed and recrossed Africa, from Mozambique to Angola and back, while the English were only just arriving at Cape Town. Such is the history of Mashonaland and of the Portuguese claims to its possession, and all the evidence which can be brought to bear historically on the question of the Zimbabwe ruins.

The great Zimbabwe, which Mr. Bent explored and excavated, contains buildings of various dates, some being quite recent native *krantzes*. On the north side of an open valley, amid the swampy streams in the forest, rises a natural citadel of granite crags, approached by a narrow cleft on the south. Walls have been built between these extraordinary boulders, which are 50 feet high, and a strong circular wall on the west completes the irregular enclosure. The approaches have been carefully fortified by narrow lanes and gates, and the arrangements seem rather to point to an expected attack from the east. The walls are drystone, built in fairly regular courses of small granite blocks—granite being very heavy, and larger masonry, no doubt, therefore, impracticable. They are adorned in places with a simple herring-bone or zigzag, due to slanting courses, which in effect recalls the favourite patterns adorning native carved objects. Fantastic battlements and long stones have been set up on the tops of the walls, and small soapstone pillars, surmounted with rudely carved eagles, were found in the excavations, apparently near the west wall.

There is a curious platform on the south side, and a group of carved stones, similar to some known in Arab countries, but more elaborate, was found. The masonry does not in character resemble any of the undisputed remains of Phœnician walling, but it is very like the stonework of the Arabs, who were much accustomed to drystone work. The eagle is so universally found in Western Asia as an ornamental device, that little can be concluded from its appearance in Zimbabwe. Mr. Bent compares an Egyptian example, but we might equally recall the magnificent eagle pillar of Roman times which still stands erect at Kara Kush in Armenia. It is, perhaps, not impossible that the larger so-called phallic pillars may have been symbols of the religion of the builders, for there are endless references in Greek and

Latin writers which show that the Arabs erected stones as emblems or objects of worship, as did many other ancient races, and this would point to a period previous to the era of Islam for the original settlement; but if the traders were colonists, and not merely visitors, it does not follow that the walls of the fortress, or the oval building to the south, are equally ancient. Cement appears to be used in floors and otherwise in the buildings, and this is usually an indication in the East that the building is not older than Roman times. No arches occur from which a judgement might be formed. They were not needed by the construction, and arches are not easily formed in drystone buildings.

In the valley towards the west a rough wall has been built, north and south, which may be modern; and round foundations, 6 to 15 feet in diameter, constructed of granite blocks regularly laid, appear to have been the floors of huts of the ancient inhabitants, similar to those found at Marico in the Transvaal. Finally, a gold-smelting furnace was discovered, close beneath the fortress, apparently on the south. It was made of hard cement of powdered granite, with a chimney; and indications of the crushing and firing of the ore were observed. There are old gold reefs and workings about twelve miles away, and this evidence shows no doubt the object of erection of the fortress, on its cliff 30 feet above the valley.

On the south of the valley, 600 yards south of the centre of the fortress, a still more notable building stood on gently rising ground. It is a rude oval, 280 feet across its greatest length north-west and south-east, with a solid round tower tapering gradually, and about 32 feet high, placed within the main wall on the south-east. The entrance is to the north, and was carefully fortified by inner traverses, and by a long narrow passage, formed by a thinner internal wall, passing round on the east to the tower. There are other irregular party walls within, which in arrangement recall the *krantzes* of native fortifications, but which appear to be part of the original building. The main wall is some 15 to 30 feet high, and is 16 feet thick at the bottom, and 5 feet thick at the top. The whole is so clearly built for defensive purposes, with an outlook tower commanding a view down the valley to the east, that any other theory of explanation seems unnecessary.

The description thus given applies to other ruins in the same region, always near the ancient gold workings. Similar walls are known at the Tati gold fields to the north-west,

and stone fortifications of a ruder kind were discovered by Mr. Bent in Mashonaland, farther east. The plan of the Matindela ruin is even more irregular than that above described, with three narrow doors in the north-east walls, and another walled up, with a loophole near it, on the west, where are the foundations of the stone huts of the settlement. The walls at Zimbabwe are not all equally well built, and were either repaired, or finished in a hurry. The zigzag pattern on the walls occurs in several of these ruins, but is not a distinctive architectural feature.

No inscriptions were found, nor is there any reason why certain rock markings in Bechuanaland, figured by Mr. Bent, should be regarded as letters. He figures on the same page the letters *Aleph*, *Sad*, *Nun*, *Vau*, and the numeral *two*, of the Himyarite alphabet of about the Christian era. Why he does so is not clear, nor why he calls this alphabet Proto-Arabian. It was the later script of the Himyarites, which was not generally used in Arabia; and it is not the original of either the Kufic or the modern Arabic, both of which scripts were derived from early Aramaic forms, found north of the Hejaz.

Other objects found in the ruins remain to be described. There is a little pillar, as to which Mr. Bent remarks that it has 'apparently a representation of a winged sun on its side, 'or perchance the winged Egyptian vulture, suggesting a 'distinct Semitic influence.' Unfortunately, the illustration is indistinct, as apparently is also the object, which may be either a vulture or the sun. If it be either, its discovery is very interesting, though how an Egyptian comparison shows a Semitic influence it is difficult to understand. The winged sun was an emblem used by Egyptians, by Phœnicians, by the non-Semitic race of Syria and Asia Minor, by the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, and also by the Arabs, who borrowed their civilisation from Mesopotamia. But, unfortunately, the occurrence at Zimbabwe does not seem to be fully proved.

The most interesting object found was a fragment of a soap-stone bowl, carved with rude representations of man and animals in high relief. Two of the beasts are zebras, according to Mr. Bent, and two seem clearly to be baboons with long tails and well-marked hands. A very rough human figure, and a clumsy bird, divide the beasts, and a lion—or other nondescript—faces the apes, with his back to the man. It is clear from the fauna portrayed that the bowl was not brought from Asia; and, though it is perhaps superior to

the Bushman drawings, it is not unlike them in style. It is a libel on the Phœnicians to suppose that they would have produced such work: and they knew nothing of zebras or of the baboons of Bechuanaland. The work seems most likely to be native—perhaps under the influence of a civilised race; and the art of making cotton was acquired in like manner from the Arabs by the Mashona natives, in their better days, before the Matabele destroyed their infant civilisation.

Another bowl with two oxen is yet ruder in design. A third fragment with two human hands is unfortunately only a chip from a large bowl, and this is all of distinctive character that seems to have been found. The weapons—spear and arrowheads—resemble, as Mr. Bent tells us, those now in use among the natives. The bells—perhaps used for cattle—are like those on the Congo, as he also shows; the ingot mould resembles those of natives far north of the Zambesi. An unbarbed spear-head has a coating of gold. Celadon pottery from China, and Persian ware, also distinguishable, seem clearly to mark the presence of Arab traders, resembling fragments found by Sir John Kirk, near the mediæval Arab settlement of Quiloa, where the settlers came from the Persian Gulf. Most of these objects were exhibited at the Royal Society on Mr. Bent's return; and while they indicate native civilisation, and the presence of the Arabs, they cannot be said to show that the Phœnicians ever came to, or traded with, Zimbabwe. Those hardy mariners sailed round Africa about 600 B.C., and visited the Gold Coast some centuries later from Carthage; but we have no account of any inland settlements of the race, who bartered with the natives on the shores of the great continent; and the theory of their presence in Mashonaland does not seem to be better founded than the legend of Ophir and Queen Belkîs.

From the past we turn our eyes again to the present to consider the reasons for the recent advance of white men into the interior, and the probable future of recent enterprise in Mashonaland and in the adjoining regions. The reasons why South Africa has gone ahead of late years are not far to seek, and may be summed up under the three heads of restored public confidence, pressure of population both at home and in the Cape Colony, and the discovery of new sources of mineral wealth. Of the future success or failure of the commercial speculations newly started it is, perhaps, premature to express an opinion; but of the increase of material prosperity which will result from a firm and just persistence

in the Imperial policy, which dates from 1884, there can be no longer reasonable doubt.

In 1876 the attack on Secocoeni's mountain failed; the Transvaal was bankrupt, and in danger from native rebellions. In the following year it was annexed; but the administration was highly unpopular, and a rising followed, which, aided by the military errors and the political vacillation of Great Britain, was successful. The Boers themselves were astonished by their success and by the prestige they so suddenly attained. The result was that British influence fell to its lowest ebb, and only some few hundred Englishmen ventured to remain among the successful farmers, whose ignorance may be judged if the story be true that some of the younger proposed to 'charter a ship and make an end 'by taking London.' It followed that the freebooters, who ranged beyond the undefined western border, took courage once more to harry Bechuanaland, as in the earlier days of Livingstone. The siege of Montsiwa's capital, and the murders of Bethel and of Honey, were, however, too much for British patience, and thus Sir Charles Warren's expedition went forth in full expectation of war; for Cape politicians had failed in their efforts at pacification, and the country generally appeared ripe for revolt against British rule.

The relief of Montsiwa by a military force had been pronounced impracticable. The expedition was thwarted as far as possible by the Cape Parliament, and failure was predicted by the Africander party and by the Boers alike. Yet a single year of bold and steadfast action, of determination combined with just and peaceful intentions, changed the whole aspect of affairs. Montsiwa was relieved. The brigands who had been treated as serious politicians were seized, and one was tried as a common murderer. The chiefs of Bechuanaland hastened to welcome the British Special Commissioner; the boundary of the Transvaal was beaconed off, and even Lobengula was friendly. A series of forts was built to protect the new Crown Colony; the telegraph was carried yet further to Molopolole; and the problem was solved without a single shot having been fired.

Thus, in 1885, public confidence was restored; the absurd prestige of the Boers, who dared not even to assist the imprisoned Niekirk, was destroyed, and when it became clear that they were afraid of Sir Charles Warren and of his cavalry force, the railway sprang at a single bound to Kimberley, and soon after to Vrijburg, and a host of miners invaded Johannesburg, where the existence of gold was

already known, so that President Kruger soon became unable to show his face in a town close to his own capital.

Mr. Rhodes appears to claim that he was the author of this rapid change of scene. He has forgotten, it seems, his prophecies of failure, which made him unpopular at the time in Kimberley. Those who have read South African Blue-books of this date, and who are acquainted with Mr. J. Mackenzie's 'Austral Africa,'* know that the change was due to the firmness of the British commander, and to the public opinion in the colony and at home, created by the old friend of the Bechuana chiefs—men who set their faces while Cape politicians were counting votes. Mr. Rhodes has profited by what was then done, and has given expression to a public opinion which was not formed by any action of the Cape Government. He has carried on the work; but the Imperial policy was founded by the friends and pupils of Sir Bartle Frere. The telegraph, which Sir Charles Warren advanced to Molopolole, Mr. Rhodes has carried to Fort Salisbury. The methods which secured Bechuanaland he has extended to countries north of the Transvaal; but he has done so in time of peace, and after the hollowness of Boer pretensions had been unmasked—not in the face of predicted and threatened war. Let the honours, therefore, be meted out according to desert. Without the expedition of 1884 the present policy could never have been undertaken at all. Had that undertaking been allowed its full scope, greater justice would have been done to the native tribes, and the developement of Bechuanaland would have proceeded on sounder lines; but as it is an immense stride in material prosperity has resulted from the bold assertion of law and order.

The expansion of the white population of South Africa within the last half-century has been very remarkable. In 1838 the Transvaal was unknown, and there were but three or four white missionaries, and a few early traders, in Bechuanaland. As long as it was possible for the Boer to *trek*, apparently without a limit, over a healthy and well-watered upland pasture, settled population seemed impossible; and the white man, like the Hottentot or the Bantu, lived as a pastoral nomad and hunter. But the bounds have now been reached, and the fever belt of the Zambesi is the natural limit. The Transvaal has no longer any 'hinder land;' for it is circled round by regions under British law. The more

* Austral Africa: Losing it or ruling it. By John Mackenzie. 2 vols. London, 1887.

unquiet spirits may venture to follow the terrible route of the former disastrous *trek*, northwards over the Zambesi, in search of the Promised Land of their true Israel, which they thought so near—a *trek* from which only some seventy families escaped to the Portuguese settlement of Angola, whence they now hold out inducements to their brothers of the South African Republic. But the more sober and prosperous among the Boer farmers are settling down. The riches of the Transvaalers are steadily increasing. The Volksraad is able constantly to decree increased salaries. President Kruger and others have been to England, and know what the outer world is like, and what is thought at home of the system of 'apprentice' slaves. Railways are piercing the stronghold of prejudice and ignorance; and within a few years the Europeans must, by law, attain to votes. The days of Boer autocracy are numbered, and communication with the civilised world cannot but soften the ancient prejudices, and lead to a higher life than that of the primitive hunter in his wagon, *treking* like his Aryan ancestor on the Volga, feeding on dried deer's flesh, shooting natives, or (as is asserted to have been done) driving them in his plough. Pretoria is rapidly growing into a city, and Johannesburg consumes all the agricultural products that farms can grow, and employs all available labour and transport at phenomenal prices. It cannot be long before this healthy and fertile region proclaims its union with the other possessions of Great Britain, nor can the Free State, so surrounded, remain for ever a South African Belgium.

Yet the population of South Africa is still incredibly small, and the huge farms, where they are capable of supporting a larger population, are obstacles in the way of increased density of population. In 1875 the total population of the Cape Colony was still only 721,000, or less than 4 souls per square mile. This included desert regions like the Karoo; but Cape Town itself had but 45,000 inhabitants, and other towns averaged only about 2,000 souls. The population of the Cape Colony, including the adjacent districts, is now stated in the 'Statesman's Manual' to amount to 1,150,237, of whom 376,987 are of European origin. There is still, however, abundant room for more colonists, and for native expansion also; and the restoration of confidence, coupled with the pressure of population at home, must lead to a marked increase in the proportion of British settlers, of whom less than a century ago none had yet reached the Cape.

The great bounds in prosperity in South Africa have

however, so far, always accompanied the discovery of new sources of mineral wealth, leading to the sudden creation of large mining centres, and to the growth of agriculture and mechanical employment, and the making of railways to supply the miners' imperative needs. In every case solid results have been accompanied by wild speculation, and by the ruin of many companies and of enthusiastic individuals. It was so when, in 1852, the copper mine of Sprinbokfontein was found in Namaqualand, and when a mania for copper companies was followed by financial collapse, though the original mine was worth 300,000*l.* a year to the colony. It was so when the 'Star of South Africa' was sold for 11,000*l.*, and the mines of Kimberley found by those who returned disappointed from the Vaal River diamond washings. It has again been so at Johannesburg, since the gold was first found to exist in paying quantities. It may perhaps be so again in Mashonaland—if the experts are wrong. Colonisation, to succeed, must be the spontaneous act of the masses, and cannot prosper when merely fostered by governments in an artificial manner. As long as public confidence is maintained, governments must follow, and not precede, the miner, the trader, and the farmer, who find their own way, and accept for themselves the risk of failure. Such colonisation will always be due to British energy, and not to the slow increase of the phlegmatic Dutch element. The value of the British vote is already becoming appreciable to Cape statesmen; and we hear in consequence less of the old Africander cry, which won elections when the voters were mainly Africander.

The commercial prospects of the South Africa Company depend, as Mr. Rhodes has stated, on the success of the gold prospectors. It is not supposed that dividends will accrue before 1895, and not urged that the sale of Lobengula's lands (by what title is unknown) can bring permanent income to their coffers. A military occupation of Mashonaland, which narrowly escaped disaster through starvation, has been followed by a sharp reduction in expenditure. The telegraph to Fort Salisbury is said to pay at present a dividend of 4 per cent.; but this naturally depends on the population remaining in the country.

The model farming association under Van der Byl has not been a success; for the leader died of fever, and after two years the younger men whom he led threw up their farms. The attempt to reach Mashonaland by the Pungwe failed. Mr. Bent has described the ruins of this enterprise—coaches and

wagons stranded along the road where the beasts had fallen to the *tsetse* fly.* It was not only Mr. Rhodes's Cape cart which met with disaster, or the dozens of Scotch carts and ox wagons which lie rotting on the veldt, to attest the collapse of Messrs. Heany and Johnson's pioneer scheme. Crowds of poor speculators, who never reached their Eldorado, returned in despair, fever-stricken and starving, to the Portuguese settlements, where the natives were forbidden to sell them provisions.

A railway has been projected along this line, crossing mangrove swamps and rising 5,000 feet along its course. If it necessitates bridges, and tunnels blasted in the granite, Mr. Bent appears to be justified in holding that it will be very expensive to build; and that it will cost many human lives in the fever region is certain. The question remains whether it will become necessary, through the growth of the Mashona colony, or whether disappointed miners and farmers will abandon this remote region before it is made. The route through Bechuanaland is much longer, and difficulties would arise from want of water. Perhaps, after all, the first railway may go north along the valley of the Nylstroom from Pretoria, which will soon be a considerable terminus.

As regards the gold, which is at present the main attraction to Mashonaland, there are many questions on which light will be shed by time. It is expected to pay a double profit, to the miner and to the South Africa Company; and this in face of the heavy cost of transport, and the fact that small percentages in the ore only pay when large quantities can be crushed by a few machines in constant use.† The opinion of experts, Mr Bent says, is at present unfavourable, though owners of claims appear to be not dissatisfied. There is no doubt that all the great plateau is strewn with gold, though rarely in paying quantities, such as are found, it

* The 'fly' exists not only here and between the Transvaal and Delagoa, but also along the Limpopo and the Zambesi. It disappears with the game, and when the bush is cleared, but is liable to reappear when the country relapses into a wild condition.

† The Mashona gold fields were rediscovered in 1867. The settlement of the South Africa Gold Fields Exploration Company at Mt. Hartley was established in 1870 by agreement with Lobengula. Although the elevation is 3,000 feet above the sea, many hunters died of fever, in this vicinity, during the year of exploration. The specimens brought down and assayed in London averaged about 3 oz. per ton. (Baines, *op. cit.* pp. 29–30, 38–50.) This would hardly be a paying amount under present conditions.

would appear, at Tati.* But we have yet to learn how far the old miners worked out the reefs, and what is the proportion of iron pyrites, which it is always difficult to separate out. Mr. Rhodes states that there are 400 miles of reef, and that 60 miles of shafts have been sunk; that 15,000 claims are registered; and three companies started with a total capital of 150,000*l.* Those who have seen Barkley West since the days of its prosperity, and since Kimberley eclipsed the Vaal washings, remember how transient is sometimes the glory of a South African settlement, unless the source of wealth is constant and considerable. It is possible that the telegraph may be carried to Uganda, but it will not find there a thick population of miners to use it. Its maintenance, where it crosses the path of the slave traders, would clearly be difficult; and it is not clear how this project can put much money into the pockets of the South Africa Company. The proposed extension to Wâdy Halfa may be regarded as a rhetorical flourish, and the necessity—when a sea cable already exists—is not very evident.

If complications with the Matabele and other natives are avoided by just treatment, and communications are improved, there yet remains the question of climate to be settled. † The fevers which were due to a wet season, to starvation and intemperance, may perhaps not occur when swamps have been drained, and when supplies are better managed; but so far the agricultural results have not been satisfactory, and the country ought, if it is to prosper, to depend on local cultivation. It cannot be fed for ever, at a distance of more

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* The Tati region, which is more accessible than Mashonaland, was found in 1866 to contain ancient workings for gold discovered by H. Hartley while hunting. They extend over a distance of about 80 miles by 3 or 4 in width. The London and Limpopo Mining Company was formed in 1868, and obtained leave from the Matabele to work them. The percentage of gold ranged from 1 oz. to 8 oz. per ton of quartz, the average being about 3 oz. But though a crusher was sent up, and shafts sunk to a depth of 50 feet, out of the thirty-five Australian miners who went up, only two or three remained in 1871. The difficulties encountered are mainly due to the heavy cost of separation and transport. (See Baines, *op. cit.* pp. 2–5.)

† Where the elevation is less than 2,000 feet above the sea, deadly fevers may be dreaded, in the wet season, in any of these regions. Even at Inyati, in the Matabele country, a number of the missionaries died, in 1869, at 4,000 feet elevation; and the gold regions of Mt. Hartley and the Mazoe valley are certainly feverish.

than 800 miles from the Crown Colony, if dividends are to be paid. There was wild dissatisfaction at Fort Salisbury when Mr. Bent first reached it, which was only appeased by the tardy appearance, among a starving people, of 400 wagons from the south, travelling over almost impassable tracts, and dragged by the mere ghosts of oxen once strong to labour. Such a catastrophe as was then averted is still a source of future anxiety, if agriculture does not flourish; and Mr. Rhodes has confessed that it is more difficult to occupy a new country than to conquer an old one. However much we may admire the spirit of the new adventure, the fortune of the South Africa Company still hangs in the balance; and however enthusiastic the public press may be, it depends on the discovery of gold in quantities sufficient to pay a double profit. Without such inducement, it is rendered certain by former experience that the new townships will be deserted as rapidly as they were filled up with speculators; and nothing will remain but a government organisation and a sparse population of squatters, mainly from the Transvaal, who, unless protected by a sufficient force, will be at the mercy of the Matabele army and of the king whose salary is paid by the Company.

The recent case of Uganda has shown that, though chartered companies are natural organisations for British enterprise, and may for a time be very cheap to the nation at large, they do not free a government from responsibility when things go wrong. Mr. Thompson, while ardently advocating the duty of retaining Uganda for the sake of the missions, and as a check on the slave trade, has honestly confessed that he sees little prospect of commercial value in a region where ivory has no future, and where four or five trains in a year would suffice to bring down all the 'rubber,' over a railway of some 700 miles length, which it is seriously proposed to construct and to maintain, in a country where gold is not yet known. It is sincerely to be hoped that other responsibilities may not arise, through the difficulties encountered by the chartered company of South Africa.

But, though the commercial prospects of this Company, and of others connected with it, may, on the evidence at present available, be considered doubtful, the substantial results of the Imperial policy, which at length prevails after having long been held impracticable—and prevails because masses of enterprising pioneers have taken the matter into their own hands without waiting on the steps of a cautious home Government—cannot but be visible in the develope-

ment of other regions which are less inaccessible than Mashonaland is at present.

There are not wanting those who think that the outcome of the mining speculation so far north will be to create what is called a 'boom,' when, on the discovery of some paying reef, the shares of companies will suddenly rise, and the original adventurers will sell out, leaving the public to pay the cost of its enthusiastic belief in the wealth of these unknown regions. But should this be so, it will still remain a fact that the region north of the Transvaal is a British possession, and that the ideal free life in the bush, subject to no civilised law, beyond the eyes of humane men, and without taxation, has at length become impossible south of the Zambesi. The drain of population has ceased, and the limit of healthy habitation has been reached. The population must settle down to civilised life; and the Transvaal, which has for nearly twenty years been a thorn in the side of the colony, will become a source of strength and a home for increasing population. Already it is filling up, its towns are growing, and its farmers are becoming richer. The old fear of the Boer rifle has passed away, and the days of savage independence are numbered. This is perhaps the most certain outcome of the occupation of Mashonaland. Since the destruction of Zulu power and the reassertion of British supremacy in 1884, the dangers which threatened the peace of South Africa have faded away and become remote.

There is, however, still one military organisation which might give trouble for a time; and a check by the Matabele might encourage the discontented native population of the Transvaal to general revolt, such as was threatened after Isandula, and after the failure at Secocoeni's mountain. Unjust treatment might change the friendliness of the Bechuana to bitter hostility, and lead them to desperate efforts, such as those of the Batlaping against Sir Charles Warren in the early days of the fight at Litaku. It is to be hoped rather that such collisions will be avoided, and that the Zulu force may be aided to cross the Zambesi to a new home; for, though the outcome of such struggles is always on the side of the men with guns, the disaster to the remote settlers, and the general misery and waste of human life which follow native outbreaks, become constantly more hateful to all the humane. We are prompt to denounce the cruelty of the Spaniards to the natives of America or to the brave Guanchos of the Canary Islands, and the outrages of the Portuguese in the country of Monomotopa, or the

cruelty of the Boers to their slaves; but our own hands are not clean in the past; and the slow starvation, the poisoning of native tribes with brandy, and the robbery of their lands, under the specious cloak of agreements which are unlawful and void, are scarcely less a disgrace to British honour than the old massacres, or the slavery which was abolished little more than half a century ago.

On the whole, however, the prospect in South Africa is more cheerful than that in any other part of the continent, because of the existence of wide regions fit for European life and for agriculture, with mineral wealth sufficient to produce great consuming centres, which the farmer can feed. It is strange to look back only five years, and to listen in 'Austral Africa' to what was then little more than a single voice, raised in favour of the Imperial policy, now associated with the name of a later convert—Mr. Rhodes. It was a time when the new Crown colony was regarded as an incumbrance, to be handed over to the Cape as soon as possible. On the other hand, Mr. Mackenzie urged that English rule must extend to the Zambesi; and to the Zambesi it extends a few years later. It is said that all this progress would not have occurred if gold had not existed; but gold had long been known and worked both in the Transvaal and at Tati. English capital would not have ventured into these regions, and English miners would have feared to cross the border at Kimberley, if Montsiwa had been left a prey to the lawless outcasts of the no-mans-land, where the boundary was still undefined; and if a strong man had not dared the Boers from the plains of the Bechuana colony.

ART. II. — 1. *Philibert Commerson, naturaliste voyageur.* Etude biographique; suivie d'un appendice. Par PAUL-ANTOINE CAP. Paris: 1861.

2. *Martyrologe et Biographie de Commerson, Médecin-Botaniste et Naturaliste du Roi, au XVIIIe siècle.* Par le Docteur F. B. DE MONTESSUS. Chalon-sur-Saône: 1889.

OUR object in these pages is to claim a very high place in scientific research for a naturalist who, by some untoward fate, did not live to reap the harvest of his labours, and who has, to a great extent, slipped out of the remembrance of his successors. In England the discoveries of Captain Cook and the works of Sir Joseph Banks naturally awakened more interest than the voyage of Bougainville and the vast collections of Philibert Commerson. There was some rivalry between the two expeditions. But in Europe, though personally but little known, Commerson was recognised as one of the first botanists of the age. He was the correspondent of Linnæus, the friend of Haller, the colleague of the elder and younger Jussieu. No explorer of the globe ever conveyed to Europe so large a number of valuable plants, previously unknown; and his herbarium, which was deposited in the Jardin des Plantes, was of incredible richness. The Académie des Sciences paid him the unusual compliment of electing him spontaneously to its ranks; yet even this reward of his efforts failed to reach him, for he had expired at Mauritius, in the forty-fourth year of his age, some days before his election. Such is the man we desire to make known to our readers.

Some time previous to the death of Louis XIV., at the commencement of the last century, one Michel de Commerson, Châtelain of the Seigneurie de Romans, near Châtillon-les-Dombes, in Burgundy, finding his revenue insufficient to support a life of idleness, wisely dropped the aristocratic particle 'de,' to which he was entitled, and, sinking all pretensions to nobility, settled down to practice as a notary in the neighbouring provincial town of Mâcon. Here he died in 1725, leaving five sons, the fourth of whom, Georges-Marie, also a notary, became the family lawyer of the Prince de Dombes at Châtillon, where he married Jeanne-Marie Mazuyer, who bore him fourteen children. The second of these was Philibert, afterwards so accomplished as a naturalist, who was born in the village of Châtillon on November 18, 1727, and was therefore a true franc-

Bourguignon. Two of his brothers dying whilst yet infants, Philibert was the eldest of five small brothers when he began his early studies at Bourg-en-Bresse, the chief town of the modern department of Ain. Here one of the professors, a Grey Friar named Father Garnier, became interested in the pale-faced, delicate boy, and, taking him as a companion during his daily walks, instilled into his mind the first rudiments of botany, a love of plants and natural history. It may here be remarked that in the principality of Les Dombes, where Philibert Commerson passed his holidays during boyhood, are some thousands of fishponds, formed by damming up the numerous streams which intersect the district on the left bank of the Saône; and from each of these ponds the water is let off every third year, when the fish are caught and the bed of the pond cultivated in succession. To his familiarity with the numerous species of fresh-water fish, thus frequently brought under his observation, may be attributed Commerson's subsequent skill as an ichthyologist; whilst his facility in manipulating, preserving, and drying certain fit specimens of the smaller fry, like plants, between sheets of coarse paper, first practised by him for scientific purposes, was evidently acquired during these experiences of childhood amidst the irrigation reservoirs of Les Dombes. It needed only the sympathetic direction of Father Garnier to kindle the spark of innate genius within the breast of his young companion, and to render the pursuit of botany and zoology an irresistible v[illegible]on for Philibert Commerson.

Two years having been spent at Bourg, Commerson was transferred to the Benedictine college of the Abbey at Cluny, nea[illegible]con, about 1742, in order to be prepared for the legal [illegible]ession; but the scientific authors, to which the fine library of the Abbey gave him access, had a far greater attraction than codes and pandects for his lively imagination; whilst swimming or fishing in the Saône, and hunting for plants and fossils over the Côte d'Or, were far more to his taste than poring over books on jurisprudence. The elder Commerson, on becoming aware of his son's distaste for the bar, and his marked aptitude for medicine and natural science, prudently allowed the young man to proceed to the University of Montpellier to read for a medical degree, in 1747, when he was about twenty years old. It was at Cluny that Commerson commenced his lifelong and intimate friendship with M. Vachier, to whose care we owe the preservation of most of the letters and manuscript

remains of the great naturalist now in the library of the Academy at Mâcon.

Commerson was one of those enthusiastic souls in whom what with ordinary folk is but a simple taste becomes an engrossing passion. Zealous both at work and at play, whatever he engaged in was carried out regardless of consequences, so that even his games, as we are told, were violent and excessive. He was, however, amenable to reason, and, having settled down to study, read hard for his degree. He had already commenced the formation of an herbarium, and was determined that, at all cost, it should surpass in numbers and completeness all herbaria in existence. In order to accomplish this design and to enrich his collection nothing was too sacred, no obstacle or difficulty too great to be overcome. He was, consequently, at war with the professors and as often in hot water with the gardeners, whose premises he invaded, and with the farmers, whose plantations he ravaged.

After taking his degree as doctor of medicine, Commerson remained four years at Montpellier, before returning to his home at Châtillon, botanising with indefatigable energy in the Cevennes, in the Pyrenees, in the Alps, in Provence, and on the littoral of the Mediterranean. The knowledge acquired by such zeal and industry soon marked out Commerson as a naturalist of exceptional talent and experience throughout Europe. Professor Gouan made him known to Linnæus, who was then engaged in arranging the museum of Queen Louisa Ulrica, the sister of Frederick the Great, at her palace of Dronningholm, near Stockholm. At the request of the great Dioscorides of the North, Commerson undertook the task of describing the fishes of the Mediterranean, and his labours resulted in a most complete ichthyology, which procured handsome presents and compliments from the Queen of Sweden, and, what was of more value, the recognition and friendship of Linnæus for the young doctor of Montpellier.

Linnæus, in his 'Critica Botanica,' * published some years previously at Leyden (1737), had eulogised that enthusiasm by which all true votaries of science had ever been distinguished. This treatise made a profound impression on Philibert Commerson, who, above all, was able to appreciate

* Caroli Linnæi Critica Botanica (Lugduni Batavorum, 1737). See Gilibert's 4th edition of 1787, vol. iii. 'Fundamentorum Botanicorum Pars Secunda,' p. 429 *et seq.*

the seducing fascination of botany, and following up this line of thought, he employed his rare moments of leisure in drawing up a complete list of all botanists who had suffered in the pursuit of their calling, which he entitled 'Le Martyrologe de la Botanique,' and he wrote to one of his friends that doubtless on some future day he would himself figure in the same glorious roll of names. This early work by Commerson never appears to have been actually published, and although mentioned by his several biographers, including Lalande, even the manuscript of it seems to have been lost. The author was, indeed, very soon to have an agonising foretaste of the pains which accompany martyrdom in the interest of science, which he thus describes in a letter to his friend Louis Gerard, dated Châtillon, November 18, 1756:—

'Nothing less than the catastrophe which has befallen me would have so long delayed the fulfilment of my promises and the assurance of my friendship. I have spent the four months which have passed since my botanising tour on the Alps in all the horrors of the apprehension of hydrophobia. It is, indeed, quite true, my dear friend, that I have undergone the preliminary symptoms of that disease. After having celebrated the Martyrology of botany, it now happened that I was myself to find a place therein, intensified by sufferings which perhaps no other botanist has previously experienced. You will remember that I wrote to you from Mont Jura that I intended to go to Salève,* then to cross Savoy, and finally to stop at the Grande Chartreuse. Having left my comrade at Geneva, I carried out my plans literally, and arrived at the end of my journey with all the satisfaction I could have expected; but a most terrible adventure was awaiting me. My dog (my poor Crispin) fell into a swarm of bees, and in a moment was pierced by a thousand stings. Going rabid with pain, he vented the first fury of his madness on three brothers of the Grande Chartreuse, and on five or six other persons outside the convent. Doubtless he would have attacked a greater number of people had I not immediately beaten him down. Although I was not one of those bitten, my condition was not better; for, by the same fatality, just before his rabies had declared itself, my dog had licked a fresh wound which I had on my leg, so that I was infected as well as the others with the venomous saliva of the animal, and, consequently, exposed to the same risks. My immunity was short. I was very soon obliged to open my eyes to the strange symptoms which supervened. The awful dreams and insomnia which were the preludes might be considered as the natural consequences of apprehension; but the commencement of the horror for drink, convulsive movements in the muscles of the throat, eyes and face, an insupportable palpitation, with pain and inflammation

* Le Grand Salève is the great limestone range of mountains so conspicuous in all views from Geneva.

about the cicatrised wound, were phenomena too independent of the imagination to be mistakeable. I then bethought myself of mercury, the only remedy against hydrophobia which can be trusted; but, considering that I had not enough time to put in practice the precautionary measures preliminary to its external application, I had immediate recourse to such internal mercurial preparations as Aquila alba and mineral turbith, mixed with the pulp of tamarinds in the manner of the theriac. The success was at once perceptible, although imperfect—that is to say, the alarming symptoms were suspended, but only for four or five weeks, after which they recommenced with even more violence. I again checked them by the same means so as to gain time, after which, to confirm the good effects, I added baths and frictions, with Neapolitan ointment on the extremities. The ptyalism which appeared marked the epoch of my cure, and, in fact, since then (it is about six weeks) I have not had the least recurrence of my past illness, and I begin to believe that I have at last been victorious.'

In the same letter he tells his friend that his correspondence with Baron Haller was in full swing, but that his intercourse with Linnæus had been rendered impracticable by the war. The Seven Years' War had commenced in the previous year.

Commerson, however, did not escape quite so soon as he anticipated from the effects of his encounter with the dog. In the following April he again writes to Gerard:—

'It is, indeed, true that I have had a hard fight against a third attack of rabies, but so far that is now ended, and we will say no more about it. . . . Give me news of Linnæus, and let him know of my work and adventures if you think they can interest him. I think they should. I am sure that, poor devil as I am, he would have done me the honour of according me a paragraph * in his Martyrology had I succumbed to the hydrophobia. Do I deserve it less because I am alive? However it may be, I congratulate myself on having saved my life at the expense even of posthumous fame.'

These references exemplify how continually the botanist was harping in his mind on the subject of scientific martyrdom. In the same letter he mentions that he had come to Dijon to take his *inscription en droit*; he had already received his degree of F.M., which he says he had found most useful whilst travelling, as an introduction to useful acquaintances. He was fortunate in finding at Dijon a certain Monsieur de Beost, an official of the States of Burgundy, who possessed a fine garden, with glass-houses full

* In the fourth edition of the 'Philosophica Botanica' Dr. Giliber accords one line and a half to Commerson's scientific martyrdom:—'Commersonius noster ex itinerum diuturnorum sequelis juvenis adhuc in India occubuit.'

of exotics, and a magnificent library, all of which he placed at the disposal of Commerson, and, in fact, as the botanist tells Gerard, this gentleman wished to act towards him the same part that the munificent councillor of Amsterdam, George Clifford, took as regards Linnæus, at Hartecamp, which had led to the publication of the 'Museum, Viri-darium and Hortus Cliffortianus' (1731–37).

Having thoroughly explored Savoy, Commerson made a journey to the neighbouring mountains of Switzerland, where he made the personal acquaintance of Baron Haller, with whom he had for some time been in correspondence. Whilst at Geneva he went to see Voltaire, then in his sixty-third year, who made him a flattering offer:—

'It is for the same reason that I have never been one of Voltaire's partisans. Nature, as one of his critics has observed, has bestowed all on his intellect, but nothing on his heart. When I read his finest works I said to myself, in order to prevent my blind admiration, he who has written such splendid passages is the same who has had the baseness to sell them to twenty different publishers. . . . This magnificent genius in the republic of letters is a rascal (*coquin*) in society. . . . I saw him, as you have probably guessed, when travelling at Geneva; I found in his physiognomy the fire of Prometheus and the air of a sharper. It was, doubtless, to the flattering recommendations of my friends that I owe the distinguished reception I met with and the offer he made to me of his secretaryship with twenty louis for salary and a seat at his table. Without taking into account the real or apparent honour of this appointment, you can imagine how, to myself, this would seem comparable to the galleys; and you will not be surprised to learn that I did not hesitate for an instant to decline the post with thanks. Imagine the soul of one of the damned, a shade wandering on the banks of the Styx, whom it would be necessary to follow everywhere, and to write out even his nocturnal terrors; for I may as well tell you that this same nobleman even now has a fear of the devil, and that he rhymes indifferently in hopes of somehow conciliating his mercy by the effects of prevenient grace. Leaving all this aside, nothing can possibly be more attractive than his house "Les Délices," as he is pleased to call it. Imagine a pleasant villa of handsome exterior, situated in a country of the most inviting aspect, at about half a mile from Geneva, which is visible in the middle distance, framed amidst picturesque scenery. Add to this the view over a greater part of the lake, of the Rhône issuing from it and uniting a short distance below with the Arve, of the Pays de Vaud, which is the heart of Switzerland, of the fort de l'Ecluse, one of the keys of France, whilst stretched around is a screen of mountains beyond all, pleasantly bounding the view without fatiguing the sight by too great an extent, and you will be able to form some idea of the truly delightful manor of Voltaire; but this will not be all if you scan the scene with the eye of a naturalist. Here is Mount Jura, there

the Salève; there are the glaciers of Savoy, which you can distinguish at the extremity of your horizon. Each step that you take in going there offers you something novel. When you have arrived there you feel yourself altogether incapable of taking in all the objects which overwhelm you by their multitude. You could believe yourself transported into another world.'

After these botanical wanderings, Commerson settled down for some time at Châtillon, his native home, on the banks of the Chalaronne, which stream, rising from the largest of the thousand small lakes of Les Dombes, that of the Grand Birieux (some 316 hectares in area), falls into the Saône, near Thoissey. Here, between intervals of botanising over all the mountains within his horizon, he cultivated a modest garden, where he found correspondents, who supplied him with seeds and plants. He tells Gerard that he has 'two in Paris (independently of M. de Jussieu), 'one (but an excellent one) at Rouen, two in the Pyrenees, 'one at Geneva, one at the Grande Chartreuse, one at Lyons, 'one at Bourg, one at Dijon, but, as yet, none at Mont-'pellier, for,' he adds, 'Sauvages has not hitherto been 'expelled from the Jardin du Roy.'

He pays a characteristic tribute to the memory of his friend Réaumur, the celebrated entomologist (after whom the thermometric scale was named), whose death he had just heard of:—

'Réaumur, l'illustre Réaumur, vient de périr d'une chute qui lui a fait tomber en suppuration toutes les parties internes de la teste. Voilà les pauvres insectes devenus orphelins pour longtems, car nous autres Linnæistes nous ne sommes que des empâleurs impitoyables; mais Réaumur étoit leur père, leur accoucheur, leur nourricier, leur Mercure, leur truchement, leur tout.'

In the same letter he writes with regard to M. Antoine de Jussieu (the elder of the two famous brothers), who was in charge of the royal gardens at Paris, and the young astronomer Lalande, his own junior by at least five years, as follows:—

'I revert to the subject of M. de Jussieu, who well deserves a special notice to himself. I had always been ambitious to be in touch with him. I do not know who rendered me the great kindness of mentioning me to him. He has accepted me as graciously as possible as one of his correspondents, but age weighs on him heavily, and he writes with difficulty. As I had not reckoned on that, and had a thousand questions to ask him, I had recourse to the following method: I make use of a correspondent of my own, who asks him my questions by word of mouth, and who takes down his verbal answers with a pen.

It is M. de Lalande, an academician, my compatriot, who, whilst staying this summer at Bourg, his native place, came here to pay me a visit, and, as he said, to formally request the honour of my friendship. I made him a proselyte to botany on the spot, and, as it turns out, a useful friend, since he has become, on my account, the priestess of the Parisian oracle (Jussieu). I regard, in truth, all the responses thus uttered as the *nec plus ultra* of certainty, principally in synonyms; for the systematic part is not yet understood at Paris.' (Referring to the Linnæan system.)

Amongst others of his correspondents at this period he mentions Schmield, Bernard, Gesner, La Tourette, and Rosier. In 1758 we find mention made of a literary society which Lalande had established at Bourg and which Commerson had been asked to join: 'Je répondis que j'étois de l'ordre 'des infiniment petits et que ma Minerve toute rustique ne 'figuroit jamais parmi eux, à moins qu'on ne la mît en 'service dans la classe des pensionnés; cela fut pris pour 'une ironie.' He did not admire these provincial societies; he had seen, he says, a whole meeting of the Royal Society of Sciences at Montpellier occupied in discussing the history of a man who had been hanged. That our botanist did not spare himself in personal exertion is evident, although he accuses himself of idleness.

Without any other object than that of increasing his herbarium and his knowledge of plants, he underwent the most adventurous experiences and exposed himself often to serious dangers. One day, states M. Cap, like Absalom, he hung suspended by his hair in a tree or thicket above a torrent, and could only escape by cutting the locks and falling into the stream at the risk of drowning. The slightest clue to a botanic garden, a rich herbarium, or merely a simple but new plant, sufficed to start him off on a journey of discovery. He hunted up, after a long search, and discovered at a chemist's shop in a small town of Auvergne, the herbarium of the botanist Charles,* a doctor of Gannat, who had accompanied Tournefort in his travels through the Levant. He succeeded in obtaining the duplicates which he classified, and which, at the present day, form a portion of the collection he bequeathed to the national museum.

In the summer of 1758 our naturalist was still in the Charolais, staying either by the thermal springs of Bourbon-

* The botanist 'Charles' is probably M. Aubriet ('de Chalons'), who accompanied Tournefort as draughtsman.

Lancy or at Toulon-sur-Arroux, where one of his near relations was curé. From this place he prosecuted his botanical researches throughout that part of Burgundy, and explored the more distant hills and valleys of Franche-Comté. At this time his correspondence with Lalande and the younger (Bernard) de Jussieu was voluminous. These two *savants* did not cease from their endeavours from this period to induce the young provincial botanist to come to Paris—the only theatre for the proper developement and recognition of so great a talent. Of Commerson's downright hard, practical work at this time of his life Lalande has given us some slight idea:—

'Among the works which I have heard him speak of, he had made a dissertation entitled "Le Martyrologe de la Botanique," in which he commemorated all the authors who had died of exhaustion or from accidents incurred during their zealous pursuit of natural history. Thenceforth I foresaw that the historian of the martyrs for the cause of science would some day augment their number, especially when I saw him, even in his own province, without necessity, without emulation, without society or assistance, pass entire weeks, days and nights, without intermission, without sleep or rest, wholly devoted to his botanical researches, to the examination and the arrangement of the treasures which his excursions had procured for him, or which his correspondence had acquired for him. He has been known to spit blood after several weeks of such continued labour. He was often found with his lamp alight long after sunrise, so occupied that he had not perceived the dawn of daylight.'

No wonder, therefore, that weeks of exposure under the trying heat of Central France during this summer brought on a severe attack of tertian fever, which put a temporary check to his ardour and led to unforeseen consequences; for, during the period of his enforced idleness whilst convalescent, the invalid was thrown into the frequent society of an honourable provincial family, that of M. Jean Beau, notary of Genouilly. In a daughter of this family Commerson discovered such rare merits of mind and features that they must be described in his own words to his friend Gerard in a letter dated October 25, 1758:—

'You will doubtless recur again to the subject of Charolais, so often referred to, if I do not allude to it myself. Well, you must know that, for the first time, whilst searching for plants in this neighbourhood, I have found a sensitive plant which I am on the point of introducing, not into my herbarium, but into the nuptial bed. If I thus take you into my confidence, it is because I believe you will be particularly interested in knowing that I hope to revive in her another Merian, another Dacier. She is in fact a philosophical young lady,

just of age, who, by a happy concurrence, possesses all the advantages of good looks, plenty of wit, and good education, and whose least merit consists in having besides a small fortune of 40,000 (livres?), the greater portion of which she is in possession of now. I do not believe that I shall have to change my habits when united to her, because I am sure of her partaking in all my tastes. I have already inspired her with a decided love for natural history, and our promenades have, in fact, become regular botanical explorations. Among so many claims to establish myself here, this last is perhaps the strongest of all. I cannot be responsible for the march of events, but if I may count on what is most probable, this business is so far progressed that it may be brought to a conclusion not later than next Advent or the commencement of the carnival. In all that I have just been telling you, do not think that love has raised my enthusiasm; it needed such an attraction to make me travel forty leagues every time I came to see her, and, in fact, to cause me to renounce Ovid's *cælebs me vita deceret.*' *

It was not, however, until 1760 that Commerson was married to Mademoiselle Antoinette-Vivante Beau, at Toulon-sur-Arroux. This union, short as it unhappily proved to be, whilst it lasted was most happy. In 1762, on April 19, the young wife died, after giving birth to a son, Anne-François Archambault, who lived to survive his father by many a long year. The inconsolable husband devoted himself now wholly to science, but never ceased to preserve in his memory the image of his lost wife. He thus writes to his friend Bernard, the councillor of Bourg, who had also, apparently, just suffered a similar loss:—

'Ah, dear friend, if the same tastes have united us, the same misfortunes also visit us. Like you I have lost the most tender, the most virtuous of wives, and I only exist to-day by the memory of her having belonged to me. Pardon, my dear friend, if in making you partake of my own grief I renew all of yours. I seek in vain some consolation and thus forget how you are afflicted in like manner.

"Et lacrymæ deerunt oculis et verba palato,
Cor strictum gelido frigore semper erit."

Meantime, do not cease to recognise in the most desolate of all men,

'Your true friend,
'PHILIBERT COMMERSON.'

The botanist, many years afterwards, dedicated to the memory of his wife, under the name of the 'Pulcheria 'Commersonia,' a new genus. The word 'Pulcheria' is a fanciful translation of his wife's maiden name, which was 'Beau.' According to Lalande the fruit of this plant en-

* See Ovid, 'Tristia,' ii. 163. 'Quæ sinon esset, cælebs *te* vita deceret.' Referring to Livia, the wife of the emperor, 'If she were not thy wife, a bachelor's life would become you.'

closes two kernels united in the shape of two hearts. It was at once an ingenious emblem and a touching souvenir of his undying affection.*

After the death of his wife, Commerson found his life at Toulon intolerable, and as his little boy was taken charge of by his maternal uncle, M. le curé Beau, after two years of medical practice at Toulon, the father was induced to leave Burgundy and the banks of the Loire for Paris, the attractive centre of all intellectual society in France, and, introduced by Lalande and Bernard de Jussieu, he quickly gained the position he merited in the republic of letters, and was admitted within the inner circle of *savants*, by whom he was welcomed with every consideration. Unfortunately his brother-in-law, who seems to have been of a most austere disposition, did not approve of the widower entering Parisian society. It is curious that no correspondence of Commerson during the three following years, 1762–1765, has fallen into the hands of his biographers, but they state that, after practising as a doctor at Toulon-sur-Arroux until 1764, he proceeded to Paris, where he constantly resided with his friend M. Vachier, at the Hôtel des Chiens in the Rue du Mail, 'attenant la Place des Victoires.' From a letter, dated November 9, 1765, we learn that the guardian of his

* This plant is mentioned in a letter from the botanist to M. Beau, dated *St. Denys, Isle Bourbon, le* 12 *février*, 1771: 'Un Grand et Bel arbre, L'homme des forêts, Qui se fait Distinguer de fort Loin Et Qui Dans La Rigueur des Termes porte plus de fleurs Et Ensuite de fruits Qu'il n'a de feuilles, puisque La plupart de ces Dernières Taillées En cœur sont fleuries (chose fort singulière) à Double et à Triple sur chaque Revers, cet arbre, Dis-je, Est celui sur Le Quel j'ai Gravé Deux noms faits pour ne se séparer jamais. Ce nouveau Genre s'appellera *Pulcheria Commersonia*. J'en vais chercher Le Dessin pour vous L'Envoyer, mais conservez-Le moi comme suite de mes collections.' From this account M. A. Franchet judged that this *Pulcheria* might be a forest tree of Bourbon, but he has searched both the herbarium of Commerson and the botanist's 'Iconographie' without discovering any trace of the genus thus named. As Commerson had just returned from Madagascar, M. Franchet now thinks it possible that the *Polycardia phyllanthoides* (Lamarck), which originally was named *Commersonia*, may be identical with the *Pulcheria*, now apparently unknown to science, although this plant is a shrub and not a great forest tree as we might be led to imagine by the text. The flowers of this plant are produced in the *sinus* of a heart-shaped leaf, thus agreeing with Commerson's words. We are indebted to Sir Joseph Hooker and Mr. Hemsley, of Kew, for this identification, which was suggested by M. A. Franchet, of the Jardin des Plantes.

son, the curé of Toulon, had been reproaching him with his life in Paris, and the devoted naturalist, dead to all but his love for science and for his infant boy, is most indignant.

In October, 1766, Commerson, deeply immersed in his studies, was agreeably surprised at being offered by the Duke de Praslin, at that time Minister of Marine, the post of botanist and naturalist to Bougainville's expedition of circumnavigation, then in course of organisation at Nantes and Rochefort, having been brought to the notice of the minister by his advisers, Poissonnier and the Abbé Lachapelle of the Academy of Sciences. He had two months' time granted to make his preparations, and then received orders to repair on board his Majesty's frigate (*flûte*), the 'Etoile,' which was fitting out at Rochefort, under the command of M. Chesnard de la Giraudais, capitaine de brûlot.

Commerson, as before noticed, was not only a botanist, but had studied mineralogy in addition to zoology; consequently he was not a little proud of his title, 'Botaniste et Natura-'liste du Roi.' 'Ce titre,' he writes, 'me donne à mon 'retour le droit d'exercer la médecine à Paris, sans y prendre 'de nouveaux grades, ainsi que tous les étrangers y sont 'soumis. Ajoutez à cela que le titre de botaniste du Roi, 'qui n'a été accordé qu'à deux ou trois savants, a toujours 'comporté quelque pension, et que j'espère bien m'en 'prévaloir un jour. Quant à celui de naturaliste, c'est une 'distinction que nul n'a encore obtenue que moi.'

The first duty Commerson was required by the minister to perform was the drawing up a report regarding the class of observations on natural history which he proposed should be carried out during the forthcoming expedition. As his friends and relations were questioning him as to what he was about to do in the South Seas, Commerson circulated among them a duplicate of the *précis* which he had prepared and forwarded to the Duke de Praslin. Under the title of 'Sommaire d'observations d'histoire naturelle, présenté au 'ministre qui, à l'occasion du voyage autour du monde par 'M. de Bougainville, demandait une notice des observations 'qu'y pourrait faire un naturaliste,' he gave a succinct view of what he projected as practicable, classifying them in the following order, viz.: The three kingdoms of nature, animal, vegetable, and mineral, to which he added a fourth class of physical and meteorological observations as being necessary. Curiously enough, under the heading 'Quadru-'pèdes,' he commences:—

'La classe des quadrupèdes étant subordonnée à l'homme, cet être proéminent doit partout s'attirer les premiers regards du voyageur naturaliste. . . . La première nuance après l'homme est celle des animaux anthropomorphes ou singes à figure humaine, dont il serait fort à désirer de connaître toutes les séries, parce qu'elles établissent un passage insensible de l'homme aux quadrupèdes.'

Here, surely, we have an indication of our modern theory of evolution suggested by this worthy predecessor of Darwin and Wallace.

On the eve of his departure from Paris to join his ship at her point of departure Commerson signed his will, which was made public after his death, and considered so remarkable that it was printed and published. This singular document is signed on December 14, 1766, with a postscript dated the following day, when he was actually starting on his journey. It may be noted that he was then some thirty-nine years of age. Several of the more remarkable clauses in this will are particularly interesting to us. For instance, we find that the original principle of the well-known Montyon prizes, established subsequently in 1782, had been preconceived and practically worked out by Philibert Commerson at least sixteen years previously. The naturalist proposed to endow as a Prix de Vertu a medal of 200 livres, bearing on its obverse face 'Virtutis Practicæ Præmium,' on the reverse 'Vovit Immeritus P.C.,' and he detailed at length the conditions under which it should be bestowed, which resemble sufficiently in outline and tenor those now attaching to the Montyon prizes.

Another curious clause, the significance of which will appear later, should be stated *in extenso* :—

'8e. Je lègue à Jeanne Baret, dite de Bonnefoi, ma gouvernante, la somme de six cents livres une fois payée, et ce, sans déroger aux gages que je lui dois depuis le 6 Septembre, 1764, à raison de cent livres par an, déclarant au surplus que tous linges de lit et de table, toutes nippes et habits de femme que je puis avoir dans mon appartement lui appartiennent en propre, ainsi que tous les autres meubles meublants tels que lits, chaises, tables, commodes, à l'exception des herbiers et livres ci-dessus spécifiés, et de ma dépouille propre, voulant que les susdits meubles lui soient délivrés après ma mort, même qu'elle jouisse une année encore après icelle de l'appartement que j'occuperai pour lors, et dont le loyer sera entretenu à cet effet, quand ce ne serait que pour lui donner le temps de mettre en ordre la collection d'Histoire Naturelle qui doit être portée au cabinet des estampes du Roi, ainsi que sus est dit.'

Having signed the postscript of his last will and testament, Commerson started by postchaise for Rochefort, and

his journey thither gives us a passing glimpse of travelling in those days. In the present day it takes about ten hours by the Orleans railway from Paris to Rochefort. It took our naturalist three days and nights, posting as fast as the postilions could urge the horses, to accomplish the 135 leagues, equivalent to 327 of our English miles, from the metropolis to the seaport a record journey in those days, considering the roads before the introduction of diligences.

At Rochefort Commerson was detained, awaiting the completion of the ship's fitting out, for a couple of months, and the 'Etoile' did not reach the mouth of the Rio de la Plata until May 1767, after encountering a severe storm off Cape Frio; and here leakage and other damage to spars forced Captain La Giraudais to remain for some time at the Spanish port of Monte Video, *une petite bourgade*, a very different place from the busy capital of the Uruguayan republic of to-day. He tells his brother-in-law:—

'We were beginning to forget all the hardships of our voyage in the pleasures of our stay in this port, when we had to yield to the regret of leaving it. Received with open arms by the most hospitable people of the world, most cordial in welcoming new arrivals, surrounded by an abundance of all sorts of refreshments, we have had nothing to do but enjoy ourselves all day long. I believe I am right in stating that, when the accounts are settled, it will be found that the whole cost to his Majesty for the maintenance of the crew, 112 men, for nearly a month, will not amount to more than 126 livres. You can judge from that of the price of beef, an ox commonly costing about 20 sols, and a horse only half as much. Will you believe me when I tell you that some Spaniard, who often has not a shirt to his back, has sixty horses at his service, and that an ox is often slaughtered for the sake of its tongue alone, the rest of the carcase being left to rot?

'Pray do not think that I begin to take the privilege often adopted by travellers from far-off countries, when I assure you that when anyone wishes for a horse, he goes and lassoes one in the prairie, and is able to break it in thoroughly in two or three days, after which he can ride it thirty or forty leagues without stopping. Should he want to dismount, he simply lets the reins hang down between the forelegs of the horse. The animal, as patient and quiet at rest as he is staunch and untiring on the road, would rather die of hunger than move a single pace, were he even surrounded by the most tempting pasturage. Should he belong to a reasonable master, he is unbridled after the journey, and allowed to feed; otherwise he may be left till he falls from want of food, to be replaced by another, which will suffer the same fate, for most of the Spaniards are hard and cruel. After having depopulated this part of South America, they have filled it with oxen and horses, over which their empire is as tyrannical as it was formerly

over the people of the country. Every day one hears speak of two or three thousand oxen being slaughtered solely for the profit of their hides. Think what a commerce we might open in this part of the world, if it could only be made free to our merchants. How shameful to consider that dollars are the only things to be drawn from this country, the most lovely, the most temperate, the most fertile, on the face of the universe, but, alas, the most uncultivated!

'Winter is about to begin here at the same time as your summer in Europe. I have not failed to reap a fruitful harvest of plants, birds, and fishes, and I am anxious that nothing should escape me; but what can I do? I am neither an Argus nor a Briareus; a single day's hunting, fishing, or even a walk places me in the embarrassment of Midas, under whose hands everything became golden. Ofttimes I do not know how or where to begin, and I have scarcely time to eat and drink, so that my excellent friend, our good captain, is obliged to forbid my lamp being kept alight after midnight, because he has foreseen that I should deprive myself of sleep all night to gain sufficient time to examine all which is before me. The keen admiration which seizes me in viewing so many rarities, most of them new and unknown to science, has forced me to become a draughtsman. And when colouring my drawings I am ready to exclaim with Correggio, "How true it is that the rudiments of all the arts reduce themselves to the simple imitation of nature, and that it only needs ardently to wish for a thing in order to attain it!"'

From Monte Video the 'Etoile' proceeded to Rio Janeiro in order to join her consort, 'La Boudeuse,' Bougainville's ship, in that harbour of the Portuguese where Count d'Acunha, the Viceroy of Brazil, showed himself most inamicably disposed towards the scientific expedition of the French king:—

'Le souvenir de l'expédition de M. Duguay-Trouin, qui, au commencement de ce siècle, avait surpris et pillé Rio Janeiro, le rendit furieux lorsqu'il vit des flammes blanches et des pavois fleurdelisés sous les fenêtres de son palais.'

If Commerson had been delighted and astonished with the natural objects which he found in such quantities on the coast of the Rio de la Plata, what rapture he must have experienced at setting foot on shore within the tropic of Capricorn!

'This country is the most splendid of the universe; in the middle of winter oranges, bananas, and pineapples fruit continually. The trees never lose their verdure, and the interior of the country is prolific in all sorts of game, in sugar, rice, manioc, &c., which yield without cultivation a delicious subsistence to its inhabitants and to thousands of slaves who have no trouble except to gather it. The mines with which the country teems are mines of gold and precious stones. A bay from eleven to fifteen leagues in circumference, formed

by a sea abounding in fish, forms a port capable of containing a hundred thousand ships, so well protected from every wind that at any time one can go on shore in a canoe. You know my mania for exploring (*ma fureur de voir*); in the midst of these difficulties, notwithstanding the formal prohibition for us to land outside the town, in spite even of my sore leg, which has again troubled me since I embarked, I ventured twenty times to go on shore with my servant in a canoe, conducted by two negroes, and overran, one after the other, all the different coasts and islands of the bay. M. de Bougainville, who always keeps a benevolent watch over my movements, knowing by the report of the surgeon who dressed my wound that the least I risked was the loss of my leg by gangrene, thought it necessary to confine me by obligingly placing me in arrest until I was restored to health, which I did not obtain until during our passage to Buenos Ayres; but what other means had he to restrain me? Every step that I took was repaid by a discovery of some essential observation.'

It was whilst on shore near to Rio Janeiro that Commerson met with some trees whose foliage, instead of being green, appeared to be of a rosy mauve or magenta tint; on nearer approach he found that what from a distance he had mistaken for leaves were in reality brilliantly coloured bracts of lovely purity and freshness of hue. This beautiful plant proved to be the first discovered species of a new genus which Commerson named *Bougainvillea*, after his gallant friend and commander, and which was adopted by the Parisian savant, Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu. Throughout the colonies in tropical countries, and in all warm conservatories and glass houses, in extra-tropical gardens, the various species of this genus *Bougainvillea* have become familiar ornamental plants, especially valued by florists for their showy colouring.

Bougainville having brought his expedition into the Rio de la Plata, the 'Etoile' having again sprung a leak, it was found necessary to careen her in a tidal creek, called the Ensenada, a few miles below Buenos Ayres, the capital of the Spanish province La Plata, and now the metropolis of the Argentine Republic.

'We had arrived,' writes Commerson, 'this time, precisely at the moment when they had just carried off all the Jesuits by one swoop of the net. Spain, far more politically astute than France, had not given them time to divert their treasures, which amounted, in this part of the world alone, to more than a hundred millions [livres?]. At Monte Video, a small market town, there had been but one hospice belonging to the Society, of poor appearance, where only a solitary religious and two lay brethren lived. Well, they found in the cash-box of these three Jesuits two hundred thousand dollars, and the poor fellows had not been ashamed to beg even for linen and clothing, whilst

their own, which they affected to wear in poverty, were falling into rags. Here (at Buenos Ayres) they possess an immense house, which, besides the ineffable charms [feminine ?] which it concealed, was found to be nothing less than a storehouse gorged with all kinds of merchandise, especially suited for trading in this country. It is from the very lips of the Viceroy himself * (at whose table a cover is laid for me every day) that I learn all these particulars, and, moreover, that among their papers have been found memoirs and projects capable of crimsoning the four quarters of the world, for their system of universal monarchy does not overlook any portion of the globe. Whatever may be done elsewhere, at all events, America is entirely freed from them, for the same orders which have been executed here have been despatched into Mexico, Peru, and the other Spanish possessions. We have seen their houses turned inside out from top to bottom in Portuguese America; the French having done the same, there no longer remains for them an inch of ground in this continent, and the report is spread already here that in Europe the King of Naples is about to follow the example of the King of Spain in driving them out of his States. They are now busy here in their transport to Italy. The ship by which I write to you has already a hundred and sixty of them embarked on board. If this continues, the Pope will be able to undertake a crusade against the Turks with the troops of Loyola's followers alone. God forbid that I should insult the unfortunate; there are, doubtless, among them many individuals worthy of pity, "mais le vrai est que leur régime général étoit abominable." This truth will be clear in full daylight. The inventory of their papers, which they have just unsealed, furnishes only too many proofs. They find among them even confessions committed to writing. Unless the Viceroy has the prudence to suppress these documents, half of this town will be obliged to cut the throats of the other half. The women, above all, do not cease to beg that these confessions may be thrown into the flames.'

It must be observed that Captain Bougainville is far less severe in his strictures on the accumulated wealth and the morals of the Jesuits, against whom Commerson was evidently prejudiced by Don Francisco Bucarelli, who had been sent from Spain for the express purpose of destroying the Jesuitical dominion over the Indians of South America, which threatened the temporal sovereignty of the Spanish crown.

In November 1767, Bougainville's ships left the Rio de la Plata (after Don Francisco had in vain tried to induce Commerson to accompany him across the Andes to Chili and Peru), bound south for the Straits of Magellan, which

* Don Pedro Cevallos had lately been replaced by the Governor-General Don Francisco Bucarelli, sent from Spain for the express purpose of ousting the Jesuits.

they entered on December 4, past Cape Virgin. Some little time was spent at anchor in a bay between Cape Rond and Cape Forward, the latter being the southernmost extremity of Patagonia, which interval was taken full advantage of by Commerson, and his fellow-traveller, the Prince of Nassau, also a naturalist, who had obtained permission to accompany Bougainville in his voyage of circumnavigation. Commerson writes to his friend Crassous, a doctor of Montpellier:—

'You must imagine how ever since our departure we have been following from east to west the course of the sun, and how we travel with the rising sun, and in our journey we have passed not far from the antipodes of Paris and enjoyed midnight when you were at midday. How, following the great circle which encompasses the whole circumference of the world, we have seen South America, the river of the province La Plata, part of Paraguay, Brazil, the Malouine Islands (Falkland), the Strait of Magellan, the land of the Patagonians (who are by no means giants), and the Tierra del Fuego. There we had twenty-two hours' daylight, and scarcely any appearance of night. But here is to be seen by far the greatest possible desolation of nature, wearied, as it were, of producing men and the means of their subsistence. It is here that Ovid could have exclaimed most justly:—

"Lassus in [extremis?] jaceo populisque locisque:
Heu! quam vicina est ultima terra mihi!
Ulterius nihil est nisi non habitabile frigus." '*

On January 26, 1768, they issued from the melancholy but romantic scenery of Tierra del Fuego, of which they took leave at Cape Pillar, into the Pacific Ocean, and, steering a north-westerly course, soon regained a more genial climate within the southern tropic. No land was sighted until some small islets were met with, in March, which Bougainville identified with the doubtful Iles de Quiros † of Bellin's chart. These outliers of the Archipel Dangereux, as the French named that widely scattered group, were low islets with atolls or lagoon islands and fringing coral reefs; the whole of this galaxy is now designated in our charts as the Paumotu, or Low Archipelago. The more westerly portion was named by Bougainville the Archipel de Bourbon; the principal island of this last-named division (since known as the Society Islands) was sighted by the 'Boudeuse' and 'Etoile' on April 2. This

* The first line is an interpolation by Commerson. The remaining two lines are from Ovid, 'Tristia,' iii. 4, 51–52.

† Sighted by Fernand de Quiros in 1606.

was Tahiti, an island which must for ever remain classical* to the navigators of all nations:—

'Dans la mer Pacifique nous avons reconnu les terres de Quiros, une partie des terres australes, un grand nombre d'îles nouvelles, une île incomparable (Tahiti), couverte d'un peuple immense qui ne s'est point écarté encore de l'institut de la nature, et chez lequel semble se réaliser l'âge d'or vainement chanté par les poëtes.'

After the savage wilds of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, the lovely foliage of intertropical growth, including groves of the bread-fruit tree, conspicuous with its large glossy and deeply digitated leaves, must indeed have seemed a revelation of Paradise to Commerson, the first professional botanist who ever landed to gather the first fruits from this unentered storehouse of botanical treasures. Commerson's famous description of Tahiti and the manners of its inhabitants, which he addressed to Lalande, was first published in the 'Mercure de France' in November 1769, and a similar description was inserted by his friend Crassous in the 'Décade Philosophique,' tom. xviii. p. 133. Other copies of the same paper were addressed to several of his correspondents, and we learn that the author was not pleased at his account being made public, for it contained several allusions of a private nature. The French, however, were not the first European discoverers of this island and its neighbours. Wallis and Carteret, the English navigators, had preceded Bougainville by nine months and more, after naming Otahiti by the vulgar English nomenclature, King George's Island (a name which fortunately has not survived), and a year after the French had departed, Lieutonant Cook arrived, accompanied by Gore, who had been one of Wallis's comrades, to observe the transit of Venus. And now occurred an incident which curiously involved Commerson in a somewhat awkward predicament. Bougainville thus tells the story:—

Whilst we were amidst the Great Cyclades, some business called me on board the "Étoile," and I had an opportunity of verifying a very singular fact. For some time a report had been spread in the two ships that the servant of M. de Commerson, named Baré, was a woman. His figure, the tone of his voice, his beardless chin, his scrupulous habit of never changing his linen or discharging his natural functions

* After Cook's visit, the mutiny of the 'Bounty,' William Ellis's 'Polynesian Researches,' and Darwin's 'Voyage of the "Beagle,"' have one and all contributed to mark Tahiti as the most notable island in the vast expanse of the Pacific.

when anyone was present, besides various other indications, had given rise and some credibility to this suspicion. Meanwhile, how was it possible to discover the woman in that indefatigable Baré, who was already an expert botanist, whom we had seen follow his master in all his botanical rambles, in the midst of snow and on the icy mountains of the Straits of Magellan, and even carry during toilsome marches provisions of food, arms, and bundles of plants with a courage and strength which had gained for him from the naturalist the nickname of his beast of burden? It happened that a scene which occurred at Tahiti changed this suspicion into a certainty. M. de Commerson went on shore there to botanise, and scarcely had Baré, who followed him with the herbal packets under his arm, put his feet on the land, when the Tahitians surrounded him, exclaiming "It is a woman!" and wished to receive her with the honours of the island. The Chevalier de Bournand, who was on duty at the landing-place, was obliged to come to her assistance and escort her back to the boat. After that date it was somewhat difficult to prevent her modesty from being shocked at the conduct of the sailors. When I went on board the "Etoile," Baré, her eyes streaming with tears, confessed that she was a girl; she told me that at Rochefort she had deceived her master by presenting herself in the dress of a man at the very moment of his embarkation, and that she had previously served a Genevan gentleman as lacquey in Paris, that she was a native of Burgundy and an orphan; the loss of a lawsuit had reduced her to poverty and caused her to gain a situation by disguising her sex; she added that she was well aware when embarking that she would have to go round the world, and that the voyage had aroused her curiosity. She will be the first of her sex who has circumnavigated the globe, and I must do her the justice of stating that she has always conducted herself on board ship with the most scrupulous propriety.

'She is neither plain nor good-looking, and is not more than twenty-six or twenty-seven years old. It must be confessed that had these two ships been shipwrecked on some desert island of this vast Pacific Ocean, the occasion might have proved a most remarkable one for Baré.'

This disguised Jean Baré can have been no other than the identical Jeanne Baret 'dite de Bonnefoi,' the gouvernante to whom Commerson had bequeathed, as before noticed, in his eccentric will, six hundred livres Tournois in addition to her yearly wages of one hundred livres, although she had only been in his service from September 6, 1764, to December 15, 1766, when he quitted Paris. Her services, therefore, must have been most valuable to the naturalist, and it is evident from the preceding account that this domestic worked like a slave in her master's interests; that her devotion was continued until Commerson's death only seems to make the whole incident more inexplicable.

Space will not permit more than the briefest sketch of the

rest of Commerson's voyage to the westward, in the course of the setting sun. It is sufficient to say that, after leaving Tahiti, Bougainville's ships sighted Samoa and made their way past the New Hebrides and across the Coral Sea until arrested by the apparent *cul de sac* formed by the great barrier reef, and failing to discover a passage by Torres Strait, they were forced to make a retrograde course along the southern coasts of the Louisiade Archipelago, at the eastern extremity of New Guinea. This brought them to the Solomon Islands, and thence between the islands of New Ireland and New Britain they sailed along the northern shores of Papua; then north of Ceram and Boero, south of Celebes, they traversed the Flores Sea, past the northern coasts of Java to Batavia. After a brief interval for refreshment at the capital of the Dutch East Indies, Bougainville next steered his course south of the Keelings directly for the French colonies, the Mascarene Islands, sighting the easternmost of them, Rodriguez, on the 5th November, 1768.

On the 7th the 'Boudeuse' got into Port Louis, but the 'Etoile' was unable to enter the harbour until the following day, and it was not until this day that they changed their time by the necessary alteration of the date, which they found a day in advance of their ships' time in use on their arrival at the Isle of France. Here orders were awaiting the expedition from the Duke de Praslin, ordering Véron, the astronomer,* to proceed to India for the purpose of observing the forthcoming transit of Venus, and directing M. Poivre, the Intendant of the colony, to retain Commerson for service under his direction.

'I have here met with an impediment' (*un rémora*), he writes, 'which will delay me here some time. The Intendant, with the concurrence of the minister, has done all he possibly can to induce me to remain here, and, after two or three months, to continue my observations in the great island of Madagascar, and at several other localities in India where the Government proposes to form establishments. Such pressing

* Pierre-Antoine Véron was unable to find a passage to India in time for this transit, but he proceeded on the corvette *Diligent* to the Moluccas. Before starting he communicated a long report to the Duke de Praslin, giving the results of his astronomical observations in the Straits of Magellan, at the Isle de Cythère (Tahiti), and the results of the eclipse of the sun which he had observed on the island of New Britain. Véron died of fever in Timor, early in May 1770, aged only thirty-four years. His biography has been written by M. Guilbert.

inducements are, in fact, irresistible orders, especially when they are accompanied by flattering proposals, so that I have not hesitated to accept this new commission.'

A great sorrow awaited him at Port Louis. Scarcely had he landed, when a soldier belonging to the Colonial Legion lately arrived from France, and a native of Châtillon, informed him that he had left the Commerson family in deep mourning; but whether it was for his father or mother he could not inform the naturalist, who was thus left in agonising suspense. It would appear from what transpired subsequently that it must have been Commerson himself for whom they were in mourning, as a false report concerning the shipwreck of Bougainville's vessels had been circulated through France.

Bougainville and Commerson, after landing, became the guests of M. Cossigny at Palma, an estate near the Trois Mamelles, south of Port Louis. The peculiar flora of the Mascarenes presented a new field of exploration to our naturalist, who lost no time in exploring the depths of the then thickly wooded interior of the Isle of France.* After the tremendous precipices and cliffs of Tahiti, whose peaks attain 7,000 feet elevation, the vertical escarpments of Mauritius cannot have seemed formidable to Commerson; nevertheless he underwent an experience which proved the temerity of venturing on these volcanic heights without a competent guide. Commerson does not allude to this adventure in any of his letters, and consequently it has escaped the notice of his biographers; but it is mentioned by Bernardin de St.-Pierre, who was at the Isle of France when Commerson first arrived. The anecdote is told in St.-Pierre's 'Harmonies de Nature' as follows:—

'Precipitous mountains are common in the tropics. I have seen many of them in the Isle of France. There is one among others, which is called La Montagne du Corps de Garde, from which the botanist Commerson thought one day he should never be able to descend; for, having been taken up there by a resident of the neighbourhood† to botanise, his guide wished to keep in company with him in order to bring him back with him, but Commerson preferred him to return, assuring him that he would find his way very well alone. As soon as he had finished his botanising he wished to come down, but

* The Abbé de la Caille has marked *forêt très épaisse* in the interior of the south-east portion of the Ile de France, which he surveyed in 1753, *i.e.* fifteen years before Commerson visited the colony.

† Probably his host, M. Cossigny de Palma, an enthusiastic agriculturist and gardener as well as botanist and acclimatiser.

although the flat top is not more than half a league in length, he could not find the path by which he had ascended, and could not discover any way down. Obliged to pass the night there, he supped on a species of edible pea which he found growing in small quantities. The next day his attempts to escape were also as vain as on the preceding day, and he would assuredly have died of hunger had not the resident who had guided him become uneasy at his absence and gone to fetch him.'

A somewhat similar mischance befell the naturalist Aubert Dupetit Thouars (the biographer of Commerson in Michaud's 'Biographie Universelle') in the neighbouring island of Bourbon; and quite recently another naturalist, Jean Duchaine, actually met his death on the mountains of that island. How thick the forests of Mauritius were in the days of the Dutch, previous to the French occupation, may be judged from the fact that one of the governors, Lamotius, with his followers was nearly lost and starved within these dense thickets.

In a letter to Lalande, dated February 1769, from Port Saint-Louis, whilst waiting for the healthy season in order to proceed to Madagascar, he informs him:—

'Meantime I occupy myself busily with the natural history of this country, and I am on the eve of establishing the foundations of an academy, which will be as useful to the colonies of the Isle of France and Bourbon as it will also be to the nation and profitable to the advancement of the sciences, especially of that which relates to the productions of the two Indies, which will be its principal object. I am at present altogether engaged in drawing up its statutes and putting it into shape. Indeed, I believe that I shall be nominated its director, in consideration, no doubt, of the zeal which inspires me, and because it will owe its first existence to myself, "In arduis voluisse sat est." . . .

'This academy,' he proceeds to say, 'would only give its 'attention to exotic observations made beyond the seas of 'Europe, &c.,' and he goes on to mention several of the *savants* in the island who proposed to assist him in his project.

'I have ready to my hand some virtuosos fit to make a beginning in each section: M. l'Abbé Rochon, M. Véron, and an officer* of the King's household, for mathematics; M. Poivre, Colonel Pouget,† M. Meunier ‡ and myself for natural history; M. Bourdier,§ the medical officer of Bourbon (Dr. Dazille), for medicine; and a number of capable

* M. Bernardin de St.-Pierre.

† Colonel Pouget de St.-André, Director of Fortifications in the Isle of France.

‡ M. Meunier was the young doctor who superseded Commerson.

§ M. Bourdier, premier médecin de l'Ile de France.

planters, very zealous to improve agriculture, a section in which it will be necessary to excite emulation, because it will be from this direction that the colony will gather the greatest advantage. There is a printing establishment here, well equipped, but idle; so it will hardly have become known that there is an academy in this part of the world before there will have issued a volume of its proceedings, three parts of which I can myself furnish if requisite. An abstract of my project, communicated to M. Poivre, who has the *bonum in voluntate* and the *rectum in intellectu*, has remarkably pleased him, and he awaits with impatience my preparation of the details. I trust that I can equally flatter myself M. Poissonnier will be no less pleased. I beg you will communicate to him my prospectus for his examination, and request him, should he approve, to obtain for us the support of the minister.'

Commerson's proposed foundation of an academy was the initiative attempt which has since been partly realised in a less ambitious but more practical form. Thirty-six years afterwards an association was formed under the title of the 'Société d'Emulation,' which, after the occupation by the British, was changed to the 'Society for the Encouragement 'of the Arts and Sciences,' under the then Governor, General Hall, and in 1829, under the administration of Sir Charles Colville, it received a new title of the 'Natural 'History Society,' and it is now known as the 'Royal 'Society of Arts and Sciences in Mauritius.' Its proceedings are still conducted and published in French.

It is not easy to ascertain from either of the extant biographies, or from the published letters of Commerson, the exact dates when he visited Madagascar. Previous to the arrival of Bougainville's expedition at the Isle of France the Count de Maudave had come out from L'Orient with a staff and escort (one of whom was the well-known author of 'Paul and Virginia') for the express purpose of re-establishing the French station at Fort Dauphin in the great African island. This experiment proved an absolute failure, and Maudave returned to the Isle of France in December 1770. As Commerson visited Fort Dauphin before Maudave left, and speaks of this journey as being his 'dernier voyage au Fort Dauphin,' it is presumable that he had previously been there, either in 1669 or earlier in 1770. Commerson found himself in an entirely new world of natural history amidst the forests of Madagascar. Various editions of his letter to Lalande expressing his bewildered admiration have been quoted by every French writer on Madagascar and by most English travellers:—

'How wonderful a country is Madagascar! It is not during a hurried visit that a knowledge of its rich productions can be obtained; it will need the study of a long series of years, and will require entire academies to do justice to so plentiful a harvest. It is Madagascar which is the true promised land for naturalists. It is here that nature seems to have retired as though into an innermost sanctuary, there to bring forth her productions modelled altogether differently from those she has given birth to in other countries. Forms the most unusual, the most marvellous, are here met with at each step. The Dioscorides of the North would here find the wherewithal to make ten revised and augmented editions of his "Systema Naturæ," and would finish, doubtless, by being frankly convinced that but a small corner of the veil which conceals the diverse productions of nature had yet been lifted.'

But Commerson's researches in Madagascar were not confined to botany alone. He paid considerable attention besides to the mineral and animal productions, and he proceeds to give M. Lalande a brief dissertation on a remarkable Malagasy tribe, as follows:—

'I will now proceed to give you a description of a really extraordinary people who inhabit the highest mountains of Madagascar. . . . These dwarfs (*demi-hommes*) inhabit the high mountains of the interior of the great island, and form the bulk of a considerable nation called *Quimosse* or *Kimosse*, in the Madecasse [*sic*] tongue. . . . I can attest as an eye-witness that, during the last journey which I made to Fort Dauphin, M. the Count de Maudave, the last governor, who had previously communicated to me part of his observations, at length afforded me the satisfaction of seeing among his slaves a *Quimosse* woman, aged about thirty years, three feet seven inches in height, whose colour was, indeed, of the palest shade which I had seen among the inhabitants of the island. . . . .'

M. Le Gentil, the famous astronomer, on seeing the above description published, wrote to contradict the truth of Commerson's statement.

'It is,' he said, 'false that there is at Fort Dauphin any tradition of pigmies now existing in Madagascar; it is equally false that there is any general consensus of opinion throughout Madagascar as to the present existence of these imaginary Quimos. . . . . I would remark, again, here, that the letter of M. Commerson is dated 18th April, 1771. I left the Isle of France on the 1st April of the same year, and previous to that date I had seen very frequently M. Commerson, who never told me anything about this rare species of men. I know that this silence on his part does not constitute a disproof of the existence of the Quimos; but it at least shows that the fact was kept a great secret, since I never heard any talk of it in the Isle of France during

more than the three months that I remained there subsequent to the last voyage of M. Commerson to Fort Dauphin.' *

Moreover, M. de Maudave speaks of the memoir which had been handed to him in the Madecasse language containing some particulars of the Quimos as 'unsatisfactory,' and it seems to have been derived from the story of these dwarfs which had been rejected by Flacourt as a fable.

Quite lately, however, Commerson's strange belief in this tribe of pigmies has received an unexpected confirmation from a missionary travelling in Western Madagascar, the Rev. E. O. MacMahon, S.P.G., who writes:—

'We found the report of a race of dwarfs living near the west coast confirmed; they are called *Behósy* by the Sakalava, and are to be met with in the Bemaraha hills. The Sakalava say they were found in Madagascar by their ancestors, and are the same as the *Vazimba*, whom the Hova are reported to have driven out of Imerina. *I saw a number of these on the hills; a Sakalava pointed them out, but they were travelling fast, and were too far off to distinguish clearly.*' †

On his way back from the abandoned French colonial establishment at Fort Dauphin, where a compatriot, the Baron de Clugny, had accompanied him, Commerson was landed at the Island of Bourbon, where he became a guest of M. de Clugny's cousin, M. Lardet de Chalon, and found the change of the mountain air of this delightful climate most beneficial after the unhealthy lowlands of Madagascar and the Isle of France. 'L'air et le laitage de Bourbon,' he told M. Beau, 'm'ont remis à l'âge de 25 ans.'

'I do not remember if, before leaving Bourbon, I sent you an account of the journey, really a celebrated one, which I made to its volcanoes, and of the risks of all kinds that I experienced. To have escaladed mountains more than half a league in perpendicular height above the level of the sea, to have climbed numbers of terrible precipices . . . scaled cliffs which, over 200 fathoms of depth, have scarcely six of *débris* as talus . . . to have travelled whole leagues over a treacherous crust, which from one moment to another cracked under our feet . . . to have braved a hail of red-hot stones and calcined rock which greeted our arrival, and which, if it made us recoil for the moment, did not prevent us from returning directly afterwards . . . to have been at the edge of a crater inflamed up to its very brim, to have endured jets of smoke and sheets of flame, which truly only scorched myself, but which severely burnt one of my

* Voyage dans les Mers de l'Inde, tome ii. p. 508.

† See the Antananarivo Annual, vol. iv. part 3, 1891 (Hadden & Co., Bouverie Street), in which the question of Commerson and the pigmies of Madagascar is discussed at length.

followers . . . to have descended thence only to measure the dimensions and depths of another crater barely extinct, but still smoking . . . to have halted for more than two hours between these two craters scarcely more than three hundred paces one from the other . . . to have dined there whilst joking on the uncertainty of our return alive . . . to have walked through subterranean caverns, conduits of the lava, where the sulphurous gases might have suffocated us . . . to have felt, during all the time while conducting these operations, the entrails of the earth in a perfect turmoil under our feet. Such is a slight sketch of the experiences which we passed through.'

It has already been noticed that Commerson was a mineralogist, and he was the first European to ascend the active volcano of Bourbon, and to make a complete collection of mineralogical specimens from its craters and crateral cirques, which are most difficult of access, as the writer of the present notice can testify from personal experience. The well-known scientist, M. Bory de Saint-Vincent, who subsequently made a careful investigation of this remarkable active volcano, has rendered justice to the accuracy and knowledge exhibited by Commerson's observations, whilst the wild and rugged scenery of this mountain and its terrific desolation have inspired its celebration in verse by the poet Evariste Parny. Whilst at Bourbon on this occasion Commerson learnt, to his astonishment and indignation, that the minister in France had withdrawn his patronage, and, what was still more important, had also stopped his salary as naturalist of the king. Discords, in fact, for some considerable time past had pervaded the administration of the French colony, ever since Pierre Poivre, a man whose probity was beyond suspicion, had been despatched to the Isle of France for the purpose of instituting a new constitution, as his strict and economical administration of its finances naturally encountered much obstruction from the officials and others who profited by the former lax government in both islands. The new governor-general, the Chevalier Desroches, who had succeeded M. Dumas, appeared to be friendly disposed towards the Intendant when he first arrived, and he attended at the baptism of Poivre's infant, besides giving a grand fête in honour of Madame Poivre in October 1770; but in 1771 their relations became somewhat strained, and Commerson wrote:—

'Le feu de la discorde semble vouloir se ranimer plus que jamais dans nos colonies, en sorte que notre Aristide [M. Poivre], dégoûté de n'y pouvoir faire tout le bien qu'il voudroit, a demandé instamment et croit obtenir bientôt son rappel. Oh! pour lors la place ne

sera plus tenable et il faudra bien, en tout état de cause, piler bagage.'

M. Desroches was replaced by M. de Ternay, and M. Poivre by M. Maillard Dumesle, who had both been appointed in 1771, and who arrived at Port Louis in August 1772, with instructions to suppress the Conseil Supérieur, which had been inaugurated by Poivre in 1767. At the same time Commerson, who had been always a close ally of Poivre, living in his house and enjoying a common taste for botanical research, was recalled in apparent disgrace, his mission was announced to be at an end, and his salary withheld—in fact, he was dismissed summarily from his Majesty's service. He was full of indignation, and was disposed to throw great blame on Poissonnier, whom he had always supposed to have been his friend. Writing to Lemonnier, he thus expresses himself:—

'Indeed, it is in the midst of these commissions altogether supererogatory which they have imposed on me, that they have had the injustice—not to soften the terms, I should say the effrontery—to judge me, in the secrecy of their office, as an individual wholly useless to our colonies, and to notify my recall, which would have been most desirable had it not been accompanied by the marks of disapprobation, as by coming in this injurious guise it has had a retrospective effect, hitherto unprecedented, by which my appointments have been suppressed from the very day on which my recall was signed at Paris. . . . I was astonished that M. Poissonnier, at whose hands I have made so many sacrifices, who has seen me take my departure from home to the grief of my family, amidst the tears of a father who had already one foot in the grave and who has since been buried—that M. Poissonnier, I say, who has been the principal agent of my departure, should not have opposed this mysterious iniquity. I esteem him too highly to believe that all this had been done in favour of a young man, his *protégé* (M. le Meunier), who sought to profit by a portion of my collections which this last-named person, without due respect to his patron, had the temerity to take to his credit before leaving, not having distinguished himself here by anything but his malevolent jealousy of myself; he has done his best to obtain my recall to obtain my appointment for himself. But it is at least a remarkable disappointment to him that he has been recalled at the very time when he hoped to have reached the object of his machinations.'

It was indeed a bitter pill for poor Commerson, already broken down by bad health, suffering from dysentery and much crippled by rheumatism, contracted amidst the glaciers of Tierra del Fuego and the snows of Patagonia, which he ironically alluded to as his cross of St. Louis. He devoted himself, if possible, more than ever to his study of the

Mascarene flora, of whose genera he has ever since been regarded as the father. 'Mes plantes, mes chères plantes,' he tells Lemonnier, 'm'avaient consolé de tout. J'avais 'trouvé le nepenthes, curarum dulce lenimen.' The end was fast approaching; after the departure of his friend Poivre—'cet Aristide d'Intendant'—he still contemplated future expeditions abroad which he never lived to execute. He was desirous of visiting the tropical portions of Madagascar, for Fort Dauphin at the south of that island is outside the tropic; and he expressed his intention of going to Rodriguez to ascertain whether the inscription left by his Burgundian compatriot, François Leguat,* in 1696, was still in existence. Feeling his strength failing, he was unable to embark himself and all his collections on board his Majesty's ship 'Indien,' in which his passage had been secured by the new Intendant. Leaving Port Louis, he made a last vain attempt to regain his strength on the cooler and windward side of the island. In October 1772 he wrote to Lalande:—

'I have scarcely strength to write to you, and it is even betting that I shall, like poor Véron, succumb to the excess of my vigils and hard work. After an attack of rheumatism, which has confined me to my bed for some three months, I was looking forward to convalescence when I was overtaken by an unconquerable dysentery, from which I still suffer, and which has brought me to death's door. All my strength is exhausted, and I am already half sinking. If the air of the country and a diet of rice and fish do not carry me through, you will be able, as you have more than once promised (in a moment of prophetic inspiration, doubtless), to set to work on the history of my martyrology.'

The hot season was now approaching, and in less than seven months after the above was written the worst of the naturalist's apprehensions had been fulfilled, and the fatal termination which he had anticipated had taken place.

On March 14, 1773, M. Bézac, a planter residing on his estate, now known as La Grande Retraite,† near Flacq, sent a letter to M. Bompard, the Comptroller at Port Louis, announcing the death of M. Commerson at his house on the previous night.

'I have had his body,' he said, 'taken to the parish church to be buried after mass. This gentleman was carried to my house from Villebague, a fortnight since, to be within reach of the first boat which should be sent to Grand River, south-east from Grand Port, where he proposed staying; but he suffered from an abscess which had been

* See Art. of 'Edinburgh Review,' No. 360, p. 342, April 1892.

† Almost opposite the sixteenth milestone from Port Louis.

forming in his chest, and burst six days ago. He did not wish anyone to attend him, but only the priest, who saw him regularly every day after the bursting of the abscess. Yesterday, at six in the evening, he wished to write his depositions; weakness prevented him, and he put off having his will made by the curé of Flacq until to-day. Feeling that he was dying at eleven o'clock last night, he counted out the money he had with him, and the amount being written down by my doctor, he signed it himself.'

No monument distinguishes the site of his grave; but in 1862 an obelisk was erected to his memory by the Society of Science and Art, near the house where he died in 1773.

Commerson's immense collections of plants, fishes, minerals, and descriptive manuscripts, forming in all thirty-two cases, which he left to the Royal Museum of Natural History, reached Paris during the following year. According to M. Vinson, there were included in these some 5,000 plants, of which 3,000 species were new to science, forming 160 genera hitherto unknown to naturalists. His herbaria alone formed two hundred folio volumes, comprising what he had gathered since he left France in 1769, the fruits of six years' unremitting labour. Three volumes of his 'Iconographie' are now in the Museum of the Jardin des Plantes, but the fourth, which is wanting to complete the series, has by some mischance found its way to the Library at Berlin. It is greatly to be wished that the missing volume could be restored to its proper home in Paris.

By an exception, which was then, we believe, without precedent, although he had not contributed a single memoir to the Academy of France, Philibert Commerson was nominated a member of that noble army of *savants* on March 21, 1773; but eight days previously the much-harassed, overworked naturalist had ceased to exist, and the honour accorded to him was but a single wreath on his otherwise inglorious tomb. His friend Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu took his formal seat in the Academy on the same day. Only forty-six years of age when he died, Commerson was outlived by his master Carl Linnæus, whom he was delighted to hail as the Dioscorides of the North, and of whose system he was an earnest and loyal disciple. The follower of that great botanist, Commerson has been looked upon as a connecting link between the Swedish genius and Cuvier, of whom he was, so to speak, the precursor; and he ranks among the first of the pioneers of science who penetrated the wide regions of the southern hemisphere in pursuit of the secrets of nature, in advance of Banks and Solander. When Cuvier

undertook with Valenciennes to make a general history of fishes, and looked everywhere for materials on which to work, M. Duméril unearthed the quantities of preserved fishes from Commerson's collection, which had remained unpacked from their cases in the cellars of the Museum since the days of Buffon; and almost simultaneously two descriptive autograph manuscripts by Commerson on the animalia of Madagascar and the Mascarenes were discovered in the library of the late M. Hermans* of Strasburg, which enabled the two collaborators to do full justice to the entirely original observations of the prematurely deceased *savant*. 'Commerson,' says Cuvier, 'was a man of indefatigable activity and of the most profound science. Had he published himself the results of his observations, he would have attained to the first rank among naturalists. Unfortunately he died without having been able to put the last touch to the editing of his writings, and those to whom his manuscripts and his herbarium were entrusted have neglected them in an altogether culpable manner.'† Cuvier was desirous of exhuming the remains of Commerson in order that they might be placed beneath the Column of Daubenton in the Jardin des Plantes; but Julien Desjardins was unable to identify the spot where his body was laid in the churchyard at Flacq. Following the example of Linnæus, Commerson was wont to immortalise his friends by the happy conceit of attaching their names to the new genera of plants which he discovered. It has already been noted how he bestowed the titles Pulcheria Commersonia and Bougainvillea. In like fashion he celebrated his ally, Pierre Poivre, in the Poivrea, the charming purple Madagascar creeper; whilst to a star-like flower whose sombre calix is dewed with tears, which only opens for a few hours, he gave the name of *Veronia tristifolia*, in memory of his fellow-traveller, the young astronomer Véron; and among other names which he thus selected may be cited the Lalandia, the Marignia, the Jossignia, the Chazalia, the Cossignia, and Colletia—this last being given to a spiny genus, *Colletia omnespinosa*, by way of avenging Tournefort, whose method of classification had been too sharply criticised by a young botanist named Collet. Nor must we forget that among the genera thus distinguished was one whose typical species is the 'Quivi'

* Hermans and Rostaing, who had established iron works in the Isle of France (since 1748).

† Cuvier, 'Histoire des Sciences Naturelles,' vol. v. pp. 93–95.

(*Quivina heterophylla*), which he dedicated, under the name of Baretia,* to Jeanne Baret, whose devotion has already been noticed. Of this romantic incident the sequel was in keeping with the character of the disguised gouvernante. She followed him faithfully to the end of his life, and, after his death, having married a soldier named Bellegarde, she acquired some money, and returning to Châtillon les Dombes, settled near her master's family, to whom she left all her means when she died. She appears under various names, but in her will she styles herself Mercedier, veuve d'Antoine Barnier, dite de Barre.

Lalande has given us a sketch of his friend's personal appearance and characteristics in his *éloge*, which was published by the Abbé Rozier † in his 'Observations:'—

'Commerson was of medium height, or rather more (about five feet six inches, *English*). He had large dark eyes, his nose was aquiline and his complexion delicate, but dry, rosy, and bright. Habitually sober in his diet, he seldom ate except by necessity, and often without caring what he tasted, but was not always restrained in other respects. His society was charming, for he had a great deal of knowledge and a good memory. He did not care for games, except chess. He avoided company and theatres, as he looked upon them as lost time. He only took an interest in what could instruct him or serve for the instruction of others. He would have liked to make botanists of all

* The terms of the dedication of this plant are interesting, as they afford a good instance out of many of his fanciful and poetic conceits in the selection of names for the genera to which he stood godfather:—

'Hæc planta vestitu seu foliis sic illudens insignata est nominibus viraginis istius quæ, mutatis in viriles vestibus et mente fœmininis, totum orbem, curiositatis causâ, nobiscum etiam insciis, terrâ marique ausa est emetiri, toties quæ vestigia illust. Principis Nassauvii et nostra, agili pede secuta per altissimas freti Magellanici alpes profundissimasque insularum Australium sylvas; Dianæ instar pharetrata, Minervæ instar sagax et austera, ferarum hominumque insidias, non sine plurimo vitæ et pudicitiæ periculo, sospes et integra, afflante prospero numine quodam, evasit; sui sexûs prima quæ integrum terraquei globi circulum absolverit, emensis plus quam quindecim leucarum millibus. Tot huic heroidi debemus plantas primum lectas; tot industriâ desiccatas, tantas insectorum conchyliorumque collectiones, ut mihi et aliis rerum naturalium æstimatoribus nefas sit summos floræ honores ei non rependere.'

To three species of this genus he applied the respective terms, *bona-fidia*, *oppositiva*, *heterophylla*, all characteristic of Jeanne Baret, '*dite de Bonnefoi*.' The tree is indigenous to the Mascarenes.

† See periodical publications, Paris: Observations sur la Physique, sur l'Histoire Naturelle, et sur les Arts, vol. v. (1775), pp. 89–120.

who came near him. His conversation was lively, energetic, caustic, and fearless of consequences. Thus he frequently made enemies, although he was otherwise full of candour and generosity. His character was violent, impetuous, extreme in everything. Obstacles only served to excite his courage. "Glory," he would say, "like fortune, requires a tenacious and a hardy race." '

President de Brosse was more critical in regard to Commerson's literary merit, although he was astonished by the singularity of his style (as exhibited in his official report on the natural history observations which he proposed to carry out), which appeared to him rather due to the vivacious imagination and vast erudition unconsciously exhibited by its author:—

'He is a coiner of the most singular new words, a writer full of emphasis and prodigal of expressions and turns of speech alike uncommon and unusual. He doubtless believed that this scientific jargon would dazzle those for whom it was intended, in which belief he has perhaps had some reason (*ad populum phaleras*), no one being more of the people than these gentlemen, *i.e.* the ministers; but I hold it as a maxim that the naturalist ought, almost more than anyone else, to write in a manner equally clear and simple, and that I shall always maintain, although I may not be supported in it by the example of the greatest masters. Pliny, far too ingenious, continually delights in turns of speech and witty allusions. Valisnieri is always poetic, and yet wishes to take the tone of Aristotle; my friend Buffon himself inserts too much eloquence; it is a fault on the right side for which he deserves pardon, for he unites the greatest perspicuity with the sublime and high-toned style which he has adopted.'

'But if,' adds Lalande, 'M. Commerson had this fault 'when he was writing to his friends *à cours de plume*, I can 'affirm from what I have myself seen that nothing can be 'more clear, more precise, more simple, more elegant, than 'his writings on natural history.'

We cannot do better than conclude by echoing Lalande's reflection that 'men born with so much talent and courage are so rare that they deserve to be known, for the purpose 'of encouraging others, and as models to be followed, above 'all when their love of work and of science has led them to 'the grave.' Commerson was pre-eminently a scientific worker who sacrificed himself, and although his name has hitherto been little known in England, his services towards the enrichment of the colony of Mauritius alone, apart from his purely scientific contributions to the genera of the Mascarene Islands, fully entitle him to more consideration than his memory has yet received from the British people.

ART. III.—1. *Histoire de la Question Coloniale en France.* Par LÉON DESCHAMPS. Paris: 1891.

2. *La Politique Française en Tunisie.* Par P. H. X. Paris: 1891.

3. *Le Tonkin et la Mère Patrie.* JULES FERRY. Paris: 1890.

4. *Rapport fait à la Commission de l'Algérie du Sénat.* Par M. JULES FERRY. Paris: 1892.

WE have placed M. Deschamps' book at the head of this article, because it contains a general retrospective view of the subject with which we propose to deal. The writer's object, however, as he explains it in the preface, is not to give a history of the French colonies, nor even to discuss at large the present colonial policy of France. Colonisation, he says, is not a matter of governmental caprice, to be taken up or put aside according to the convenience of ministers or parties; it is an undertaking which can only succeed if it has the consistent goodwill and support of the whole nation. Accordingly, M. Deschamps has entered upon a study of the fluctuations of public opinion regarding colonies during the last three centuries. He has concentrated his researches upon an inquiry into the real interest that has been shown by the French nation at different periods in colonial affairs, into the influence that these questions have obtained over the popular mind, and into historic evidences of the degree to which France has from time to time become possessed by the colonial idea. Whether the French have a real taste for colonial enterprise, whether they have the genius for it, whether the national sentiment has usually been in its favour or adverse, and if so why, and in what instances—these are the problems of which he endeavours to discover for his readers some reasonable solution.

There are two grounds upon which the book merits notice in England. In the first place, it enables an Englishman, who wishes to understand why French colonisation has not succeeded, to substitute some clear and well-founded conclusions for the complacent commonplaces that are so often repeated about the lack of national aptitudes for that kind of enterprise. In the second place, the inquiry brings out and accentuates the wide contrasts of principle and practice exhibited by the whole colonial history of France and England.

The history of French colonisation is ordinarily divided,

we are told, into three periods: the period of the great discoveries, which is carried up to the death, in 1609, of Henry IV.; the era of grand colonial expansion in the seventeenth century; and the period of decline during the hundred years that intervene between the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, and the end, in 1815, of the great French wars. During the sixteenth century the French maintained a forward place in the race of adventurous explorations beyond sea; and it was not until their country had become distracted and depopulated by thirty years of savage religious wars that the English under Elizabeth and the independent Hollanders began to push onward and gain ground in the same field. At the end of the sixteenth century the rivalry among the Western maritime nations was beginning in earnest. By this time the splendid achievements and conquests of Spain and Portugal had fired the imagination of the whole Western world. The spreading curiosity in France about outlandish peoples, distant voyages, and the fabulous wealth of Asia, is illustrated by the writings of that age, by constant allusions to the subject in such authors as Rabelais and Montaigne, and by the remarkable dissertation of Bodin, the apostle of French colonisation, which appeared so early as 1577. Nevertheless, although at the opening of the seventeenth century commercial and colonising projects had been already entertained by that active and far-sighted ruler, Henry IV., it was in England and Holland, not in France, that the first important step was taken by founding the two East India Companies that were destined to a long and memorable career. Then came, in 1616, the treatise of Montchrétien, who developed views far in advance of his time, insisting on the value of fresh markets and of outlets for emigration, and upon the immense advantage of using privileged companies as the national agents for the settlement of colonies and the security of distant trade. Close upon the publication of this work followed the ministry of Richelieu, in whose powerful mind the conception of endowing France with a great dominion beyond sea reached its maturity, and had issue in successive decrees for the foundation and multiplication of colonising companies in various parts of the world, from Canada in the West to Madagascar and the East Indies.

It is worth observation that in the charters of these companies may be found the earliest promulgations of principles that were consistently maintained throughout the entire course of French colonisation under the old monarchy, but

which would be in vain looked for in the commercial records of England or Holland. The Catholic faith was established, to the rigid exclusion of all other religions; but on the other hand converted pagans were to be admitted to the full civil rights of Frenchmen—a provision to which M. Deschamps draws attention with pride and approval. The propagation of Christianity was placed upon a level with the plantation of colonies, as a direct object of these expeditions. Nevertheless their real motive was, after all, not so much economical or propagandist, as political; the companies were organised by the great Cardinal to counteract the accumulation of vast transmarine possessions by Spain, then France's most dangerous rival, and in order that Spain might not claim for herself the whole non-Christian world. In this policy, indeed, Richelieu was only imitating the tactics of England and Holland. Both these nations were already striking at the extremities of the unwieldy Spanish empire, cutting off its gold convoys, harrying its coasts and islands, sweeping the narrow seas by privateers, and generally pursuing that irregular buccaneering warfare of which the memory long lived among mariners in the romantic traditions of the Spanish Main. In these wild adventures the French took little share; but they had borrowed from their neighbours the system of chartered associations; and M. Deschamps declares that, under Mazarin as under Richelieu, the peopling of new lands beyond the ocean by French Catholics, in the interests of God, and as a balance against Spain, was the essential principle of colonial action in France during the first half of the seventeenth century.

There was, indeed, a special motive underlying the Cardinal's zeal for the propagation of Christianity in foreign parts. He seems to have concerned himself not only with finding an outlet for the restless and roving elements among Frenchmen, but also with opening a kind of safety valve for the ardent zeal of the religious orders, particularly the Jesuits, whom he encouraged abroad while he repressed them at home.

'In 1629 he promulgated an ordinance forbidding the establishment of any monastery except with the express permission of the king. Nevertheless he thought that what was unsafe at home might be good for the colonies, so he imposed religious missions upon the companies and Catholicism upon the colonists, making, as we have seen, Christianity almost as important as commerce in the colonial question. It followed that the promoters of colonisation displayed a zeal for proselytism worthy of the missionaries themselves.'

At this moment, M. Deschamps adds, the religious idea was dominant in France, and he cites some notable examples of its influence in colonial matters. The Court and all the fashionable society interested themselves warmly in collecting subscriptions for propagating the true faith among the heathen; missions were sent out, bishops were appointed, and the Jesuits began gradually to acquire great power in all the new colonies of North America. The Company of New France, which founded Montreal, appealed to the public for support on the ground that it had not been established with the mere object of trading in skins and beavers, but also for the purpose of promoting the glory of the Most High. Nor was officialism less active than ecclesiasticism in the direction and superintendence of these projects for the extension of the faith and dominion of France. The system of companies under Church and State patronage was not popular among the men of business, who demanded of their Government no more than freedom of trade for themselves, and protection from foreign enemies. But official predilections were then, as they have always been in France, adverse to the English practice of chartering a body of pioneers or merchant adventurers, and leaving them to plant settlements or factories by their own resources. The expeditions were not only authorised, but energetically promoted by the Government, with the result that the governing classes insisted on sharing the investment, or taking their part in the speculations, with an eye to the benefits promised in this world and the next. All the administrative and military commands were distributed among the noblesse; and among the hundred associates of the Company of New France we find thirty *seigneurs de la cour*, besides a certain number of ecclesiastic and even princely dignitaries, who are represented on the board by their secretaries.

The main business of these companies was then understood to be the exploring and exploiting of new lands for settlement by French Catholics, and for the conversion of the aboriginal inhabitants. No chartered association for the single purpose of trade, like the English or Dutch East India Companies, was founded by Richelieu, nor could any such company have been launched upon the system that has been just described. The French mercantile community demurred to conditions which placed all these corporations so completely under the paternal supervision of priests, nobles, and high officials; they also betrayed a perverse

mistrust of the religious and propagandist element. They cautiously suggested that in commercial transactions spiritual directorship and ministerial supervision are not altogether desirable. The Chambers of Rouen and Marseilles recommended that at no price, and on no pretext, should the captains of their vessels be nominated by the king; they complained of foreign consuls abroad and revenue officers at home as equally dictatorial. They asked that religious interests should not rule trading operations, but that their traffic should be protected at sea by the Royal Navy, and that trading factories should be allowed to manage their own affairs. It does not appear, in short, that Richelieu's colonial policy produced any notable results, beyond some remarkable voyages of discovery, which gave a considerable impulse to all future colonisation, and a great diffusion of missionary literature reporting the successful propagation of the faith in those countries that had been made over to the new companies. M. Deschamps tells us that the French public was liberally feasted upon touching narratives of conversion, upon the simple talk of savages (among whom were reckoned the Chinese), and upon dramatic martyrdoms. Among much apocryphal literature of this kind, a few genuine and valuable books of travel were produced; but on the whole the colonial field was too largely preoccupied by religious influence; and the interest excited in the nation generally did go far beyond intelligent curiosity.

We may thus register, even at this early stage, observations of a distinct and remarkable contrast in origin, character, and practical methods between the colonial systems of France and England. The first French colonies derived their initiative from the Crown; they were formed under strict official regulations, and the note of high orthodoxy was predominant in their constitution. The first English colonies owed their foundation either to men who had left their fatherland to escape the oppression of kings and bishops, or to 'gentleman adventurers,' with a taste for the roving life and freedom of a new country, which they were quite willing to hold as national property so long as they were permitted to use their own ways and means of acquiring it. And at a time when the great commercial companies of England and Holland were already wresting from Spain and Portugal the invaluable prize of the sea-borne trade with Asia, the French merchants were deterred from entering into competition with them mainly by the misguided solicitude of their own Government.

For the commerce of France, however, better times were coming. The period of greatest colonial expansion, as it is styled by M. Deschamps, was inaugurated when Colbert, the famous minister of Louis XIV., launched, in 1664, his two companies of the East and West Indies. It may be necessary to explain that in those days the term 'Indies' bore an exceedingly wide geographical signification in both hemispheres. Under the general denomination of the East Indies were included all the coasts of Southern Asia, from the Persian Gulf to China, Malacca, Borneo, Java, and all the rich spice islands of the China Sea. By the West Indies were meant not only the islands now known under that name, but the whole eastern littoral, and even the interior as far as it had been explored, of Northern and Central America. No ship could double the Cape of Good Hope without coming within the trading sphere of the East India Companies; while to cross the Atlantic was to trespass on some West Indian monopoly. It is not too much to say that the great companies of the seventeenth century were the champions and delegated agents of their respective nations in the competition for commerce and territory throughout the whole non-Christian world, and from this point of view the importance of a good colonial policy can hardly be over-estimated. The French West Indian Company was an association of the type invented by Richelieu, with authority to conquer and convert the heathen; but the foundation of the East India Company by Colbert on different lines marks a distinct step in advance. This company, fitted out on the Dutch and English models, as a chartered body with exclusive privileges and a large capital, was destined to acquire for France a substantial share of that rich commerce in Asiatic commodities that has made the fortune of so many maritime States. The operations of such a company, according to English ideas upon the subject, would have very little to do with the colonial question, seeing that its prime object would not be the occupation of lands, but the extension of trade. No such distinction has ever been made in France, where the special characteristic of all these associations was the attempt to combine colonisation with commerce, and their plain mandate from the State was to conquer territory and convert the people. All lands annexed were granted to the company in full property with seignorial rights; they had exclusive privileges of trading in the produce, excepting certain reserved

articles, and the heathen who accepted Christianity became naturalised French subjects.

With regard to this last-mentioned provision, M. Deschamps observes, with undeniable truth, that the letters patent of the old English companies contain no similar stipulation. Whereas the French companies were thus authorised and enjoined to extend French laws and civic rights, in exchange for religious conformity, to all inhabitants of the countries they might occupy, it must be confessed that no such commission was imposed upon the adventurers from England. On the contrary, the English practice, in Asia certainly, and to some degree in America, has always betrayed a spirit of exclusiveness and indifference. There has always been a tendency to reserve English citizenship for Englishmen; and the religious establishment of their country was the one article which both colonists and traders insisted on leaving at home, positively declining to import it, either for their own use or for that of the natives. This radical divergence of principle runs through the whole colonial history of the two nations. It corresponds evidently with the essential differences between the governing institutions of France and England; and it points to the fact that, whereas the formation of the French colonies was presided over by the ministers of an absolute monarchy, in which the Church was very powerful, the English colonies and companies were the product of voluntary emigration and mercantile energy, of men who desired few privileges and submitted to very few restraints.

In those days of corruption and intolerance, official tutelage was everywhere a sore burden; but the French companies had something even heavier to bear. The king, the royal princes, and the principal courtiers took active part in floating the concern, and they were good enough to subscribe largely to the investment. High ecclesiastic dignitaries condescended to patronise the East India Company; the prospectus was advertised in the churches, and recommended from the pulpits; while royal proclamations exhorted all true Frenchmen to seize this opportunity of making their own fortunes and contributing to their country's prosperity. Strange to say, however, not even these appeals to patriotism and piety roused any widespread enthusiasm among mercantile men. The capital expected from public subscription came in very slowly, in spite of heavy official pressure upon the great towns; for the traders, who had no guarantee for the good faith or consistency of a despotic government, vainly implored

the bureaucracy to reduce the crushing tariffs on foreign imports, and to leave the management of the business in private hands. As for the West India Company, it seems to have broken down by 1674, when its charter was revoked. Colbert determined to abandon henceforward, for the purpose of colonisation, the agency of companies, and to substitute direct administration by a minister of the Crown, whereby the North American colonies were transformed, as M. Deschamps says, into a province of the French kingdom. It followed that the irresponsible powers exercised by the governors and intendants, the functions they discharged, and the laws they enforced, were almost precisely the same in Canada as in Languedoc or Normandy. As no liberal or self-governing institutions existed at home, no machinery of that kind could be exported to the colonies, where, in fact, the attempt to introduce it was never made.

For the East Indies, however, Colbert maintained the organisation of a chartered company, under the close superintendence of the Crown. Yet the legitimate commercial undertakings of this company had been hampered at the outset by combining them with an expedition for the colonisation of Madagascar, which failed disastrously; and the first attempts of the French to gain a footing on the Indian coast were also defeated, so that in six years after its foundation this company was entangled in very serious embarrassment. Nevertheless, if the most liberal support and encouragement, from Louis XIV. and his great minister, could have secured success to the company—and if a sharp turn of general policy, adverse to Colbert and his commercial views, had not speedily supervened—it is possible that the French might have made good their position in India before the close of the seventeenth century. Their initial difficulty was that the ground had been preoccupied by Holland, against whom Louis XIV. declared war in 1674, partly, M. Deschamps thinks, on account of the violent opposition by the Dutch to French interference with their Indian trade. And a few years later, when the Triple Alliance combined against France the naval strength of both England and Holland, and Louvois had plunged his master into interminable continental wars, the light and guidance of Colbert's pacific influence suffered total eclipse, and projects of colonial or commercial expansion were set aside for plans of campaign.

M. Deschamps tells us that commercial jealousies, and a feeling strongly hostile to the establishment of France in the

Spanish Indies and in America, were the leading reasons why England and Holland joined in 1701 the coalition against the accession of a French prince to the Spanish throne. They were convinced that, if the treasures and colonies of Spain passed into the hands of France, she would be able to supplant and destroy their commerce. However this may be, the result of the long war that ended with the Peace of Utrecht was undoubtedly to check and cripple the seaborne trade of France, to reduce her colonies, and for the time to exhaust her naval resources. The result had been predicted by Vauban, whose 'Mémoire sur les Colonies' (1699), quoted by M. Deschamps, abounds with just and sagacious observations. He saw that the French colonies were not thriving like those of England and Holland; and his remedies were to abolish the endowment of religious orders in North America, 'where the monks are incomparably more successful in enriching themselves than in converting the heathen;' to break up privileged companies, who were ruining trade by tyrannous monopolies; to make no more settlements in bad situations, and to regulate the emigration systematically. 'If,' he concludes, 'the king does not take vigorous steps 'for strengthening his colonies, at the first war with Holland 'or England they will all be lost; we shall never regain our 'footing in America; we shall be shut out from the trade, 'and our navy will fall to nothing for want of sustenance and 'employment.' The words were, as our author observes, prophetic; the colonies needed civil and religious liberty, and were choked by Church establishments and commercial privilege. But by that time the vast schemes of territorial aggrandisement nourished by Louis XIV., his insatiable ambition, and his growing bigotry, had diverted his mind from distant colonies, and were drawing France fatally away from the whole policy of expansion beyond sea.

In dealing with the period of the decline of French colonisation, the commencement of which he dates from the Peace of Utrecht, M. Deschamps appears to us to have passed rather too rapidly over the first half of the eighteenth century. He barely alludes to the revival of the commercial prosperity of France during the thirty years of peace with England which lasted from 1713 to the outbreak of the war of the Austrian Succession. Under the pacific ministries of Walpole and Fleury trade and navigation gathered strength on both sides of the Channel; the French East India Company, in particular, after extricating itself from Law's Land Bank speculations, took a fresh departure, and for Pondicherry this

was the flourishing period. But with the growing political dissensions between the two nations began again the colonial quarrels that had ripened into open hostility by 1745. So early as in 1740 the French Government was entertaining the plans of Labourdonnais for destroying the English trading factories in the East Indies, and a few years later Dupleix was actively encouraged in his grand project of totally expelling us from the Coromandel coast. At the same time the French were making substantial progress in North America, having already formed the design of pushing down the valley of the Ohio, in order to appropriate what would now be called the Hinterland in the rear of the English colonies on the sea-coast. Towards the middle of the century, therefore, the position and prospects of France in Asia and America had decidedly improved. In reviewing the calamitous decline that followed, M. Deschamps contests the exactitude of the generally accepted notion that the French colonies and Indian settlements were lost by the ignorance or indifference of Louis XV. and his ministers. He proves, at any rate, that considerable exertions were made to send out reinforcements of men and money, although the troops were unluckily insufficient and the remittances irregular; and he shows that the king himself gave much personal attention to his transmarine possessions. He dilates upon the humane and enlightened principles impressed upon colonial governors in the general instructions sent out from Paris. He quotes orders, written in the king's own hand, to the Canadian authorities to neglect nothing that would win the hearts of the Indian tribes, to deal out strict justice, to respect women, and to discourage slavery; and he justly declares that mildness and an earnest desire to protect uncivilised races distinguished the colonial policy of France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

As to the benevolent intentions of the central government in France there can be no question; nor is it improbable that the relations between the foreign race and the natives were better in the French colonies than in the English or Dutch settlements, where, except in Pennsylvania, the milder virtues were unfortunately not at a premium. The French were more popular with the Indian tribes, and were under stricter control, than the rough, self-governing English communities; the French priests were more effective and more devoted missionaries, regularly disciplined and liberally supported by the Catholic Church at home. The French colonists were full of sincere patriotism, and throughout the contest

with England they showed a strong and unanimous attachment to the cause of their own country. Nevertheless, when the Seven Years' War brought England and France into fierce irreconcilable collision upon North American soil, the weakness and instability of the French position were speedily discovered, and their immense colonial empire upon that continent suffered a shattering overthrow.

Upon the causes and circumstances of this remarkable discomfiture, which finally demolished the edifice that had been so laboriously built up during more than a hundred years by the French monarchy, and which broke the heart, for the rest of the eighteenth century, of French enterprise beyond the ocean, M. Deschamps throws little fresh light. Nor, indeed, does he enlarge upon this part of his subject, although at the present time, when *la question coloniale* is again engaging political controversy and popular attention in France, a close scrutiny of the defects and errors of the old *régime* would certainly have some bearing upon points of contemporary discussion. It would bring out not unprofitably, for example, the vital differences of ideas and methods that prevailed in the beginning between the colonial systems of England and France, and that subsist in some essential features up to the present day. As the British colonists had crossed the sea in search of institutions more democratic and of wider liberties than under their home government, so they kept their domestic affairs free from much interference by the metropolis. As the French colonists had been followed into the wilds of Canada by a paternal administration, ever solicitous for a subject's well-being and orthodoxy, they remained under a *régime* similar to and even stricter than that which they had left in Europe. Religious equality and independence were insisted upon in New England, while in New France authority and sacerdotalism took very high ground. Although both England and France did their best to monopolise the colonial trade for the benefit and advantage of the mother colonies, yet undoubtedly the English restrictions on free disposal of colonial commodities were not quite so illiberal and oppressive as in France. But the main strength of the Englishmen lay in the firm, compact plantation of their free autonomous colonies along the seacoast, where their population could multiply and find room upon excellent land, gradually extending the margin of cultivation, connecting all their settlements, and occupying no remotely detached posts. The French policy, on the other hand, was directed not so much by the needs or in-

stincts of the colonists as by the theories and political calculations of their Government at home, especially in regard to the aggrandisement of territory to the exclusion of national rivals. Its object, therefore, was extensive dominion rather than industrial expansion or the judicious selection of a defensible and habitable area. The French lines of outposts were laid down to include great unoccupied wildernesses, because French governors were more intent on erecting military forts than on placing mercantile factories or consolidating agricultural settlements. They projected a chain of forts that was to connect Quebec on the St. Lawrence with New Orleans on the Mississippi, in order to cut off the English expansion inland, and to confine us to a narrow strip of land between the Atlantic and the French frontier along the Alleghany mountains. They held, indeed, the mouths of these two great rivers; but as they had no seaports on the Atlantic seaboard, and as their colonial population was far below the English in numbers, it is clear that the defence of this straggling, unpeopled, ill-cemented territory rested entirely, in war time, upon the maintenance of communications with Europe, and that any inferiority of sea power would render it perilously insecure.

The result of the great contest that followed is known to everyone; it completely fulfilled Vauban's forebodings. During the Seven Years' War the French Government, uselessly entangled in the quarrel between Austria and Prussia, with dilapidated finances and a weak navy, was completely overmatched and disabled in America and India by the skill and energy with which Pitt wielded the commanding force of powerful English fleets, by the immense superiority of England's wealth, and by the fighting strength of the free English colonies. After 1763, when the French had lost their dominion in the West and the East, the survey of their colonial system under the Bourbons presents few points of interest. From this time we may reckon the beginning of that kind of despondency in regard to colonial matters, and of that persistent conflict of opinions upon the political advantage of dependencies beyond sea, which still characterise the most recent discussions of these subjects in France.

It was natural that after such mishaps and disappointments the benefits to be derived from distant colonies or Asiatic possessions should have been sharply questioned. Toward the end of the last century the philosophic mind of French writers and statesmen was greatly occupied by

political idealism; and our author tells us that in France 'les théories triomphent toujours.' The imposing authority of Montesquieu was pronounced, after some hesitation, against a system which was supposed to involve gradual depopulation of the parent land; while at the head of the anti-colonial party stood Voltaire, who declared that the loss of Canada was a gain to France, mocked at the folly of fighting for a few snow-covered acres more or less, and deplored the shedding of blood to provide coffee or snuff for rich men in Paris or London. Rousseau followed upon the same side with his ardent denunciations against modern civilisation for corrupting or exterminating the noble savage, who was described as representing on the American prairies a true ideal of human society that had been lost in the cities of Europe. And although these writers varied widely in their points of view, they all united in attacking with caustic irony or sombre reprobation the sinister influences of priestly ambition and the subordination of civil to ecclesiastical interests that too often hampered the authority of colonial governors. In Canada the religious orders had been much too strong, and it will be remembered that in India the intrigues of the Jesuit Lavaur are alleged to have fatally accelerated the disgrace and condemnation of the unfortunate Lally.

The French East India Company, hopelessly burdened with debt, and cut off from the markets of Asia by the spreading predominance of England, was dissolved in 1770. A few years later Turgot prevailed upon his Government to abolish chartered companies with commercial monopolies, and to set free the trade between France and her colonies from every kind of exclusive privilege. All the remaining French possessions beyond the sea were henceforward directly administered by Crown officers, who upheld abroad the tradition of arbitrary executive power that subsisted in France up to the Revolution. The American War of Independence furnished the French with an opportunity of reprisal against England; but they secured the triumph of our revolted colonies at a heavy cost to themselves. After the interval of delusive calm that followed the Peace of 1783, the great storm arose that plunged France, for more than twenty years, into furious continental wars, that incapacitated her for distant enterprises, destroyed her navy, and drove her commerce off all the seas. The attitude of the First Republic toward the colonies was distorted by the wayward extravagances of the time, yet it was, on the

whole, benevolent and even liberal. Robespierre's famous declamatory phrase, 'Perish the colonies,' is, indeed, remembered against him; but it had little more real weight or meaning than the phrase 'Perish India,' used long after by a well-known English historian who had taken to the platform late in life, and cut a very poor figure upon it. The general sentiment of the revolutionary period was in favour of an open trade, the encouragement of colonial prosperity, and the enfranchisement of slaves. According to M. Deschamps, the republican governments did their best for the colonies. It was the advent of Napoleon with his system of enormous land armies, and insatiable conquest, his disgust for naval warfare, and his blockading decrees against English commerce, that completed the dilapidation of the colonial estate of France. Not only did the Emperor sacrifice the colonies to his ambitious plans for subjugating Europe; he intoxicated France with military glory, with the pomp and pride of a despotism that could set up and pull down kingdoms, and hold all the nations of Europe to ransom. The French lost their taste for sober industrial effort, or for toilsome exploitation of distant countries; and by the end of the war period the enormous drain on the population, with its moral and material exhaustion, had severely cramped their resources and dislocated the national strength. In the meantime, England had recovered her position, enlarged her colonial borders, taken up all points of vantage for naval shelter or supply, and was preparing for fresh flights into the new and untouched regions of Australasia.

Looking backward, therefore, over the various phases of the colonial question, we see that in the seventeenth century the developement of transmarine conquest and commerce stood in the foreground of the political programme conceived by France's greatest statesmen, by Richelieu, Colbert, and at first by Louis XIV. Their views lacked neither breadth, sagacity, nor vigour of execution; for the French went before other nations in prospecting the splendid colonial fields of North America, and were very little behindhand in appreciating the unique value of the Asiatic trade. But dynastic ambition and the vices of absolutism were too strong in the old monarchy. In vain did Leibnitz endeavour, by his famous 'Consilium Ægyptiacum'—the Memoir on Egypt, submitted in 1672 to Louis XIV.—to kindle in the king's imagination the idea of a great French empire on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. His

real object appears to have been to stave off French designs upon Germany and the Netherlands by diverting elsewhere the attention and the armies of Louis; his ostensible proposals were that France, leaving North America to England and Holland, should seize Cairo and Constantinople, annex North Africa, control the avenues of Asiatic commerce, and found a mighty Christian empire in the Levant and on the Red Sea. But the currents of fortune and circumstance swept France in a very different direction; and by the end of the war tempest which began with the eighteenth century her rising colonial empire had suffered serious damage. Holland, also, had overstrained her strength, so that England emerged unharmed from a struggle which had crippled her two most formidable colonial rivals. The partial and well-meant revival of enterprise under Louis XV. was insufficient and came too late, for all the ocean waterways were now falling under English control, and France had again entangled herself in the quarrels of Central Europe. To undertake costly campaigns in Germany, precisely at the moment when her pretensions to dominion in Canada and on the Coromandel coast of India were challenged by a superior maritime power, was to provoke an unequal contest, and to play the match against heavy odds. When the game had been lost, with the stakes, France attempted to take vengeance upon England by favouring the revolt of the American colonies. But although she gained her immediate object, it was at a heavy cost to herself; and when the Napoleonic wars had completed the destruction of her old colonial system, she was left with a few scattered and unconnected points of occupation on the edges of Asia, Africa, and America.

It was natural that in the first half of the present century the Orleanist dynasty should recur to the earlier Bourbon policy of interesting the French nation in projects of conquest and settlements outside Europe. From the reign of Louis Philippe may be dated, accordingly, what may be called a new departure in French colonisation, because France broke fresh ground and adopted some novel experiments. In the system of English colonisation there has been no breach of continuity. Our nineteenth-century settlements in Australasia or South Africa belong by origin to the same class as those of the seventeenth or eighteenth century in America; they were founded by spontaneous emigration; they obeyed the same laws of growth. They

represent, in fact, the true antique type of colonies, such as have been in all ages generated by the swarming of seafaring folk in the search of fresh fields of agriculture and commerce. The recent extension of the Canadian population from the Atlantic to the Pacific exemplifies the same course of spontaneous overflow; the ever-widening margin of European settlement in South Africa, whether Dutch or English, is driven forward by a similar impulse. In all these cases the national flag has followed, somewhat reluctantly, the onward march of trade and exploration, as it is about to do at this moment towards Uganda. But the acquisitions of territory in Africa and Asia made by the French during this century have been undertaken under very different conditions; the springs of action have been much weaker at home; there has been no prime moving popular pressure; it is the Government, not private adventure, that has taken the lead and cleared the way. Not vacant lands, but uncivilised kingdoms, have been annexed by deliberate political calculations on the part of a metropolitan State. It was thought expedient to stimulate commerce, to improve and strengthen the navy, to regain in some degree that position in the outer world which France had lost in the last century, to revive the adventurous spirit and curiosity of the French people, and to provide restless souls with the chances of gain and distinction outside the circle of domestic affairs. Some of the recent French settlements bear a kind of resemblance to the military colonies of Rome; whilst others seem to have been occupied chiefly on the ground, not in itself unreasonable, that France is entitled to her share in the general scramble for the trade or territory of weak or barbarous races. None of these belong to the class of the old French colonies in America, and if some of the principal features of the earlier colonial administration have reappeared in the modern system, this can hardly be counted, for reasons to be presently explained, as an advantage. One thing, however, is clear—that between a French and an English colony in this year 1893 there is no greater likeness than existed two centuries ago.

The modern efflorescence of French colonisation began nearer home. Algiers was originally taken, as M. Ferry has remarked, with the main object of breaking up a stronghold of pirates and sea robbers in the Mediterranean; and the French factories in West Africa were merely on the edge of the dark continent. Under the Second Empire, however, the French reappeared in South Asia, where they made good a footing by establishing their sovereignty over Cochin

China, between whose rulers and France had existed relations since the last century. But the ill-judged Mexican expedition and the menacing aggrandisement of Prussia soon reproduced the embarrassments and foreign complications in Europe that have so often paralysed French activity in countries across the ocean. After the thunderous crash and disaster of 1870–71, the Third Republic sought ways and means of repairing its losses and reviving the ancient colonial renown of France, just at the moment when an era of impatient and jealous commercial enterprise was setting in among the leading nations of Europe. The doctrine that expansion abroad was essential to internal tranquillity had engrossed the German and Italian Governments; the rebuilding of fleets had aroused keen anxiety about naval stations; the uneasy stirring of the working masses had sharpened the sense of the importance of additional markets. Moreover, the vast accumulation of capital, the constant multiplication of mechanical power, and the steady depression of agriculture, are gradually converting Europe into an immense association for the supply of cheap manufactures to the rest of the world. And since the almost universal system of Protection shackles the free interchange of goods between European States, it is driving the producing countries to seek fresh outlets for their commodities in order to maintain an increasing population of artisans. To these forces and circumstances is principally due the recent competition for protectorates or spheres of influence in different quarters of the uncivilised world, and in particular that inrush upon the dark continent, which M. Ferry has compared to a grand national steeplechase across Equatorial Africa.

That France, a country with two long seaboards and a great colonial tradition, should yield readily to this general movement, and should look round the world for new domains or commercial *débouchés*, is easily intelligible. But the virgin soil of the temperate zones, where Europeans can cultivate and multiply freely, has long been preoccupied by the Teutonic races. The days are past when New England or New France could be proclaimed by hoisting a flag and assuming sovereignty over some wide fertile region inhabited only by wandering savages; nor is there now room in Asia for the establishment of another empire on the Russian or English scale. It was, nevertheless, still possible to enlarge and strengthen the position of France in North and West Africa; and on the shores of South-Eastern Asia, beyond Burmah and Siam, there were some minor rulerships

over which China exercised a disputable jurisdiction. Accordingly Tunis has been converted, mainly for strategic reasons, into a dependency; while by a series of hardy expeditions, military and exploratory, the French are making themselves masters of a great interior dominion along the Niger and its affluents. In Asia they have brought under their protectorate the kingdom of Annam, which secures their command of the whole coast line between Saigon and Tonquin. They are now in armed occupation of the deltaic lands along the lower courses of two great rivers, the Mekong and the Red River, which drain the half-explored countries interposed between North Burmah and South-west China, and their outposts have been pushed up inland to the frontier of the Chinese province of Yunnan.

By the intelligent and energetic Frenchmen who are now advocating what we should call a forward colonial policy, the present situation is regarded as full of promise for the renaissance of their country's power and prosperity beyond the seas. It only remains, according to this party, to avoid the old administrative mistakes, to employ the proper methods, to profit by the example of one's own failures and one's neighbour's success, for the discovery of the right road to colonial and commercial fortune. The spirit of progress, writes M. Deschamps with characteristic neatness of expression, is not the monopoly of a party, but the consequence of a principle; and that principle he defines by the axiom that without liberal institutions in the mother-country no liberal colonial system is practicable. The deduction is that under a republican government the narrow, centralising, and despotic traditions of the old *régime* are likely to be set aside. He is, nevertheless, compelled to admit mournfully that they have as yet by no means disappeared, that the French colonies are still exposed to bureaucratic caprice, that their commerce is still in leading strings, and that except in three privileged colonies the laws and local regulations may everywhere be changed or discarded at will by a simple ministerial decree. Uniformity of administrative procedure in colonies which differ widely in manners, climate, and population; heavy cost of maintenance thrown on the home revenues, and, above all, a superfluity of officials whose rules and ordinances are too rigidly enforced—these are the existing defects and systematic drawbacks pointed out by our author. Emigration goes on no faster than heretofore to any colony, except to Algiers; and only in Algiers has commerce shown any visible increase, for the trade with the more dis-

tant French dependencies is mainly in foreign hands. The Frenchman will not travel far afield; he does not sufficiently study the geography or resources of distant countries; he even neglects, according to M. Deschamps, the developement of his own physical capabilities. In the meantime America is closed to further acquisitions by a European power; Russia and England are quietly dividing all Asia outside China; and the indefatigable Anglo-Saxon is invading Africa on three sides.

Such is M. Deschamps's rather desponding account of the actual state of colonial affairs in France, which cannot yet be called healthy. And we must own that, after this exposition of the distaste or inaptitude of his countrymen for colonisation and the jostling competition of commercial nations, the remedies that he proposes appear to us somewhat inadequate.

'In my opinion, the colonial question may be reduced to a question of education. We have to repair our national temperament. . . . After all, what is wanted? Simply the reformation of our secondary education. This education, applied to the rich and the middle classes, so as to form the disposition of those in particular who may have capital to invest and who, by their superior intellectual culture, will always control the political fortunes of the nation, should aim at endowing them with all the qualities that are requisite for commerce and colonisation. . . . . Let us then reform our *Lycées* and our secondary instruction, or let us give up colonising; there is no middle course.'

Such is the final exhortation with which the book comes to an end. After so comprehensive a survey of the various phases of the colonial question in France during nearly three centuries, this conclusion impresses the English reader with a sense of feebleness and disproportion. It will remind him of the prescriptions with which the French doctrinaires of the last century proposed to cure the maladies which the Revolution swept away by a much more drastic treatment.* We decline to believe that public instruction will change the inveterate habits or predilections of a nation; and we think it possible to show that much of the constitutional weakness which still affects French colonisation may be removed by self-discipline and a judicious administrative regimen. M. Deschamps seems to us to handle his subject too much after the manner of the literary and philosophic school that has so long prevailed in France; he does not

* 'La seule garantie qu'ils inventent contre l'abus du pouvoir, c'est l'éducation publique.'—De Tocqueville, 'Ancien Régime.'

get to close quarters with existing facts, or grapple immediately with particular cases by the light of experience and local observation.

When, however, we turn from the literature of colonisation as represented by 'La Question Coloniale' to the recent writings of those who have studied that question at first hand, in the field of practical administration, we find the same problems and difficulties recognised; but they are more definitely stated, and much more resolutely attacked. By far the most important possession of France beyond sea is Algeria. Her two latest acquisitions are Tonquin and Tunis, both of which are classed by French writers as colonies. M. Ferry, in his book 'Le Tonkin et la Mère 'Patrie,' defends the annexation of the Tonquin province of Annam as a masterpiece of colonial policy. The book which stands second of those under notice here, 'La Poli-'tique Française en Tunisie,' has been evidently written by an able and very competent hand, to show that France is again developing an aptitude for colonisation. Whether any of these three dependencies would be ranked among colonies according to the English acceptation of the term may be thought doubtful; for with us the idea of a colony is associated with the occupation by settlers of lands that have been little more than the hunting grounds or pasturage of wandering tribes. We do not place in that category those Asiatic and African possessions which have been originally acquired for commercial or maritime purposes; and in India we have been so far from endeavouring to attract English immigrants that for a long time we steadily discouraged them. The fact, therefore, that French writers treat the annexation of Cochin China and Tunis as evidence of a revival of their colonial successes, and that they should have made great exertions to draw an inflow of French settlers toward Algiers and Tunis, marks a fundamental difference in economic character and natural capabilities between the colonies of England and France. We lay some stress on this point, because it appears to us that the omission to distinguish clearly between countries that are suited for European immigration and those that are not, may have led the French Government into some of the embarrassments that have hampered the administration of their North African dependencies.

The establishment of a French protectorate in Tunis was mainly the outcome of causes and consequences that have

invariably, from the days of the Roman republic to the reign of the Egyptian Khedive Ismael, been fatal to the independence of a semi-barbarous rulership in contact with high civilisation. Five-and-twenty years ago the Bey of Tunis was struggling in the nets of the European money-lender; he had raised heavy loans at high interest; he was hopelessly bankrupt, and he was being scientifically squeezed to the last piece of silver. In financial dealings, at any rate, Tennyson's grey barbarian is very much lower than the Christian child, and with the Jew he has no chance at all. So the crash came when the Bey was persuaded, in 1863, to issue a fresh and final loan of thirty-five millions of francs, of which he received about five millions, while the balance went to the private account of his own high treasurer and to the foreign financiers. Over-taxation inevitably followed, producing of course the usual insurrection which is the only Oriental method of protesting against scandalous misgovernment. Two things saved Tunis from utter ruin: the revolt of her people, which frightened the peace-loving usurer, and the mutual jealousies of France and Italy, who both claimed the honour of intervening to save the situation by imposing a protectorate. At the Berlin Congress M. Waddington very skilfully enlisted the support of Lord Salisbury, whose judicious backing of France secured for her the prize.

Nothing is easier than an armed occupation of an uncivilised State, but with the suppression of open resistance begin the real difficulties of European intervention. When you have successfully invaded a State of well-knit civilisation and highly organised institutions, and have forced the sovereign to sign a treaty, you are entitled, in Europe, to regard your risks and troubles as nearly ended. When all this has been accomplished in a barbarous country with a warlike population, the invader must consider that the most arduous of his tasks is still before him. The strongholds may be his, but the armed population is gathering everywhere beyond cannon-range; the sovereign subsides into a useless and discredited puppet; the native officials rob worse than ever under the foreigner's irresistible but ignorant authority; the whole country remains in a condition of chronic unrest, waiting to see what the enemy will do next, and watching for every opportunity of annoying him. The predicament involves all the evils of annexation without its advantages, for the obvious and simple reason that it lacks finality, that it throws out of gear an old-fashioned system

of government, which suits the people as being 'a poor thing 'but their own,' without substituting anything in its place.

Moreover, there was no unanimity of views or opinions upon the Tunisian question at Paris. In France there has always been a large party that is strenuously hostile to all colonial extension or acquisition of transmarine territory; and this party clamoured vehemently for withdrawal from Tunis. Meanwhile, the course of affairs in that country was passing through the phases that are invariably evolved by half-measures and an untenable situation. The French began, much as we did in the Punjab after the first war of 1846, with a treaty stipulating for the retention of posts by their troops, and leaving the government to be nominally managed by the Bey with the advice of a French resident. They soon found, as we did, that it is impossible to govern through the agency of a ruler whose real power has been destroyed; and they were forced to take into their own hands, after a campaign, the executive authority. In 1882 Gambetta proposed and carried a protectorate that introduced the system of maintaining the native ruler's dignity and governing as much as possible by native agency according to native customs, but reserving in French hands the supreme administrative power, the army, the principal civil and political offices, and all foreign relations. So far as can be gathered from the book now before us, this experiment is being worked out with great patience and shrewdness, and with very fair results up to the present time. The question is whether such a system has in it the elements of durability and permanent success.

In managing their modern colonies the French have always been embarrassed throughout this century by difficulties of two kinds. The first is that they have no colonial army, and that the French Government cannot send conscript troops into remote or unhealthy countries without incurring the profound resentment of the French peasantry, who detest expatriation on compulsory service, or indeed on any service whatever. The book on Tunis describes forcibly the pressure brought to bear on French deputies by electors whose sons have been sent for some incomprehensible reason of State to fight and die in Africa or Cochin China:—

'Nowadays we are all soldiers. Fathers consent to a temporary separation, for as short a time as possible, from their sons, and are willing to send them to join the colours for the defence of our territory. But how when they see them exposed, if ill luck will have it so, to the chance of being transported to unknown countries, of having to go to

fight savages, Hovas or Black Flags, in Madagascar, in China, or in Africa! . . . . . In this manner thousands of families live in a state of trepidation that is very contagious. Influential electors besiege their deputies; the deputies, fearing that they may be held responsible for these accursed campaigns, make speeches, ask questions of the government; and if by any mischance there occurs a temporary check, if the result of a battle is dubious, the whole Chamber is seized with emotion.'

'Il n'y a pas de politique coloniale sans armée coloniale,' is the writer's brief sentence upon this side of his nation's colonial system.

The second kind of difficulties come out of treating as a colony an African or Asiatic country which is already in the possession of some vigorous race, as in Algiers or Tunis, or of an industrious and numerous population, as on the Indo-Chinese littoral. The French are not much given to invest capital in foreign commerce or in the carrying trade across the ocean. Their method of utilising a new possession too often reduces itself to an extensive exportation of Frenchmen —who are invited to take up unoccupied lands—and to the creation of many indifferently paid appointments. But what an alien race, recently subdued, dislikes is a number of subordinate foreign officials, and what such a people hates above all things is to see strangers settling upon the land. When the climate is bad and the native intractable, the attempt at colonisation meets with obstacles and resistance of a sort hardly known in European colonies of the earlier type. Of these things the French have had long and sad experience in Algiers, where they began by pouring in French immigrants, who died like flies, cursing their own Government with their latest breath, and where for fifty years they have been contending with the indomitable spirit of Arab revolt against a too symmetrical civilisation. The intermittent changes in their form of constitution at home, and the incessant controversies between the colonial and anti-colonial parties, have considerably intensified the local difficulties, because ministers and governors have had no leisure for working out administrative systems by tentative experiments, as in British India, but are swayed to and fro by the caprice of uninstructed public opinion in France.

Now it may be readily admitted that in their management of Tunis the French have avoided a repetition of the same serious mistakes that had been made on their first occupation of Algiers. They have not annexed the country out of hand, and poured in French colonists indiscriminately. They have discovered and applied to their new dependency

the system of protectorates, of which the English in India have long made extensive use, and which the Romans employed many centuries earlier. They have adopted the method of placing the chief departments of administration in the hands of selected European officers, leaving all subordinate business to be conducted by natives, as much as possible according to local laws and customs. They have undertaken in this manner the reform of the revenue, of the proprietary tenures, and the finance; and with regard to the courts of justice they have appointed a special body of French judges to deal with cases concerning Europeans. The native Tunisian is still subject to his own tribunals. The new policy, in short, is to develope the resources of the country and to make room for French colonists without displacing the inhabitants, to govern natives through native agency, and generally to uphold the rough old-fashioned Mahomedan rulership by the side of a civilised administration that is to be gradually extended. The account given in this book of the ways and means devised for promoting this extremely complicated experiment in colonisation is well worth the study of Englishmen; for wherever protectorates exist in Asia or Africa—and they are fast multiplying—wherever it is necessary to disguise virtual annexation, and to mitigate the unpopularity of foreign rule, the superior power is everywhere searching for some practicable solution of very similar problems. There is a substantial demand for some intermediate form of supreme control that, while it gives the protecting State the advantages of political dominion and welcomes European immigrants, will also maintain the native population in tranquillity and contentment under their own separate administration.

It must be admitted that the political ingenuity of the English has never yet been set to frame the delicate machinery that is likely to be required for this kind of duplex governmental action. We have done fairly well in the plantation of colonies; we may, perhaps, claim to be experts in ruling Orientals, and we have tried various forms of the protectorate. We have not yet attempted the task of combining European colonisation with the disguised yet substantial administration of a subject kingdom, like Tunis, of the Oriental type. Where we have colonised the land, as in America or Australia, the native races have dwindled and disappeared; where we have annexed conquered kingdoms or set up protectorates, as in Asia, we have never attempted to colonise. We have introduced capital and taken up lands

for special industries, as in Ceylon and Assam, but for an Asiatic dependency we have never encouraged European immigration, as the French have done and are doing in Tunis and Algiers. We have never, in short, tried to plant a colony side by side with a semi-civilised indigenous people in the same country. Our success in India is undoubtedly due to the fact that we have meddled very little with the occupation of the land by the natives.

Again, the English have occasionally endeavoured, in their earlier Asiatic experiments, to retain an Asiatic form of government under the superior direction of European officials; but the system has always been shortlived, tending rapidly toward failure. Nowhere (except in Egypt, where the experiment is not just now very promising) have we been able to manage upon any important scale the principle of double government, according to which the native ruler reigns while the foreigners govern. And recent events prove that in Egypt the machinery suffers much friction and reactionary opposition. Nor have we any dependency that admits a constant influx of Europeans to compete in local trade and agriculture with fanatic and suspicious Mahomedans. Where an Asiatic State is placed under the English protectorate, our principle is to interfere as little as possible with the ruler's internal administration, except for the security of the very few Europeans who may be within his jurisdiction; and we introduce very few reforms. The attempt to reform a native government, or to mix up European with Oriental officialism, is very apt to bring on annexation. Where English laws and officers have been brought in, the native ruler has sooner or later been set aside; where the native ruler has been maintained, English laws do not run, and the political resident is the only English authority. In Tunis this distinction, whatever it may be worth, has not been preserved. 'The fiction of the protectorate,' says the writer whom we have been quoting, 'is made serviceable to 'all concerned.' It saves the French from being obliged to construct an administration that would have been costly and exacting, by employing the cheap rude agency of the indigenous institutions; and it eases the casuistical conscience of the Tunisians, who can submit to the French dominion without religious scruples, because the Bey is still the mouthpiece of all ordinances, and ostensibly the fountain of all the authority that Mussulmans are required to obey. 'Can 'any one calculate,' he adds, 'how much blood and money 'this simple fiction has spared us?' Undoubtedly the

measures taken by the French Government are in themselves wise and statesmanlike. The charge of Tunisian affairs has been transferred from the Colonial to the Foreign Office at Paris; the salaries of French officials have been raised and their numbers limited; the consular jurisdictions have been abolished; the finances are carefully managed; the land revenue has been settled; the public expenditure is cut down; the schools have been improved. Nevertheless, the impression left on us by this well-written book is that, although the handling of Tunis shows a great advance in political science over the early French dealings with Algeria, yet a protectorate of this complexion is nothing more than veiled annexation; a transparent mask drawn over the too familiar features of European conquest. The author himself does not seek to conceal the danger that the first quarrel between the Bey and the French Resident, or between the European colonist and the Arab, may raise a clamour in France that will force the central government to sweep away the native *régime* and convert Tunis into a French department. We may add that, if the French contrive to avoid this obvious danger, they will have solved a problem that has invariably puzzled the English, and will have qualified themselves to give us lessons, instead of taking them, in the prodigiously difficult task of ruling inferior civilisations.

In the meantime some of the special difficulties inseparable from the hybrid species of colony planted by the French in North Africa are still felt even in Algeria, which was originally established on a basis of annexation pure and simple. The lands of Algeria have been widely brought into cultivation by European capital and labour; there is a very considerable and fairly prosperous population of European colonists, and additional allotments are in demand. But the natives have by no means been expropriated; on the contrary, they are now carefully preserved and protected; they remain also on the land, and in the outlying parts they retain their primitive modes of life and their customary tenures. The land is still held by them under the Mahomedan law; great districts are inalienably possessed by the tribe; the woodlands and unreclaimed tracts are still occupied by pastoral and roving communities. In this state of things it must be obvious that the old and the new society, the European and the Arab, must find their interests and ideas frequently crossing and sometimes colliding. And the administration of a dependency so constituted must require

very delicate adjustment of discordant elements, intimate local knowledge, close contact with all classes of the people, and large authority vested in the chief executive government on the spot, to whom should be left all details, and on whom should rest the primary responsibility. Legislation, in particular, as it would present special difficulties, would demand careful adaptation to specific needs and local conditions.

The Parliamentary Report on the Organisation and Attributions of the general Government of Algeria, submitted to the French Senate by M. Jules Ferry in 1892, furnishes some very instructive information in regard to the actual system and its results. M. Ferry is satisfied that the colony has made remarkable progress, and that, after many troubles and blunders, it is now emerging upon the firm ground of assured prosperity; but in the matter of administration and of sound policy towards the colonists and the natives he finds no improvement at all. Algeria, he observes, has a governor-general, but no government; for all power is slipping out of the governor-general's hands back into the possession of the central bureaux at Paris. By a process of what are called in the Report *les rattachements*, one department after another of the Algerian Government has been replaced by successive decrees under the direct authority of ministers of the supreme French Government, in whose name orders are issued by the *chefs de service* at Paris or by their subordinate departmental heads. The natural consequence is excessive centralisation, the absorption of all real executive power by the supreme Parisian officials, who pride themselves upon inflexible rules, upon long financial experience and wider range of views, and upon the free access to the best technical skill and advice obtainable at headquarters. It becomes their duty to correct the loose haphazard ways of a colony by the confirmed traditions and steady discipline of the metropolitan offices, and therefore to review all local proposals or measures from the loftier standpoint of ministerial judgement or political considerations, often suggested by Parliamentary pressure. The general result is described in the following quotation from the Report:—

'The Government of Algeria, at the present moment, is a dispersed and distracted Government. Admitting that only fragments of it are still to be found at the governor-general's residence, we may ask whether at least the power belongs to local influences, such as are represented by elected bodies. Or does the government rest exclusively with the ministerial chiefs at the metropolis? Is it bureaucratic,

parliamentary, or personal? The answer is that it is all these things at once, in a degree that varies incessantly according to times and persons. One may say that for the last twenty years the rule in Algerian affairs has been perpetual conflict, not merely conflict among the bureaux, but also an antinomy of ideas and systems combined with a war of interests.'

In short, the governor-generalship has been pulled to pieces among the central bureaux, has lost the privilege of appointing its own officers, has been deprived of financial control, and is reduced, for the most important matters, to the modest function of advising upon questions that are decided, with or without the governor-general's concurrence, at Paris.

What, according to M. Ferry, is the chief or predominant influence to which is attributable this remarkable tendency toward centralisation, which has been under all governments and in all times the bane of the French colonial system? Apparently it is to be found in the strong predilections that exist among the French colonists themselves for what M. Ferry calls Assimilation. Whereas, he says, the colonies of other nations, as they thrive and multiply, demand self-government, and are apt to sue for a divorce from the sovereign State; the French colonies, on the contrary, desire complete incorporation into it; they ask for the same laws, the same rights, the same political and administrative *régime*. They wish to assimilate the dependency in all respects to the mother country. As it is only natural that France should entertain cordially such wishes on the part of her expatriated citizens, under the Third Republic the assimilative policy has had full sway. In theory it implies nothing less than the transformation of Algeria into three departments, to be included in the list of the departments of France in Europe, with three prefects holding precisely the same position as at home. Although the reforms have not actually gone so far as this, yet the governor-general is, in M. Ferry's opinion, rapidly becoming a decorative superfluity. And the practical effect of the tendency is visible in the continued extension to the colony of procedure and ordinances that were originally framed for application to the circumstances of France. In this manner, for example, the effective control of the Algerian public works, and the direction of the posts and telegraphs, have been gradually detached from the local government, and have been absorbed by the metropolitan chiefs of those services. All the patronage in these departments naturally follows suit, leaving

the governor-general invested with the privilege, more ornamental than onerous, of expressing his opinion and making suggestions in regard to the appointments.

But the most striking part of M. Ferry's Report is that in which he describes at length the process of assimilation as it has been applied to the management of the Algerian forests. 'La question forestière est une des plus importantes du 'problème algérien'—the introduction of forest conservation into an uncivilised half-reclaimed country is, as Indian administrators know well, a delicate operation requiring great circumspection and intimate acquaintance with the needs and habits of the people. Unless minute attention is given to the working of strict forest laws over vast thinly populated tracts, their effect will be to produce that kind of widespread discontent and hardship which was probably felt by the inhabitants of the New Forest when it was cleared for hunting by the Plantagenet kings. In Algeria the Forest Service appears to have been subordinate to the governor-general up to 1878. But when, in that year, the general direction of all the French forests was made over to the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, a Forest Conservator was deputed from Paris, with orders to take possession, in the name of the department, of all Algerian woodland that might be managed on the same principles and by the same rules as in France. Although this officer reported only a small portion to be properly susceptible of such management, financial exigencies and the assimilative theory soon prevailed, and in a few years all the wooded waste lands of Algeria, whether covered by timber or stunted brushwood, seem to have been placed under the strict code which governs the working of the great State forests of continental France. The difference between a forest in France and a forest in Algiers is, as was said by the deputy from Oran, wide as the Mediterranean; for in Africa the word only applies in its original sense as meaning an outlying domain (*foris*), excluded from cultivation, and not necessarily, indeed not usually, tree-bearing. These scrubby Algerian wastes support pastoral and nomad tribes, numbering in all at least 500,000, who live by grazing cattle, by wood-cutting, by camels, and by a little wretched agriculture.

The effect of treating these wolds as a State domain subject to rigid forest laws, which totally interdict agriculture, and which place grazing and wood-gathering under the severest restrictions, is described and commented upon by M. Ferry in some very clear and cutting paragraphs.

Herdsmen and squatters cannot live a day in a State forest without incessantly breaking the departmental rules; they are, as the Report points out, perpetually *en état de délit*; they are subject daily to arrest, fines, and sequestration; they are at the mercy of petty forest officers, who have the power of compromising offences by accepting payment of damages. Under this system it can be easily understood that the Algerian forests pay their way, not by the sale of timber or other forest produce, but by prosecutions and the fines levied on the unhappy Arabs; so that while the average forest revenue is 477,000 francs, the amount exacted for breach of forest regulations rose in 1890 to nearly 1,659,000 francs. Upon the folly and injustice of such lamentable maladministration M. Ferry enlarges in terms of generous indignation which ought to arouse, or at least alarm, the most hidebound functionary of the Paris bureaux.

Meanwhile, and this is M. Ferry's chief point, the Algerian governor-general is powerless; he can pass a few minor orders, and he can sanction proposals submitted to him; but his authority lacks that finality which alone can give it irresistible weight. An independent governor-generalship and the assimilative policy are so manifestly incompatible that the question is only which of the two shall prevail. M. Ferry's Report concludes entirely in favour of strengthening the governor-general, making him responsible to the French Parliament through a single minister; and in this order of ideas, he observes, nothing is more reassuring or instructive than the examples given by England —*cette grande éducatrice de tous les peuples libres.* In reconstructing the Algerian constitution he would apparently take for his model the Government of India, and the precedent may be of much advantage to French reformers if they bear in mind certain substantial dissimilarities of situation and character that exist between the two dependencies. The source of almost all the present Algerian difficulties, of the mad assimilative theory, of the centralisation of the very powers that in India we are steadily decentralising, of the financial profusion and the troubles over land tenures, is to found in this—that Algeria is a conquered African kingdom which the French are trying to colonise. From the days of Richelieu to the days of Gambetta, assimilation has been one of the principles of French colonisation; the emigrant has been induced by State permission to settle in some new country, on the express condition that he shall retain his full citizenship, shall live under the same *régim-*

as he left at home, under the monarchical intendant or under the republican préfet. We must do Frenchmen the justice to add that they have usually been quite ready to raise the native inhabitant to their own level of civic equality; their philanthropy and their strong sense of human fraternity have, indeed, often led them to attempt the feat of sweeping away by edicts the irremediable distinctions of race.* But the result of such attempts has commonly been to multiply incongruities, and to dissatisfy both their compatriots and the natives. It is this system of colonisation, the plantation of a large body of Frenchmen in a land already occupied by an indigenous people, the consequent necessity of endeavouring to conciliate jarring interests, to distinguish between two races in the same country, to reconcile two forms of society, to protect the native, and to satisfy the enterprising colonist who appeals to his representative at Paris against colonial ordinances—which so seriously complicates the colonial question in Algiers and Tunis.

England, we repeat, has no such complications to unravel. She has always been able to draw a broad distinction between her colonies on one side and her Oriental dependencies or commercial settlements on the other: for it must always be remembered by Frenchmen that India differs in every possible respect from an English colony; that it has, indeed, been governed, up till very lately, on a strictly anti-colonial policy, on the principle of excluding Europeans, and of special legislation for natives. We have no doubt that the vigorous Report of M. Ferry will form the basis of several most necessary changes in the government of Algiers. Nevertheless the ideas of centralisation and assimilation, which lie at the root of all these administrative errors, are grafted so deeply on the temperament of the French nation, have grown so naturally out of their peculiarities as colonists, and out of the character and conditions of their recent colonies, that they can hardly be eradicated without much difficulty. Routine and administrative uniformity have hampered the colonies, so M. Deschamps tells us, since the reign of Louis XIV. They have always been overgoverned and overstocked with officials; while the policy of assimila-

* 'Nous avons condamné pour la seconde fois en 1848 les vieux principes de race et de couleur qui sont une insulte à l'humanité.'—Lehault.

tion began in Colbert's time with the failure of the old companies.

It is natural that in France the colonial reformer of the present day should be demanding the abandonment of this system—should be pressing for *une énergique décentralisation*, for the substitution of local self-government after the English fashion in some colonies, and in others of the Anglo-Indian governor-generalship with its immense personal authority. Under the centralising *régime*, which keeps the direction of affairs in tight hands at headquarters, the constant changes of the French ministry affect the continuity of colonial administration, not only by varying the policy, but by displacing the governors. From 1830 to 1882, in fifty-two years, there were fifty-one chiefs of the Algerian executive, and Tonkin has had eighteen in fifteen years. These defects are easily recognisable, but the remedies are not so very simple; for here again the character and composition of the French colonies in North Africa and South-east Asia interpose material obstacles. A homogeneous community, like Australia, may be left to its own devices; and for the management of our enormous Indian empire there is no choice but to leave the government unfettered. But where two races are confronting each other in the same dependency, and where the ruling race colonises, the case is very different. Where, especially, the colonies are also a heavy burden on the home exchequer, the question of decentralisation becomes entangled by a complication of interests. Self-government implies, in the first place, homogeneity of the population; for where there are antagonisms of faith, race, and interests, home rule will not flourish. In the second place, it implies financial self-support; for when large grants of money are made to a dependency, and when its military charges fall entirely on the home exchequer, the metropolis will certainly insist on superintending all this expenditure, on appointing the chief officers, and on reserving the general direction of local affairs. Now the French colonies have always weighed heavily on the budget of the French treasury; the funds for military operations, for road-making, for projects of economical developement, for the encouragement of agriculture, have usually depended on a vote of the French Chamber. The colonist has not been backward in demanding, through his deputies, fresh subsidies and a liberal consideration of his needs and his claims; for we are told that no Frenchman who consents to emigrate doubts that he has thereby laid his country under the obligation to assist and look after him.

It will be readily understood that in those circumstances there may be some reasonable hesitation in France about enfranchising the colonies from the tutorial supervision of the mother-country, although this has been undoubtedly excessive and not always judicious. Englishmen will not be slow to admit that to French administrators the colonial problem presents complexities that are but slightly known to themselves.*

In the foregoing pages we have dealt principally with the history of the early French colonies in North America and of their recent conquests in North Africa. We have shown that, as colonies, the latter are widely distinguished from the former acquisitions, and we have briefly alluded to a third—the latest—class of dependencies, which, though ranked among her colonies by France, do not really fall into that category at all. Tonkin and Cochin China represent a renewed attempt of the French to establish themselves on the shores of South Asia; they embody the policy of reviving commercial relations and naval strength in that part of the world which was formerly called the East Indies. There can be no doubt that the task which France has undertaken in those regions is arduous; it is, like so many of her distant enterprises, not so much the fruit of the spontaneous energies of her people as of measures planned, with very definite and reasonable aims, by her Government. It lacks, therefore, the impulse of popularity and predisposing circumstance. The rise of the British dominion in India was favoured by a concatenation of singularly advantageous conditions—the dissolution of the Moghul Empire, the consolidation of England's naval superiority, the resources supplied to the East India Company by an immensely profitable commerce, the readiness with which the Indians themselves joined the army that gradually subdued the whole country. None of these advantages are now possessed by the French in Asia. Their conquests have as yet brought

* We believe that the colonial revenue of the French colonies does not in any of them suffice to cover the colonial expenses, even of the civil administration. They all receive subsidies from the mother country, amounting to a lump sum of several millions sterling, and this does not include the colonial military charges. The 'Budget Colonial' annually voted by the Chamber does not enable us to state with accuracy the amount of this disbursement, for it omits some of the most important and costly of the French transmarine possessions—notably, Algeria. But the 'Statesman's Manual' for 1893 contains a full statement of the particulars, as far as they can be ascertained from official documents, to which we may refer our readers.

little commerce and less revenue; they have very long and insecure lines of sea communication; they have the greatest difficulty in forming a native army, and their own troops detest Asiatic service; the funds for roads and military works must be drawn from France. Above all, they are confronted, on the frontiers of Tonquin, by the jealousy and half-veiled hostility of China. In the last century it was easy enough for Frenchmen and Englishmen to elbow their way and hold their own among the upstart Rajahs and Nawabs who were contending in South India for the spoils of the Moghul. In the present century those who seek dominion in East Asia are soon brought into contact with a well-armed and well-organised empire, not without influence in the sphere of European diplomacy. So far as the English are concerned, it will be a mistake for them to regard with anxiety or disapprobation the legitimate endeavours of a friendly nation to recover some of the ground lost in Asia by the old quarrels of a hundred years ago. Our position in India is unassailable from that quarter, and we ourselves have no wish to extend our Burmese borders further eastward into Indo-China. The French occupation of the two maritime provinces of Annam and Cochin China may promote civilisation and the spread of commerce; but we believe that the opportunity of founding another great dominion in the Far East has, for the Western nations, irrevocably passed away.

In this rapid survey of the colonial question in France there are many obvious omissions. We have not alluded at all to the islands that France possesses in various seas, nor to the remarkable expansion of her African territories or spheres of influence on the Congo and the Niger. We have only attempted a summary examination of those dependencies whose past history and present administration seem best to exemplify the traditional policy of France, and possibly the idiosyncrasies of her people. We entirely sympathise with the French statesmen who for two centuries have been striving to carry their flag into distant lands, to expand the power and multiply the interests of their country, and who believe that a great population confined within its own borders suffers from impoverishment of character. When emigration abroad falls into disuse, the persistent struggle for existence without lowering the standard of comfort finds relief in a steady decrease of the population at home. This tendency of the French people to diminish, which has been recently much commented upon by their own writers, may be

counteracted by encouraging colonisation and the employment abroad of French capital; but, on the other hand, it is a tendency most unfavourable to emigration, which it must in time extinguish. And France is still suffering, now as in the time of Louis XIV., from the entanglement of continental wars, and from the ever-present risks of hostility with her neighbours on a long land frontier. Her Government cannot easily spare men or money for distant and difficult enterprises, which are by no means universally popular in the country and may damage a ministry by failure; while the effect of universal military conscription is known to be adverse to colonisation. Men do not like being recalled from the other side of the world to join a regiment in the event of a war; so that the true French emigrant is apt, as we have heard, to choose America or some foreign colony where the summons cannot be enforced.

We trust, however, that many of these obstacles may be surmounted by those statesmen who are at work upon the reform and revival of French colonisation, seeing that the interest of England, as a near neighbour, cannot lie on the side of confining so restless a people closely within European limits. The spheres of transmarine dominion or influence possessed by France and England respectively are for the most part well separated, and where they seem likely to touch each other, as on or beyond the Siamese border, the English have far the stronger position. We may therefore regard with friendly interest the augmented attention that is evidently attracted just now in France to the colonial question, where M. Ferry's Report proves that the drawbacks and defects of the existing system in Algeria are being studied with earnestness and admirable intelligence. We have endeavoured to explain the peculiarity of the colonial situation in North Africa, and we have noticed the inveterate proclivity, now as formerly, of the French administrative mind toward centralisation, bureaucratic departmentalism, and that curious principle of assimilation which seems bred partly out of the French passion for equality, intermixed with a kind-hearted sentiment towards subject races, and partly out of a strong taste for symmetrical arrangements. But the system is capable of great and valuable improvements, of which the most important have now been suggested by M. Ferry. If French politicians can find time to occupy themselves seriously with this important question, we have little doubt that they will succeed before long in placing their Mediterranean territories upon a permanent basis of strength and prosperity.

ART. IV.—1. *History of the English Parliament, together with an Account of the Parliaments of Scotland and Ireland.* By G. BARNETT SMITH. Two volumes, 8vo. London: 1893.

2. *Commentaries on the History of England, from the Earliest Times to* 1865. By Professor MONTAGU BURROWS. Edinburgh: 1893.

3. *Parliamentary Government in England; its Origin, Developement, and Practical Operation.* By the late ALPHÆUS TODD, LL.D., C.M.G. New edition, abridged and revised by SPENCER WALPOLE. London: 1892.

4. *The Law and Custom of the Constitution.* By Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Bart. Oxford: 1892.

IF we examine the early polity of the English people, we shall find that it contained three vital and necessary institutions—the witan, the shire-moot, and the kingship. The history of Parliament is the history of the process by which the essential powers and offices of these institutions became absorbed by and fused into one sovereign and imperial body—that High Court which has become in fact and in right what the royal power is in theory, 'over all persons 'and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil, within these 'its dominions supreme.' To look down the avenues of time and to note how the legislature of these islands has gradually acquired and converted to its own uses every principle of life and energy in the constitution, is to realise that the story of a political institution may be fraught with as much —nay, with a greater human interest than even the life of some hero of his kind. The vicissitudes of its fortune, the struggles, the difficulties, and the triumphs of the English Parliament, when fully understood, appeal as strongly to the sense of romance as the woes and victories of a Cæsar or a Cromwell. What can fire the imagination more than the thought that the reeve and his four men, mere unlearned village churls, without either authority or influence, who in Anglo-Saxon times attended the shire-moot to speak for their township, and to see 'folk-right' done, were unconsciously giving life to a principle which was to affect the whole modern world—a principle the secret of which was undiscovered or ignored at Athens and at Rome, in spite of all the wisdom and all the ingenuity of the philosophers and politicians who thronged the areopagus or the forum? We can guess how unwillingly our forefathers tramped in storm

and rain, over wind-swept downs, or through the mire of flooded meadows to where the folk of the shire were gathering at some giant oak, near a demon-haunted cromlech, or within the ruined vallum of a deserted Roman camp. Would it have made amends for their hardships could the 'select 'men' have seen in vision the future of representative institutions? If Merlin had stepped forth out of the shadow of the oak-tree or from behind the stones of the Druid circle, he might have told in prophecy how the four men and the reeve, by answering for their township in the shire-moot, were supplying the solvent which had hitherto been sought in vain for the ills of democratic government, and how the principle of representation was destined to find a middle way between mob rule and autocracy, and to combine obedience to the fundamental and necessary law that the few must rule, with the essential equity that mankind shall be self-governed, and that the will of the majority shall in the end prevail. He might have pointed out that, by means of the principle they were putting into practice, their country would enjoy an empire far wider and far more secure, as well as far more beneficent, than that of Rome herself, and that, by the very same right by which the representatives of the townships met in the shire-moot, men would one day meet at Thorney Island, in the marshes of the Thames, to give laws to all Britain and to issue commands that would be heard and obeyed by the Ganges and the Nile. The secret they had solved in the woods and fields would likewise serve to rear beyond the Atlantic an English State no less august and fraught with a fate no less awful than their own, and would secure, in the New World as in the old, freedom without anarchy, the reign of law without oppression. Nay, more; this discovery of the English kin would carry the gift of ordered liberty wherever the English tongue was spoken, whether by the icefields of Labrador or in lands than which none could be more remote from the island the English had wrested from the Britons.

Nor should they keep the secret for themselves alone. Foreign nations should eagerly imitate their example, till not a civilised land upon the world's face should be without some share in the benefits of the principle that sprang to life in the shire-moots of England. Such a prophecy, had it been made, ought no doubt to have proved as awe-inspiring and as soul-stirring as it was true. We cannot doubt, however, as to the manner in which it would have been actually received by the freemen of the shire, whether in Kent or

Somerset, Norfolk or Essex. As soon as the superstitious awe caused by the apparition of the Celtic mage had abated, and the 'folk-moot' had recovered its presence of mind, we may be perfectly certain that 'the good sense of the 'meeting' would have condemned so unwarranted an interruption of the business in hand. The practical instinct of the English would have asserted itself, and would have prevailed to make those present feel that it was sheer nonsense to say that it was any alleviation of the worry of leaving home to come to the shire-moot to be told that by so doing the problem of popular government was being solved for future ages. 'Of course it was necessary to meet, for the 'government of the shire must be carried on and folk-right 'be done, but the less said about the delights of the process 'the better. Besides, there was plenty of practical business 'to be got through, and they had better do that before they 'indulged in dreams of the future. If they could get the 'broken bridge on the Fosse-way properly repaired, it would 'be worth a hundred triumphs which neither they nor their 'sons were ever likely to see.' In some such terms as these, and with a certain surly equanimity, we may be sure that the men of the shire would have desired the presiding ealdorman or bishop to pass on to the next business before the moot.

Englishmen, however, who look back into the records of the past know that Merlin, since it was allowed to him to 'look into the seeds of time and say which grain should 'grow and which should not,' might quite truly have made such a prophecy. It is the principle of representation that has made government based upon the whole body of the people possible, and the principle of representation as it exists in Parliament descends from the reeve and the four men who came to the county court in Anglo-Saxon and Norman times. The seeds from which the principle of political representation might have sprung were doubtless sown plentifully elsewhere, both in England and in other Teutonic lands, but the fact remains that it was here, and not elsewhere, that the roots struck and began to grow.

But, though Parliament derives from the shire-moot the principle which differentiates it from all the councils and popular assemblies of ancient times, whether gathered within sight of Hymettus and the blue waters of the Ægean, by the Tiber or the Arno, or on the lagoons of the Adriatic, it is not as heir of the shire-moot, but of the witan, that its highest claims can historically be made good. It is

because it stands in the place of, and in this sense *is*, the witan of the Angles and the Saxons that the High Court of Parliament claims and exercises that supreme authority which called William and Mary to the throne, and made law that Act of Settlement under which her present Majesty, and not the wife of Prince Louis of Bavaria, is right and lawful Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. By right of hereditary succession Maria Theresa of Modena is our sovereign. It is solely in virtue of an Act of Parliament that we are ruled by her gracious Majesty Victoria. The witan of the Anglo-Saxons was a great council of the wise men of the realm, not merely summoned by the king to advise him, as the great men of some Eastern kingdoms are summoned to give their aid and advice, but possessing a distinct and independent existence. Its powers, no doubt, waned or waxed with the power and character of the king and with the circumstances of the time; but in theory it always, and in practice it often, possessed the right of electing and deposing kings, of assisting the king in choosing ealdormen and bishops, of dealing with the wealth of the State, of imposing taxes and of 'voting supplies, and so 'deciding peace and war,'* and of 'joining in the making of 'laws, and sitting as a high court of justice over all persons 'and all causes.' It is true that the vehement self-assertion of the Norman kings and the complex administrative constitution created by the Angevin Henry tended to depress the body which had once been the witan; but in theory the powers it had once possessed never died out. They lay dormant, but not dead, in the four councils—the Commune Concilium, the Magnum Concilium, the Concilium Ordinarium, and the Concilium Privatum †—into which, according to the researches of the ablest modern investigators, the gathering of the *sapientes* had been split. The prerogatives of the witan could not, however, have long remained dormant or semi-dormant in the Councils of the king without suffering change and decay. By a fortunate accident, before all recollection of them had disappeared, they were brought into contact with one of the oldest and most practical of early English institutions, and from this contact sprang into life a body, new in form though old in fibre and origin, and capable not only of

* Bishop Stubbs's Introduction to 'Select Charters.'

† See Sir William Anson's 'Law and Custom of the Constitution,' and the note by Mr. Spencer Walpole on p. 18 of Tod's 'Parliamentary Government in England.'

restoring the rights of the witan, but of adding to them and enlarging them on every side. Our Norman and Angevin kings found in the shire-moots, or county courts, as they came to be called in later times, a convenient machinery for the raising of taxes and the enforcing of justice. But in these county courts the principle of representation was at work in the custom which obliged the reeve, the four men, and the priest of every township to attend the meetings of the shire called by the king's ministers and judges. 'Præ-'positus et sacerdos et quatuor de melioribus villæ assint pro 'omnibus qui nominatim non erunt ad placitum submoniti.' Thus speaks the compilation of laws and customs called the 'Leges Henrici Primi.' Here was the germ of our representative institutions waiting to be waked to life. 'In hoc 'signo vincimus' might have been the motto of the men who thus bore to the shire court our parliamentary Labarum. Tentatively, blindly, at haphazard, and little by little the king began to use this convenient principle of representation, now for making inquiries, now for taxing, now for declaring and determining what were the customs or privileges belonging to a particular district. At last the notion took shape, that just as men came from the townships to the county court, so might they come from the county court to the great council of the realm. Accordingly, and after one or two 'false starts,' as we may be permitted to call them, there were summoned to Parliament, not merely the *sapientes* —the bishops, great lords and great officers of State who of right had sat in that witan under a Latin name which constituted the Council of our mediæval kings—but two knights from each shire, and two burgesses from each borough within the shire. It would be out of place to discuss here the minuter details of the process by which the union of the witan and the shire-moot was accomplished. Suffice it to say that by 1295 all the experimental and tentative stages were passed, and out of the blind movements of kings, nobles, and people had emerged a parliament for essential purposes in the form we know it to-day—a Parliament of Lords and Commons, possessing even then claims which only needed developement to secure its supremacy within the realm. Parliament considered as a whole is at one and the same time the witan and a concentration of the shire-moots; but while the Lower House bears traces of the county court, the Upper House, with its earls and bishops and its great officers of state, more nearly resembles the witan. The appearance is, however, deceptive, for it is the Lower

House which has contrived to obtain the largest share of the heritage of the witan. Only in one particular has the Upper House of Parliament managed to keep the Lower House from assuming the functions of the Anglo-Saxon assembly. The witan was the supreme judicial body of the realm, and this in theory, or rather in name, though not in fact, the House of Lords still remains. It is true that since the Judicature Act the final Court of Appeal, though called the House of Lords, is in reality a tribunal created by statute; but its traditionary and sentimental connection with the Upper House is so complete that we may be pardoned for saying that Parliament, considered as a whole, still retains every function of the body which conferred a legal title to the throne upon the Norman Conqueror of England.

It must not be supposed, however, that when Edward I. formed the first true Parliament the new body dreamt of claiming all the powers once wielded by the witan. The most important of these were destined to remain dormant for many years, and it is the fact that the Parliament of 1295 had so high a destiny before it, not its actual deeds, that makes its calling one of the most momentous events in the history of the world. The potentiality of supreme power which lay hidden in the body summoned to Westminster by the austere warrior, lawgiver, and king who once more bore an English name, is what renders its memory immortal. Judged by what it was, instead of by what it was to become, Edward's Parliament appears but an ordinary great council of nobles and bishops enforced by a body of rustic knights (*agrarii milites*) and homely burgesses, who acted together, not so much from any feeling that their interests were the same as because both country freeholders and town merchants were too lowly in position to be in sympathy with the barons, earls, and great ecclesiastics of the realm. The Commons had been summoned not for their convenience and pleasure so much as for the king's needs. It had been found by the cunning administrators who advised our early kings that a people so ignorantly impatient of taxation as the English would pay far more readily under the form of a gift than of a tax imposed from above, and hence the knights of the shire and the burgesses were got together at Westminster in order that they might commit the people to the paying of 'tenths and fifteenths' rather than in obedience to the principle that taxation and representation are 'united by a 'law of nature.' Yet when the shire courts had been brought

to Westminster as the Commons of England, and had been joined to the Great Council of the Realm under the name of Parliament, the first step had been taken in a journey which, unless violently interrupted, was certain to end in the virtual supremacy of Parliament. The origin of Parliament in the shire court and the witan made its final developement into the body now sitting at Westminster but a question of time. It is because people forget that the origin of our Parliament is to be sought in the free and primitive institutions of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors that they wonder how it was that the mediæval Parliaments of the Continent, which so often seemed to begin with more influence and authority than ours, ended so differently. The gardener takes in his hand two seeds differing but little in size and colour. Yet one when planted grows into a stately and beautiful flower, the other into a fugacious weed. The eye—even the microscope—can detect nothing which accounts for the fact that one has a destiny so august, the other so insignificant; and if for any reason we could go no further in our investigations, the matter would seem the blindest and most insoluble of mysteries. If, however, we inquire the origin of either seed, the mystery ceases to be a mystery. One seed is derived from a plant of strength and beauty, the other from a weed. Thus, when it is asked why should the Parliament of 1295 have grown into a sovereign legislature, while the Parliaments of other lands had no such developement, we may answer because the English Parliament was the offspring of the shire-moot and the witan, while the Parliaments which once seemed to resemble it so exactly, but which afterwards showed themselves so different, had another and less fortunate origin.

How the Parliament of 1295—the first Parliament which contained, as to-day, bishops, lords, and commons—gradually absorbed the whole political energy of the nation, and how the House of Commons then swallowed up the powers of the other constituent portions of Parliament; first, the powers of the king, who, it is hardly necessary to point out, is a part of the legislature, and next the powers of the House of Lords, is narrated in detail in the book the title of which is placed at the head of this article. In his 'History of the English 'Parliament' Mr. Barnett Smith has endeavoured to produce, as he tells us, 'a full and consecutive history of Parliament 'as a legislative institution from the earliest time to the pre-'sent day.' No such attempt, as he points out, has ever been made before, and his work can therefore claim to occupy

ground not previously broken. Mr. Barnett Smith had thus an opportunity such as is presented to few men—a subject not treated before on the lines chosen by him, and a theme of supreme interest, not merely to the 100,000,000 men of the English race who live under parliamentary government in some form or other, but to the whole world; for now that Japan has copied the representative institutions of the West, every continent has at least one deliberative assembly. In Europe there are some 16 parliaments, in Asia 1, in Africa 4, in America at least 60, and in Australasia 6. How has Mr. Barnett Smith availed himself of his opportunity? That he has succeeded in making either a work of great original research, or one which for its grasp and handling of constitutional principles will take rank with the leading authorities on the law and custom of Parliament, it is impossible to say. Mr. Barnett Smith has not added to our knowledge of the origins of parliamentary institutions, nor will his book ever be appealed to as embodying a better expression than can be found elsewhere of any of the principles involved in the subject of his work. His book is essentially a compilation, and makes little or no pretence of being anything else. The dicta of Stubbs, Hallam, and Freeman, of May and Anson, of Gneist and Lecky, Gardiner and Tod, are throughout relied on, and there is hardly a page on which marks of quotation are not or ought not to be found. But, though we are bound to state this fact in regard to Mr. Barnett Smith's work, we by no means do so by way of condemnation. Compilations, if well carried out, may serve many useful purposes. Mr. Barnett Smith, by selecting and arranging chronologically and consecutively the results of other men's researches, has produced a work which is unrivalled for purposes of reference. Parliament by Parliament, and year by year, he shows us how the mighty fabric of legislation contained in the statutes has been reared, and from his pages we obtain a sense of continuity and ordered developement which is not to be found elsewhere. The labour involved in such literary mosaic work must have been enormous, and though mosaic work may not be the highest art, it deserves praise and recognition when it is done conscientiously and effectively. Nor must we forget that Mr. Barnett Smith has avoided one of the faults usually committed by those who rely chiefly on the outcome of other men's labours. Unlike the ordinary compiler, he has not considered it necessary to be dull, nor has he, in order to prove his learning and his seriousness, omitted from his

book everything that is living and of human interest. He has given us on almost every page some excerpt either from the speeches of the great men who helped to make Parliament what it is, or from the laws, resolutions, and ordinances passed by Lords and Commons. In this way, and by giving us the *ipsissima verba* rather than dull abstracts, his book becomes a mine of parliamentary wit and wisdom, and every one of the successive crises through which our representative institutions have passed is illustrated by some contemporary quotation. In the most important instances, indeed, he has supplied us with beautifully executed facsimiles of original documents, and these add a feature to the work for which the reader has every cause to be grateful. For example, we have put before us by a photographic process which is exceedingly effective the holographic instructions issued by Charles I. to his attorney-general, Sir Edward Herbert, relative to the imprisonment of the five members, and we see for ourselves the clear, neat handwriting of the man who, had his political schemes been as successful in action as they were on paper, might have contrived to keep both his kingdom and his life. Hardly less interesting is Cromwell's signature on the indenture of the writ for Huntingdon, or the facsimile of the king's speech delivered to George III.'s first Parliament—that memorable document in which the sovereign, who 'gloried in the name of 'Britain,'* let it be clearly understood that he had no intention of keeping in the background in English politics. In spite, then, of the fact that Mr. Barnett Smith's volumes cannot claim to exhibit the results of original research, it must be allowed that not only are they of no ordinary value considered as a work of reference, but that they constitute a distinctly readable and entertaining book.

The history of the successive steps by which Parliament won its present position shows how instinctively, if unconsciously, the people of England in Parliament assembled realised the destiny before them. Edward I. had no sooner created his perfect Parliament than he was confronted with the struggle over the enactment which is generally known as the statute 'De Tallagio non concedendo'—a statute which during the days of Pym and Hampden was regarded with hardly less veneration than the Great Charter itself. Edward I. was in urgent need of money to carry on a war which he deemed essential for the welfare of the realm, and

* The spelling is the king's.

without the grant of Parliament he 'oppressed' the people, as they told him, with 'tallages, aids, and prises.' The barons, the bishops, and the commons resisted this oppression, and clamoured for a confirmation of the charters under which they held the imposts to be illegal. At last the king yielded, and by the statute, the Latin version of which received the name of 'De Tallagio non concedendo,' it was agreed that the king should levy no new taxes 'without the common 'consent of the realm and to the common profit thereof.' The controversy which led up to the establishment of the principle 'No taxation without grant of Parliament' was remarkable for several picturesque incidents. It was in the course of this struggle that the Earls Bohun and Bigod held their armed Parliament in the forest of Wyre, on the Welsh border, and organised the victory of the people. Modern writers have been inclined to doubt the patriotism of the earls, and have refused to allow them a place with Pym and Hampden among the heroes of Parliament because their motives were selfish; but we are inclined to agree with Mr. Barnett Smith when in this particular he prefers the verdict of Hallam to that of Stubbs. The demanding of 'certificates 'of origin' is as mistaken a practice in history as in trade, and if men have done great things, it is not wise to haggle too closely over their motives.

'I do not know,' says the great Whig historian, 'that England has ever produced any patriots to whose memory she owes more gratitude than Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. In the Great Charter, the base spirit and deserted condition of John take off something from the glory of the triumph, though they enhance the moderation of those who pressed no further upon an abject tyrant. But to withstand the measures of Edward, a prince unequalled by any who had reigned in England since the Conqueror for prudence, valour, and success, required a far more intrepid patriotism.'

This, we believe, is the view which will finally prevail in regard to the earls, who, when the headstrong Plantagenet told them that they must either obey him or hang, declared to his face that they would neither obey nor hang. Another picturesque incident in the struggle reported by Mathew of Westminster must not be omitted. It is one that shows Edward I. to have been true to the instinct which teaches an Englishman when faced by a political crisis of more than ordinary difficulty to call a public meeting. Charles James Fox, when he desired to raise England against the Parliament of his day, was wont to address the people in West-

minster Hall. In this practice he was forestalled by Edward I. On July 14, 1297, the king appeared in front of the Great Hall at Westminster, accompanied by his son Edward, and, standing upon a wooden platform erected for the occasion, addressed the 'free and independent' crowd which was gathered below him. 'With visible emotion'—we quote Mr. Barnett Smith's account of the matter—'he 'craved forgiveness for his past acts, admitting that he had 'not governed as well and peaceably as became a king.' 'Behold,' he added, 'I am going to expose myself to danger 'for your sakes. I pray you if I return receive me as you 'have me now, and I will restore to you all that has been 'taken. But if I return not, crown my son as your king.' The people, we read, were deeply moved by this address, but fortunately for England the king's appeal to the country was not successful, and, as we have seen, the result of the struggle over the illegal tallages was the establishment in theory, if not yet altogether in fact, of the principle 'No 'taxation but by grant of Parliament.' The powers of Parliament did not long rest from further developement. A series of chances forced Parliament in the next reign to assume that position of absolute supremacy which is involved in the deposition of a king. National supremacy in times of crisis doubtless belonged to Parliament as the heir of the witan, but its actual condition in the fourteenth century seemed hardly to warrant the arrogation of an authority so tremendous. It suited, however, the purposes of the nobles in arms, who deposed Edward II., to act through Parliament rather than merely by the strong arm and without warrant of law. Hence it happened that Parliament, almost in its own despite, was recognised as the supreme disposer of power in the kingdom, and a precedent was created which, after it had been again acted on at the deposition of Richard II., and at the accession of Henry VII., became strong enough to be the foundation of that parliamentary monarchy under which at the present moment we enjoy the peace and freedom that prevail throughout the British Empire. The Parliament that met at Westminster on June 17, 1327, was confronted with the most momentous question which could be addressed to the representatives of the people. They were formally and specifically asked whether King Edward the father [i.e. their crowned and 'anointed king] or his son Edward should reign over them.' They declared for the son, and a bill was thereupon introduced and passed which recited the misdeeds of Edward,

resolved that he had ceased to reign, and placed his son in his stead upon the throne of England. Nor was this all. Lest a scintilla of legal doubt should exist as to the completeness of the king's deposition, a deputation went to Kenilworth to take back from the king the fealty he had forfeited. Sir William Trussell thus addressed Edward, who was 'clad in a plain black gown,' to mark that he was no longer king :—

'I, William Trussell, proctor of the earls, barons, and others, having for this full and sufficient power, do render and give back to you, Edward, once King of England, the homage and fealty of the persons named in my procuracy; and acquit and discharge them thereof in the best manner that law and custom will give. And I now make protestation in their name that they will no longer be in your fealty and allegiance, nor claim to hold anything of you as king, but will account you hereafter as a private person, without any manner of royal dignity.'

This speech Mr. Barnett Smith should not have omitted from his History; for, as Mr. Green remarks, it shows better than any other words can do the nature of the step taken by Parliament. Sir William Trussell's speech did not, however, complete the formalities of deposition. It remained for Sir Thomas Blount, the steward of the household, to break his staff of office, 'a ceremony only used at a king's death,' and to declare all persons engaged in the royal service to be discharged. But though Edward II. was deposed by Parliament, his eldest son succeeded him, and Edward III., as soon as his father was dead, may therefore be said by extreme legitimists to have ruled by hereditary right. The deposition of Richard II. by Parliament affords, however, no such excuse for ignoring the validity of the act, for it was followed by the reign of a king who ruled solely by a parliamentary title. Henry IV. was not king unless Parliament had the power to make him so, for he was not the 'right heir' of the sovereign who had been dethroned. The House of Lancaster were thus obliged to rely on a parliamentary title, and though they were in many ways as absolute as their strongest predecessors, they never failed to recognise, in theory at least, the claims of Parliament. The first two Tudors had yet another reason for exalting the influence of Parliament. They found it a convenient instrument for carrying out their policy of depressing the nobility—a policy followed with a craft and subtlety which must have won the admiration and approval of Machiavelli if he ever discussed the affairs of England with the Venetian ambassador who has given us so graphic a

'relation' of the state of England in the first years of the sixteenth century. The plan of using Parliament to accomplish their most despotic designs, devised by Henry VIII. and his father, produced by anticipation parliamentary features which really belong to a later time. For example, we learn that Henry VIII.'s great minister, Thomas Cromwell, found, like many ministers since his day, the convenience of having in Parliament a clever man of letters who could amuse the House with his literature and keen wit. 'For your Grace's Parliament,' Cromwell writes to Henry, 'I have appointed [doubtless for a close Crown 'borough] your Grace's servant, Mr. Morison, to be one of 'them. No doubt he shall be able to answer or take up 'such as should crack on far with literature of learning.' If any presumptuous knight or burgess should venture to quote the 'dicts and notable sayings' of the philosophers and great writers of antiquity, writers whose works the printing presses of Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and Pynson had begun to make common property, Mr. Morison would be there to turn the shafts of scholarship aside, to cap Seneca with Virgil, and to give their 'proper sense' to any citations from Cicero, or even from Plato, which might have an inconveniently free or republican tendency. It would have been a priceless contribution to the 'History of Parlia-'ment' if Mr. Barnett Smith had been able to supply us with instances of the way in which Mr. Morison brought to book those who ventured to 'crack on far with their litera-'ture of learning.' We fear, however, that the speeches and good things of this forerunner of the Praeds and Crokers of later times cannot now be recovered, and that we shall never learn whether he fulfilled the expectations of the minister who 'brought him into Parliament.' But though the Tudor sovereigns often pressed hard on Parliament, its powers grew steadily during their reigns, and even their most despotic acts helped, as we have said, to establish its claims. It was in one sense a monstrous usurpation for Henry VIII. to dispose of the kingdom by will. Since, however, he obtained the right to do so by an act of the legislature, his testamentary *coup d'état* tended to strengthen rather than to injure the theoretical rights of Parliament. How strong Parliament grew under the Tudors may be seen from the claims which it made on James I. The Royal Philosopher, unlike 'that great Queen of happy memory,' who won a panegyric even from Cromwell, never understood when he might assert the royal prerogatives and when he must yield

to the Parliament of England. James could make excellent *bons mots* about Parliament—it was he who first noted the truth, which many a minister has since discovered, 'that 'Parliaments are like cats and grow cursed [i.e. cross] with 'age'—but he could not manage the 'five hundred kings' against whom his flouts and jeers were directed. Early in his reign Parliament found it advisable to set forth in plain terms its rights and privileges. This declaration shows to what a position of strength Parliament had grown by the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 'A Form of Apology 'and Justification to be delivered to His Majesty,' prepared by the Parliament which met in 1604—the Parliament which Guy Fawkes so nearly dissolved—the following six points are insisted on by the Commons:—

'1. That their privileges and liberties are their right and inheritance no less than their very lands and goods.

'2. That they cannot be withheld from them, denied, or impaired, but with apparent wrong to the whole state of the realm.

'3. That their making request, at the beginning of a Parliament, to enjoy their privileges, is only an act of manners, and does not weaken their right.

'4. That their House is a court of record, and has ever been so esteemed.

'5. That there is not the highest standing court in this land that ought to enter into competition, either for dignity or authority, with this High Court of Parliament, which, with his Majesty's royal assent, gives law to other courts, but from other courts receives neither laws nor orders.

'6. That the House of Commons is the sole proper judge of return of all such writs, and the election of all such members as belong to it, without which the freedom of election were not entire.'

The Commons ended their representation by the following memorable words:—

'What cause we, your poor Commons, have to watch over our privileges is manifest in itself to all men. The prerogatives of princes may easily, and do daily, grow. The privileges of the subject are, for the most part, at an everlasting stand. They may be by good providence and care preserved, but being once lost, are not recovered but with much disquiet.'

The Commons were, however, wrong when they declared that their privileges were for ever at a standstill. In fact, they were for ever growing, and the privileges of the king for ever wasting. Everything helped Parliament, and from the most unlikely sources it drew strength and nourishment. It was part of the irony of destiny that even the Restoration and the overthrow of the Commonwealth assisted

the growth of parliamentary authority. A series of circumstances forced Cromwell to govern without a Parliament. But this made the fall of the Protectorate a victory for Parliament, and the return of Charles II. is thus one of the landmarks in the growth of parliamentary power. At and after the Restoration the one thing on which all men were agreed was that there should be no more governing without a Parliament. The strength of this agreement was realised when the men who not only professed to believe in the duty of passive obedience to the sovereign, but actually suffered for the principle they understood so curiously, declined to support the attempt made by James II. to establish an absolute monarchy in the three kingdoms.

The supremacy of Parliament in fact and in theory was completed by the resolution which declared the throne of England vacant owing to James II.'s misgovernment, and transferred the crown, not to the next heir, but to William and Mary. The Convention Parliament, which was virtually self-summoned,* was none other than the folk-moot of the English people assembled under representative forms—that council of the whole nation which Tacitus shows us in his 'Germania' was the supreme and ultimate authority among the Teutonic peoples. 'De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes.' People sometimes talk as if the Convention Parliament was a mere revolutionary assembly, and as if its acts were only made legal and valid by means of an Act passed in a subsequent Parliament summoned according to the usual forms by William and Mary. That, however, is a complete mistake. The Tories in the second Parliament of William and Mary—the Convention Parliament became, as it were, by adoption the first Parliament of William and Mary, and is so styled—raised this very point, and proposed to confirm the Acts of the Convention Parliament in order to give them validity. Views so narrow and unreasonable were not, however, allowed to prevail, and ultimately the lawfulness of the Convention's Acts, as they stood and without confirmation, was solemnly recognised. Thus the Bill of Rights, the very corner-stone of English liberty, the Act on which our whole political fabric rests, and from which not less than from the Act of Settlement her present Majesty's title is derived, is the Act of a

* The exact form was that William, at the request of the peers and of the living members of Charles's Parliaments, issued 'letters' to the shires and towns accustomed to send members.

Parliament summoned not by an hereditary monarch, but of a Parliament sprung from the inalienable and fundamental right of self-government resident in the English people.

But even after so signal an exhibition of its authority there was much to be done before Parliament should attain its present position. After the Bill of Rights, and still more after the Act of Settlement, the King, though he was, no doubt, theoretically the creature of Parliament—we are using the word 'creature' in its technical legal sense, i.e. the creation of Parliament—was, in fact, possessed of immense power and influence. But luck was still with the Parliament. William, though he vetoed acts of the legislature, was too anxious to win Parliament to his side in the matter of the war to interfere seriously with the developement of its powers. Anne, again, was a woman, and disinclined to try conclusions with the Houses, while George I. and George II. were foreign princes threatened by pretenders, and willing enough to let Parliament have its own way, provided that their personal views as to foreign politics were not actively thwarted. It thus happened that when George III. ascended the throne parliamentary authority had made great strides. It is true that George III. played an enormous part in the politics of his day; but the student of our history during his reign will not fail to notice that the king won and held his position not so much in right of his kingship, as because he chose to descend into the political arena and to organise a parliamentary party of his own. This he did so successfully that the 'king's friends' became one of the strongest parties in the House of Commons, and were, as a rule, powerful enough to overturn any ministry. It must never be forgotten, however, that it was not George the King, but George the Boroughmonger, able to spend both his private Hanoverian and his private English income on his parliamentary schemes, who was the most powerful political force in the three kingdoms during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Thus even George III.'s reign shows no decline in the power of Parliament; for the king, when most powerful, was invariably employing parliamentary instruments.

The most important matter connected with Parliament during the eighteenth century is, however, the growth of the powers possessed by the Lower House. The House of Commons in the hundred years which elapsed from the accession of Walpole to supreme influence to the passage of

the first Reform Bill managed to absorb almost the whole authority of Parliament—to become, that is, the active organ of the legislature, and to relegate the House of Lords to the position of a body with at the highest but limiting and checking powers. The manner in which the House of Commons, in spite of its internal corruption, in spite of its inability to claim that even a third of its members were popularly elected, and in spite, too, of the rule of what the late Lord Beaconsfield, in his days of political romance-writing, was wont to call 'a Venetian oligarchy,' gained and the House of Lords lost influence during the eighteenth century, is not a little curious. The 'Revolution families,' as they loved to call themselves, ruled England, and the heads of those families were almost all members of the Upper House, and yet it was not the Upper House, but the House in which the merchants and squires found representation, that was daily gaining in power. The fact that the Commons held the purse-strings cannot alone account for this anomaly. The explanation is to be sought in a circumstance often overlooked, but which once realised will be seen to afford a final solution of the enigma. The great Whig lords, the Devonshires and Newcastles, the Bedfords, and the Carlisles were the owners of some five or six close boroughs apiece, and could often control besides the elections in the counties in which their chief estates were concentrated. Hence it was by no means uncommon for a Whig magnate to be able to boast, as did the parvenu East Indian Clive, that he would be 'ten in the next Parliament.' But in the House of Lords no man could control more than one vote, however great his position. The Duke of Portland, when it came to voting, was of no more account than his insignificant neighbour, Lord Byron, for the squire of Newstead shared whatever authority the House of Lords possessed on equal terms with the princely owner of Welbeck. Thus at any moment the rustic peers, mere Squire Westerns in looks, manners, and political aspirations, might join with the men who were but peers because their fathers or grandfathers had achieved unusual success at the Bar, and defeat, as far as the Upper House was concerned, the best-planned combinations of the Revolution families. No wonder, then, that the oligarchy which ruled England during the eighteenth century preferred to rule it through the House of Commons rather than through the House of Lords; for it was in the Lower House alone that the Whig magnates could exhibit their full strength. It thus happened that

the ruling aristocracy used their influence and authority to favour the House to which they did not belong. But when the time came to deprive the great lords of their power over the House of Commons, it was too late for them to reconstitute the authority of the peers. When the Reform Bill made it no longer to the interest of the magnates of the realm to favour the claims of the Commons, the authority of the Upper House had almost passed away.

Mr. Barnett Smith has rightly added to his account of the English Parliament chapters tracing the histories of the Scotch and Irish legislatures. The Dublin Parliament was in all senses a copy of the Parliament at Westminster. Just as the common law was introduced into Ireland by the English conquerors and settlers, so a Parliament was thought necessary to secure the welfare of the English in Ireland. Our mediæval kings considered a Parliament an essential instrument of government, and they issued writs in Ireland not because any popular pressure was put upon them to do so, but because they had come to regard the summoning of knights and burgesses as the natural preliminary to making laws and levying taxes. We shall not, however, dwell here on the history of the Irish Parliament, for the subject has been of late so thoroughly discussed that there is no need to remind the public of its main features. The origin and constitution of the Scotch Legislature are, however, less well known, and we therefore propose to consider the main features in its developement. But before proceeding to do so we will draw the attention of our readers to a quotation from one of Grattan's speeches which is cited by Mr. Barnett Smith. The passage is well known to students of Irish history, but at the present moment it has so unusual an interest that we make no apology for its transcription. In the Parliament of 1780 Grattan moved 'that no power on earth, save that of the king, Lords 'and Commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws for 'Ireland.'

'I will not be answered by a public lie in the shape of an amendment; neither, speaking for the subject's freedom, am I to hear of faction. I wish for nothing but to breathe in this our land, in common with our fellow-subjects, the air of liberty. I have no ambition, unless it be the ambition to break your chain and contemplate your glory. I never will be satisfied as long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking against his rags. He may be naked, he shall not be in irons; and I do see the time is at hand, the spirit is gone forth, the declaration is planted, and though

great men should apostatise, yet the cause will live; and though the public speaker should die, yet the immortal fire shall outlast the organ which conveyed it, and the breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not die with the prophet, but survive him.'

That is, in truth, the demand still made by the Irish Nationalists. In 1782 we yielded to the demand, and Ireland had a legislature free from all 'foreign' control. What was the result? In sixteen years Ireland was enacting a reduced and squalid, but none the less hideous, version of the French Revolution—a Revolution in which the supporters, now of an orange now of a green terror, flogged, burned, plundered, and massacred. Shall we again yield to the demand for legislative independence, or shall we proceed with the only line of policy that has ever given peace and prosperity to Ireland—the policy of political and administrative incorporation?

When the Act of Union with Scotland became law, Scotland had a Parliament which in many essential particulars resembled the English legislature. This resemblance, however, was rather due to the tendency towards imitation always displayed by political institutions than to any exact similarity of origin. The Parliament of Scotland, though it grew so like the Parliament of England, displays in its genesis great and important differences. If the Scotch had been what the English were when they developed their Parliament, a homogeneous Teutonic nation,* the analogy of developement would probably have been more exact. While one part of Scotland, however, was inhabited by men of Teutonic strain, the other part was occupied by a purely Celtic population. Hence the growth of government was influenced, first by one set of racial tendencies and then by the other, and shows no certain and regular line of developement. The following passage, taken from the first of Mr. Barnett Smith's chapters on the Parliament of Scotland, describes the beginnings of representative institutions on the other side of the Border:—

'The constitution of Scotland is more obscure in its origin and progress than that of most European States, for all ancient documents and contemporary chronicles which may have existed during the first eleven centuries of the Christian era have been irretrievably lost. No

* Wales, it must be remembered, was not politically united with England till the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Henry VIII., in which year what was virtually an Act of Union with Wales became law.

authentic Scottish charter, record, or chronicle is known to be extant so old as the reign of Malcolm Canmore, who died in 1093, and it is therefore useless to conjecture upon the constitution and powers of such political bodies as existed prior to the eleventh or twelfth century.

'It is extremely difficult to distinguish the ancient Scottish legislative court or council of the sovereign from that which discharged the duty of counselling the king in judicial proceedings. While the early lawgivers enacted statutes by the advice of the "bishops, earls, barons, thanes, and whole community," or "through the common counsel of the kynryk (kingdom)," during the reigns previous to Alexander III., the king also decided causes in a similar assembly of magnates; and laws of the greatest importance, and affecting the interests of all classes of the community, were enacted by the king and his judges. The appointment of Turgot to the bishopric of St. Andrews by King Alexander I. in 1107, and the proceedings in connection with the election and retirement of his successor, Eadmer, in 1120–21, are the earliest events in Scottish history where there is evidence of the concurrence of a national council. This council, as the king himself stated in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, consisted of certain bishops, earls, "and good men of the country." In the few remaining charters of the kings preceding this monarch there is no mention of any great officers of the Crown. Those of Alexander are witnessed by his chancellor and constable, the former office being rendered necessary by the introduction of royal fiefs and charters, and the latter marking the rise of a feudal baronage. A justiciar also first occurs in this reign, and in royal grants of importance Alexander cites the testimony and consent of the bishops and magnates of his kingdom.

'The Representative Assembly, or Parliament, of the Scottish nation approximated more to the French than to the English model. It contained three estates, prelates, tenants-in-chief great and small, and townsmen, until James I., in 1428, in imitation of the English system, instituted commissioners of shires to supersede the personal appearance of the minor tenants-in-chief; then the three estates became the lords, clerical and lay, the commissioners of shires, and the burgesses, and these throughout their history continued to sit in one house. The estates have been simply and clearly defined by some authorities as the clergy, the barons, and the burgesses. The chancellor was president, the officers of State had seats in virtue of their offices, and the judges of the Court of Session sat round a table in the centre of the hall, between the barons and the commons. All tenants of the Crown, or barons, as they were denominated, were entitled to sit in Parliament; but many, from the smallness of their incomes and the overwhelming influence of the great aristocracy, forbore to attend an assembly where they were merely objects of disdain. It was this failure that led to the statute of James I., a statute passed nearly two centuries after the Commons of England had obtained representation. Moreover, in England the right of voting was not confined to mere tenants of the Crown; it was indisputably exercised by all freeholders, but in Scotland the right was restricted to proprietors who held of the Crown. The burghs early acquired a right of representation, and their com-

missioners sometimes attended, but the commissioners for counties never.'

It will be seen from this that in political as in legal developement Scotland was far more bound by the feudal system than England. It was an essential part of the completed feudal organisation that there was, as a lawyer would express it, no privity between the king and any of his subjects but the tenants-in-chief—that is, the men who held immediately of the sovereign. For the rest of the population the king had neither eyes nor ears. Fortunately for us, the feudal system was in England never carried to its logical conclusion. The quick intelligence of the Conqueror realised that the English freeholders did not regard themselves as merely the men of men who were the king's men, but considered that they had a direct and personal connexion with the king—a connexion which cut across the tedious and minute subdivisions of the feudal hierarchy, and bound the realm into one united whole. Aware of this, he resolved that he would prevent the cast-iron feudalism of the Normans obliterating the valuable tie which made all Englishmen the king's men as well as their own lord's men. Accordingly he exacted on Salisbury Plain an oath of fealty, not only from the tenants-in-chief, but from all the freemen of England. But in Scotland the force of feudalism knew no such mitigation, and therefore the Scotch Parliament was originally but a feudal council, to which none but the immediate tenants of the Crown were summoned. A survival of this fact lasted, indeed, into modern times, and it was not till after the Reform Bill of 1832 that anyone but a tenant-in-chief of the Crown could vote at a county election in Scotland. But, though the Scotch Parliament was in theory only a feudal council, James I. of Scotland, by calling the smaller tenants-in-chief by means of commissioners of the shires and by summoning representatives from the towns, made his council a representative Parliament, and endowed it with something of the vigour possessed by the kindred institution in England. It is curious to note how the activity of the Scotch Parliament increased after the reforms of James I. The following is Mr. Barnett Smith's summary of what was accomplished by James I.'s Parliament:—

'The reign of James I. (1406–37) was marked by many important legislative and judicial changes. The king was for some time a captive in England, but on his return home in 1424 he was crowned at Scone. Immediately began a revolution in the common law and statute law,

and from this period practically dates the Statute Law of Scotland, for the collection of Scots Acts made for the profession go no further back than this. James gave his Parliament plenty to do, and statutes were passed in almost every year of his reign. Arrangements were made for promulgating the Acts themselves among the executive and judicial authorities who had to deal with them, and the laws were directed to be issued in the vulgar tongue. A Committee of Revision was also appointed to amend and interpret the old laws. A general survey and valuation of property was instituted for purposes of taxation, and rigid inquiries were made into the disposition of ancient Crown property. Statutes were passed to restrain begging and vagrancy, and to compel the able-bodied to work. Weights and measures were regulated, and a coinage standard established equal in weight and fineness to that of England. Those entitled to practise in the law were clearly identified, and their privileges defined.

'These various reforms formed an important body of provisions, but an effort was also made to assimilate the Parliament itself to that of England. The lesser barons, who had found attendance irksome, were released, provided they sent "commissioners" or elected substitutes, two for each shire, save Kinross and Clackmannan, which were to send one each. Every person holding land from the Crown was to have a voice in the elections. In the Act containing these provisions the name of "Speaker" occurred for the first time, as also the word "Commons," the commissioners being enjoined to choose "a wise and an expert man called the common Speaker of the Parliament, the whilk shall propose all and sundry needs and causes pertaining to the Commons in the Parliament." At this period the king incited the Commons to discourage by legislation "the game of football," and to encourage a system of parochial archery schools, for he had observed the great superiority of England in the military organisation of the people.'

The improved machinery for legislation thus secured was early used to remedy the grievances of the nation, and 'the 'land question' and 'the question of the unemployed' were taken in hand as soon as Parliament had realised its powers. The manner in which what has been termed 'the great army 'of the unemployable' was dealt with will probably seem too harsh for acceptance by modern legislators:—

'The Parliament of 1449 distinctly enacted, "for the safety and favour of the poor people that labour the ground," that when they held leases these should remain good, although the ownership or lordship of the land should change hands. And while thus encouraging peaceful industry, Parliament was very severe upon "superfluous" persons and vagrants. The preamble of one Act set forth that it was "for the putting away of sorners, feigned fools, bards, and such-like others, runners about," and "masterful beggars." These "beggars," strange to say, were to be identified by their wandering over the country with horses and hounds. The quadrupeds and any other property seized

were to be forfeited, and the "beggars" themselves imprisoned. Short shrift was to be made of those "that make themselves fools but are not;" they were to be kept in ward or prison so long as they had any goods to live upon, and then, if they remained contumacious, it was provided "that their ears be nayled to the Trone or any other tree, and cuttet off, and banished the country, and if thereafter they be founden again, that they be hanged." The Scots Parliament of this reign likewise devoted much time to the perfecting of the national defences, all the legislative provisions in this respect being directed against "our enemy of England."'

But though from this time forward the Parliament of Scotland showed a considerable amount of legislative activity, its history as a law-making machine is by no means as full of interest or variety as that of the Parliament at Westminster. Whether it was that the royal power was too great, that the representatives of the shires and towns felt ill at ease when sitting side by side with the great lords, and so failed to assert themselves, or whether, again, the backward condition of the Scotch counties allowed little scope for the growth of Pyms, Hampdens, and Cromwells, the fact remains that the Parliament of Scotland showed itself timid and capable of no great activity during the seventeenth century. That the heart of the nation was sound is shown by the resistance offered to Charles's attempted introduction of Prelacy, by the taking of the Solemn League and Covenant, and by the manner in which the Cameronians bore the persecutions of Claverhouse; but till the assembling of the Convention Parliament which overthrew the tyranny of James II. the Scotch Parliament showed less vigour than might have been expected from the legislature of a nation so able in intellect, so tenacious of its rights, so high-spirited, and so independent. Most probably the peculiar institution known as 'the 'Lords of the Articles' had a depressing effect upon the Scotch Parliament. Some account of this 'select committee,' which stood at the door of Parliament and could strangle all legislation unpopular in high places, must be given to complete our sketch of the Scotch legislature:—

'The increase in the functions of the executive, and the secrecy and decision deemed requisite in a Council of State, led to the introduction of a mode of conducting the affairs of Parliament which ultimately and materially affected the independence of its deliberations. The frequent and protracted meetings of the National Council were felt to be extremely burdensome, especially by the class of small freeholders, among whom as yet no representation was established. Many of these attended with reluctance, and they could not remain through the session without much inconvenience. To ease that class, and also to

avoid the difficulties attending the popular discussion of certain questions, for the consideration of which the National Council was expressly summoned, Parliament devised the plan of delegating its powers to various committees of its members. For example, in the Parliament of Perth, held in March, 1368, the Three Estates, on account of the inconvenience of the season and the dearness of provisions, elected certain persons "to hold the Parliament," who were divided into two bodies, one to treat of the general affairs of the king and kingdom, and another and a smaller committee to sit on appeals from inferior courts. And in the succeeding Parliament of February 1369, two committees were appointed, the first to deal with appeals, pleas, and complaints which of right should have come before Parliament, and the other "to treat and deliberate on certain special and secret affairs of the king and kingdom previous to their being brought before the whole Parliament." In these arrangements were the germs both of the Committee of Articles, which afterwards became an essential and a remarkable part of the constitution of Parliament, and of the Judicial Committee, which, under various forms and regulations, became also a permanent institution, and terminated in the establishment of a separate and Supreme Court of Justice. These changes were accepted as precedents by David's successor, Robert II., the first Stuart king, whose reign otherwise marks little of constitutional change or improvement.

'The Lords of the Articles, who ultimately became a recognised part of the legislative machinery of Scotland, and who sprang out of the "Committee of Articles," assumed the form of a permanent body by the time of James I., or just about half a century after the original inception of the committee. From the reign of James the legitimate method of transacting the legislative business of Parliament was that, on the meeting of the Estates, the tenor of the measures it was desirable to pass was ascertained. Then certain persons were chosen from each Estate to be the Committee on the Articles. They prepared and matured the various measures, the Estates standing adjourned while they were at work, and their functions somewhat resembled those of a committee of the whole House of Commons which deals with a Bill referred to it after the second reading. The Estates being again assembled, the committee reported the Bills matured, and they were put to the vote for final adoption or rejection.'

This tendency towards degeneration in the functions of the legislature was increased by the fact that the people at large cared little for their Parliament. The zealous interest in regard to the doings at Westminster shown from comparatively early times in England was not to be found in Scotland.

'From the fourteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century there is no evidence that any article or Bill was brought in and discussed, opposed, supported, voted upon, in Parliament—that is, in plain and open Parliament. The accident of the Three Estates meeting in one chamber, as the Three Estates had met in England of old, was only a small part of the cause which destroyed freedom of discussion, and

prevented the growth of what may be called parliamentary feeling in Scotland for centuries. "The time was not parliamentary. No one thought of making a party in Parliament. No one looked *there* for redress of grievances. During all that time, for three centuries, when a party were displeased with the conduct of the existing Government, they did not attack its favourite measure or minister in Parliament, nor try to pass a vote of want of confidence in the Government. The leaders of the Opposition in Scotland took another way of righting themselves; they laid a trap for the young king, and carried him off to Stirling or St. Andrews, as the case might be, surrounded him with their armed followers, Douglases or Ruthvens, Homes or Hamiltons, and then summoned a Parliament of their own friends, which they took care to declare a *free Parliament.* In that Parliament they proceeded to carry on the government, and always in the first place to pass a long series of forfeitures of the estates of the opposite party."'

Besides the Lords of the Articles, there were originally two other committees, known as the 'Lords Auditors of Com-'plaints' and the 'Secret Council,' but these were ulti-mately amalgamated, and from their union sprang the Court of Session, 'founded upon the model of the Parlia-'ment of Paris.' The manner in which the Lords of the Articles gradually arrogated to themselves the powers of the full Parliament is not a little curious, and shows how great was the danger run by representative institutions in Scot-land. In 1535 the Lords of the Articles were actually authorised to make Acts of Parliament, and they even inter-preted this as conferring upon them the right of levying a tax. During the seventeenth century the election of the Lords of the Articles 'became the great job and juggle of the 'session.' In the reign of Charles I. (1633) it was decided, apparently in order to avoid as far as possible the growth of intrigue, that the bishops should choose eight lay peers, that these eight should elect eight bishops, and that these sixteen should elect eight commissioners of shires and eight of boroughs. 'Parliament,' in the words of Mr. Barnett Smith, 'then came to its last degradation, meeting only 'on two days of the session, the first and the last—the 'first to choose the Lords of the Articles, the last to give 'their sanction to what they proposed.' Could a better example be given of the danger of not observing the principle, 'Delegatus non potest delegare.' At the same time it must be remembered that in one or two respects the Scotch Parliament claimed greater authority than the English. It did not admit the irresponsibility of the sovereign, it claimed the power of making peace and war, and it gave instructions to ambassadors, and participated in

the making of treaties. Finally, it was an open question whether the royal assent was necessary to Scotch Acts of Parliament. Still, on the whole, the Scotch Parliament was in position much inferior to the English, and but for the example set at Westminster and the union with England, it is impossible to doubt that the Scotch kings would have been able to get rid of the Estates much as did the kings of France. Had Scotland remained independent of England, the influence of France, always so great at Edinburgh, would almost certainly have turned the Parliament into a law court—a law court, perhaps, like the Parliament of Paris, with certain senatorial claims, but in practice nothing but a law court.

As the payment of members has again become a practical question, it may be worth while to notice some historical aspects of the subject. Undoubtedly it early became customary to pay the expenses of the members who somewhat unwillingly attended the English Parliament during the middle ages. Mr. Barnett Smith notes, indeed, that in the 'very first official mention of the Commons' the representatives of the people are allowed their expenses. In the year 1304, or nine years after the summoning of the first regular Parliament, the king thanks 'les chevaliers des countez, 'citizyns et burgys et autre gens qui sont venus à cest 'Parliament,' and directs that these knights, citizens and burgesses shall receive 'brefs d'avoir lour despenses en lour 'pais.' 'This,' we are told by Mr. Barnett Smith, 'became 'a regular entry in one form or other at the end of every 'session.' Members, it appears, were paid 'for the whole 'time of their service, their journeys to and fro, and their 'stay in Parliament.' In the sixteenth year of Edward II. their wages were definitely fixed at four shillings a day for a knight and two shillings for a citizen or burgher. The first actual statute for levying the expenses of knights coming to Parliament was, however, enacted in 1388. This Act declared 'that the said levying be made as it hath been used before this time'—a form which shows that the expenses were held to be leviable at common law. After the reign of Henry VIII., however, the county members seem to have ceased to demand any payment for their services, though the practice was kept up in the case of the towns till after the Restoration. It has usually been said that Andrew Marvell was the last paid member, but this appears to be erroneous; for in 1681, three years after Marvell's death, Thomas King, who had sat for Harwich, obtained a writ

from the lord chancellor in respect of his expenses. By this time, however, wages could no longer be claimed under the statute, for in the year 1677 the Restoration Parliament repealed the Act authorising their payment. It may be mentioned that it was during the debates on the question of repeal that Edmund Waller, the poet, displaying that love of antithesis for which he was famous, and by means of which he revolutionised the style of English poetry, declared that 'some members were so poor and some boroughs so rich 'that to force men not to take wages would not be equal 'justice.' Mr. Barnett Smith gives these facts, and mentions also that Lord Campbell declared that at common law a member's expenses are still recoverable. He fails, however, to give the exact references to the statutes, or to distinguish clearly between wages and expenses. As a rule, we admit that his references are reasonably copious for a work which does not profess to be a legal text-book, but we cannot help wishing that on this occasion his information had been somewhat more specific. He does not mention, too, a very curious passage in 'Pepys's Diary' which is concerned with this matter. Under the date March 30, 1668, Pepys mentions that he was dining the night before at the house of Sir William Penn, 'and there had much discourse 'about the constitution of Parliament:'—

'But all did agree,' he goes on, 'that the bane of the Parliament had been the leaving off of the old custom by which places did allow wages to those that did represent them in Parliament, whereby they sent men who understood their business and that they could get an account from. But now Parliament has become an assembly of men that can give no account to the places that they represent.'

Those, however, who are endeavouring to use this passage as an argument in favour of the payment of members forget that a great change has taken place in the conditions that prevailed in the time of Pepys. When it was impossible otherwise to obtain local men it may have been a good thing to pay members and so to secure persons with a knowledge of the places for which they sat. At present it is perfectly easy without payment of members to find men who are in every way fit to represent the constituencies in which they live. This, however, is not the occasion on which to marshal the many strong arguments against the payment of members. We merely desire in the present instance to recall some of the facts connected with the history of the subject.

Before leaving the history of Parliament we may fitly dwell on some of the curious and picturesque facts which

are thrown up, as it were, in the course of Mr. Barnett Smith's researches, and to which he has rightly given prominence. In the account of the 'Cavalier Parliament,' for example, an occurrence is noted which will prove useful whenever some author of enterprise undertakes to write the history of the Ladies' Gallery. The committal to the Tower by the House of Commons of the four lawyers who had ventured to plead before the House of Lords in an action which a certain Dr. Shirley had brought against a member, Sir John Fagg, caused great excitement, and during the debate some ladies were observed in the gallery 'peeping 'over the gentlemen's shoulders.' This incident was the cause of one of those outbreaks of forced and ponderous merriment to which such bodies as legislative chambers and courts of law are peculiarly liable. The Speaker, on seeing the ladies, called out, 'What borough do those ladies serve 'for?' Upon this Mr. William Coventry replied, 'They 'serve for the Speaker's gallery.' An ordinary person might have imagined that the humour of the situation was exhausted by this sally. Not so Sir Thomas Littleton. This facetious legislator opined that the Speaker might, perhaps, be mistaken, and that what he had seen were, in fact, 'gentlemen with fine sleeves dressed like ladies.' The Speaker as usual, however, claimed the last word in an 'incident,' and with the retort from the Chair, 'I am sure 'I saw petticoats,' the House proceeded to business. But though the wit is thin, the scene is interesting, for it shows how little two hundred years have changed the character of the House of Commons. Now, as then, the House often shows a pleasant schoolboy element in its nature—an element which has proved most useful in conferring a genuine sense of comradeship upon its members. Its love of small jokes and its eagerness for small excitements have done an immense deal to encourage that sense of homogeneity which has always distinguished the English House of Commons. Few representative assemblies have been so happy as it in making personal friends of men who detest each other's opinions, and who sincerely believe that they alone have a right to be called patriotic and public-spirited.

In reviewing the history of Parliament, it is natural to wonder what was the most effective speech ever made in debate. By effective we do not mean rhetorically or oratorically effective, but the best calculated to persuade and convince those who listened to it. We can hardly doubt that the palm must be given to the speech of one sentence made

in the House of Commons by the third Lord Shaftesbury, then Lord Ashley. The Bill before the House was the Treason Bill of William III., under which persons accused of treason were in future to be allowed counsel to represent them. When Lord Ashley rose, his nerve deserted him, and he was unable to proceed. At last, however, he recovered himself sufficiently to go on, and then spoke as follows :—

'If I, Sir, who rise only to give my opinion on the Bill now depending, am so confounded that I am unable to express the least of what I proposed to say, what must the condition of that man be, who, without any assistance, is pleading for his life, and under apprehensions of being deprived of it?'

The House, convinced by Lord Ashley's manner that the speech was not one of those 'House of Commons impromptus' which, to use an expression of the late Mr. Charles Buller, are the only forms of parliamentary eloquence that are 'always carefully prepared,' was profoundly stirred by the incident, and in spite of William III.'s hostility the Bill passed into law.

The election of a Speaker is now a graceful and picturesque ceremony; but in earlier days it was to no small extent made an opportunity for that ponderous levity so much loved by the House of Commons, to which we have already alluded. A good example of these scenes of mirth is given by Mr. Barnett Smith in his account of the election of Mr. Serjeant Yelverton to be Speaker in the ninth Parliament of Elizabeth. Sergeant Yelverton pleaded many excuses in order to avoid the honour. He had no merits, no ability, and no estate, save a bare annuity as a younger son. Besides he had a wife and a great many children, and 'the keeping of us all being a great impoverishment to my 'estate, and the daily living of us all nothing but my daily 'industry.' Further, he had not the personal endowments necessary for a Speaker.

'Neither from my person or nature does this choice arise, for he that supplieth this place ought to be a man big and comely, stately, and well spoken, his voice great, his courage majestical, his nature haughty, and his purse plentiful and heavy; but contrarily the stature of my body is small, myself not so well spoken, my voice low, my courage lawyer-like and of the common fashion, my nature soft and bashful, my purse thin, light, and never yet plentiful. Wherefore I now see the only cause of this choice is a gracious and favourable censure of your good and undeserved opinions of me. But I must humbly beseech you recall this your sudden election.'

We are not told that any member quoted in reply from a

play-writer whose works were at that moment delighting a generation in which high and low loved and frequented the theatre. If, however, some one had chosen to declare, 'Methinks the Speaker doth protest too much,' he would certainly have carried the House with him. At any rate, this was the sense of the House, for Speaker Yelverton's election was confirmed. But though Speakers were sometimes forced to take an honour they would truly rather not have received, the House never refused to support the dignity of the office. For example, when in the last Parliament of Elizabeth Sir Robert Cecil moved, in regard to an election case, that the Speaker should '*attend* the Lord 'Keeper,' a member, Sir Edward Hobby, at once protested against the use of the word '*attend*.' 'The Speaker is the 'mouth of the whole realm, and that the whole state of the 'commonalty should attend one person I see no reason.' The House was equally determined not to allow its own members to treat the Speaker with disrespect. From the journals of 1610 Mr. Barnett Smith cites the following amusing entry: 'Affirmed by Mr. Speaker that Sir E. 'Herbert put not off his hat to him, but put out his tongue, 'and popped his mouth with his finger in scorn;' and later we read that 'Mr. T. T——, in a loud and violent manner, 'and contrary to the usage of Parliament, standing near the 'Speaker's chair, cried "Baw!" in the Speaker's ear, to the 'great terror and affrightment of the Speaker and of the 'members of the House.' But if the members were noisy, they were also not a little sensitive. For example, in 1642, Sir H. Mildmay complained that a Mr. Jesson 'had looked 'very fiercely upon him when he spoke, and that it was 'done in an unparliamentary way.' The manner in which Sir H. Mildmay anticipates the excuse that Mr. Jesson only looked fierce 'in a parliamentary sense' is not a little amusing. The precedent, had it been discovered, would have been useful to the members of the Pickwick Club.

An example of the humours of Parliament which might well have been included by Mr. Barnett Smith has been missed. He has failed to give us Sir Edward Coke's delightful description of 'the qualities of an elephant' which a parliament-man should have. This quaint mixture of shrewdness and pedantry might fairly have appeared in one of his appendices.

We have sketched in outline a portion of our parliamentary history, and have shown how the House of Commons, like the rod of Aaron, has eaten up, or is in process of

eating up, the powers and functions of the rest of our political institutions. The wheel has well nigh 'come full 'circle,' and the House of Commons is all but supreme. What is to be the future of Parliament? The moment of trial for political institutions comes not when they are growing and capable of growing, but when they have achieved the limit of their developement. It is far easier to conquer than to hold the fruits of conquest undaunted and undismayed. Up till now the Crown and the House of Lords have acted as lightning-conductors to the Commons, and when the people have grown restless and discontented it has been on these institutions that the national ill-temper has been vented. Now, however, that the Peers and the Crown are ceasing by reason of their weakness to be fit subjects for attack, it is the House of Commons that must expect to receive direct the execrations of the demagogue. The House of Commons is certain, sooner or later, to be called upon, in the interests of the country, to withstand the so-called will of the people and to brave 'that great com-'pound of folly, weakness, and prejudice, wrong feeling, 'right feeling, obstinacy, and newspaper paragraphs which is 'called public opinion.' It will be the fervent hope of all who are loyal to representative institutions that when the hour of trial comes the House of Commons will remember its traditions, and that its members will know how to guard without fear or favour the heritage of independence that has been transmitted to them. But though we point to the danger, we do so in no pessimistic spirit. We both trust and believe that the House of Commons will not fail the nation in its need, and will neither forget its past nor despair of its future. 'Amen! and so be it, and so it will be,' was the benediction pronounced by Burke in the last of his panegyrics on the fabric which crowns the summit of 'the 'British Sion,' 'a temple at once and a fortress.' It shall be ours in all sincerity and respect in concluding this attempt to note the chief landmarks in the History of the English Parliament.

ART. V.—1. *Le Trésor des Merveilles de la Maison Royale de Fontainebleau.* Par le R. P. F. PIERRE DAN. Paris: 1642.

2. *Le Palais de Fontainebleau.* Par JEAN-JOSEPH CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC. Paris: 1866.

3. *The Anglican Church Magazine.* No. LIV. (March, 1891.) London.

No public building in France appeals to the historical imagination more eloquently than the Palace of Fontainebleau. None awakens so rich and varied a group of striking associations; none is so thickly haunted with memories of the past; none is tenanted by the ghosts of so brilliant a crowd of famous men and women. It is a document to which twenty kings have set their sign-manuals, a chronicle in stone of the history of France, a dumb yet eloquent preacher of the mutability of human greatness.

Successive sovereigns from 1137 to 1870—from Louis le Gros to Napoleon III.—have enriched it with memorials of their rule. Within its precincts, by ancient custom, the royal wives of monarchs have brought into the world the heirs to the throne. Upon its buildings the uncrowned queens of France—from Diane de Poitiers to Madame de Pompadour—have lavished their luxury, their caprice, and their extravagance. The ermine of Anne of Bretagne, the porcupine of Louis XII., the pierced swan of Claude of Lorraine, which are so conspicuous on the walls and ceilings of Blois, are absent from Fontainebleau. But, beginning with the salamander of Francis I., there is scarcely a king, a queen, or a mistress, whose memory is not preserved in the buildings of the palace. Here is the monogram of Henry II., so constructed that it may be read as that of himself and Catherine de Medicis or Diane de Poitiers; here are Diane's crescent moons, her stags, her leverets, her bows and arrows; here is the S and arrow, which commemorates 'la belle 'Gabrielle' with a pun upon her surname of Estrées, and by its side is the monogram of her royal lover, Henry IV., and his wife, Marie de Medicis. Here, again and again repeated, are the lilies of France, the balls of the Medicis, the famous 'girony of eight' of Navarre. Here, also, are the monograms of Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria, of Louis XIV. and Maria Theresa, of Louis XV. and of Marie Antoinette. Here, finally, is the imperial bee of Napoleon I.

In the course of centuries the rude hunting-lodge of early

kings, the donjon-keep which stood in the centre of the 'chers déserts' of St. Louis, was transformed into an enchanted palace, surpassing in its beauty the fabled abode of Morgana, which became in turn the 'Chez Soy' of Francis I., the 'belle et délicieuse résidence' of Anne of Austria, the 'maison des siècles' of Napoleon I. During the passage of years it has been the favourite home of kings and queens, the birthplace of princes, the refuge of exiled sovereigns, the prison of a pope and a king of Spain, the bower of royal lovers, the scene of the triumphs and defeats which constitute the glory and the pathos of French history, the stage on which the actors in its brilliant comedies or ghastly tragedies have played their striking parts.

Nor is Fontainebleau content to record only the rise and fall of dynasties. Its interest is not exclusively historical. It is artistic also. Seven centuries of changing taste have left their mark upon its walls. It is a mosaic of stone and colours, into which are dovetailed the various stages in the history and progress of French art. Upon its walls some of the greatest of French architects, sculptors, and painters have inscribed their work. From Fontainebleau emanated the first great artistic movement in France. It would be unjust to ignore the early efforts of Louis XII. and his minister, Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, or to depreciate the native genius displayed in the Château of Blois. But the impulse given to art by the brilliant group of Italian artists which Francis I. gathered round him at Fontainebleau—by Rosso, Primaticcio, Niccolo dell' Abbate, and many others—was as great as it was indisputably general. From the École de Fontainebleau Claude Lorraine derived his magical light, and Poussin drew his tragic note. And from the sixteenth century onwards, each successive step in the glory or the decadence of French painting, architecture, or sculpture, is chronicled in the buildings or the decoration of the palace. Their records carry us from the Italian Renaissance of Francis I., in which, in the first flush of their inspiration, the newly imported classic elements conquered the Gothic forms of native growth, to the pure classicism of Henry II.; from the bastard Renaissance of Henry IV. to the flowing lines and wealth of colour by which the artists of Louis XIII. departed from the antique model; from the pompous emphasis of Louis XIV. to the charming, but capricious, grace of Louis XV.; from the classic art of the Empire to the Gothic Revival of the Restoration.

Historically, and artistically, Fontainebleau is the jewel of

French palaces. And the brilliance of the gem is enhanced by the unrivalled beauty of the setting. The frame is worthy of the picture. The forest stands alone among the forests of France in its diversity. Every variety of tree—poplars and chestnuts, maple and birch, oaks and junipers—flourishes in abundance. The wild and savage scenery of Salvator Rosa alternates with the calm and peaceful landscape of Claude Lorraine. Stonehenges and Carnacs of moss-coloured rock, rich-coloured 'platières,' or ridges of sandstone, bare, naked, boldly outlined hills, present abrupt contrasts with tree-clad slopes, tranquil plains, quiet pools, like the 'Mare aux fées,' or the 'Mare aux serpents,' and turfy sweeps, such as that near the woods of Bas Bréaux, where Pan himself might be content to shepherd his flocks. Here are masses of curiously scaled grey stone, resembling primeval lizard-like monsters, petrified as they approached their prey; while, above and around them, twisting, writhing, and contorting into fantastic shapes, rises a forest growth of junipers, which look like the wild figures of a corybantic dance. Here, too, are 'secular' oaks—'green-robed senators 'of the woods'—whose forms may well have sheltered Charlemagne, as popular tradition asserts, or concealed the dark spectral form of the 'Grand Veneur,' or shaded the velvet cheek of Diane de Poitiers. And, dotted here and there among the trees, gleam the white tents of the soldiers, who make of the forest a camp of exercise, and whose blue and red uniforms, cooking fires, and picketed horses give life and colour to its sombre depths.

As the first great movement of French art emanated from the palace, so the last great movement has found its source in the forest, which has inspired the genius of Millet, Rousseau, Diaz, Corot, and the modern Barbizon School of French painters. The simple poetry of natural life is the discovery and the revelation of its founders. It was not the shy grace of a Dryad, nor the spiritual ecstasy of a Madonna, nor the smile of a Bacchante, which was their inspiration, but the mystery of the woods, the savage gloom of a forest, the rude pathos of humble toil. It was in the forest that Corot brought to perfection his art of arresting the momentary changes of nature, and of blending the green of leaves and grass with the grey of his fleecy clouds; here, too, Rousseau acquired his emotional apprehension of landscape, and Diaz bestowed on the glades of sylvan scenery the glow of colour in which his Spanish instinct delighted. And, above all, it was on the outskirts of the forest that the

Homer of rural life—but a Homer in *patois*—caught, and fixed upon his canvas, the cadenced, rhythmic movement of the sower, and the painful, laboured effort of the overladen woodcutter, or translated into form and colours the terrible page in which La Bruyère describes the hopeless uneventful toil of the French peasant, or revived the pious sensations of his own Norman childhood, when, at declining day, the peasants raise themselves erect from their toil to repeat the 'Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariæ.'

Fontainebleau sums up in itself the history of the French nation and of French art. It will be possible in the following pages to indicate only a few of the associations which the forest and the palace suggest. The palace owes its existence to the forest. Official exigencies of State dictated the selection of the Louvre, St. Cloud, Versailles, the Tuileries, Vincennes, or St. Germains, as residences of French sovereigns. Chinon, the Windsor of Touraine, which crowns the line of cliffs that rise above the Vienne, was a stronghold that defied the English invader. Bourges afforded a refuge to the *roitelet* from his powerful rival, the king of England. Blois and Amboise and Angers were strongholds that command the passages of the Loire. But Fontainebleau was emphatically a hunting lodge.

The ancient province of the Gâtinais (*Pagus Wastinensis*) on the left bank of the Seine was united to the French crown by Philip I. in 1068. Within its limits was situated the ancient forest of Bieria,* which had become proverbial in the middle ages for the size and beauty of its trees. In the 'Roman de la Rose' a hero bears a lance, the handle of which, cut in the forest of Thuerie, was so strong that

'Il n'en croît nulle telle en Bière.'

The whole country took the name of Bière, and the word still survives in official documents and in the local nomenclature of the Department of Seine-et-Marne. But the name of the more modern palace was gradually extended to the forest, and entirely superseded its ancient title.

Before the year 1068 it would be vain to seek for any mention of the palace of Fontainebleau. Between that date and 1137 the first royal residence was built. In the latter year occurs the first record of the palace, though that record in itself affords a proof of its anterior existence. A charter

* In Low Latin, Bieria, or Bierria, means a plain; hence the Bieria Sylva means the forest of the plain.

of Louis VII. is extant which closes with this protocol in Latin: 'Given at Fontaine-Bléaud, in public, in the year '1137, the first of our reign, there being present in our 'palace those whose names and signatures are subscribed 'below.' The charter, which confirms the foundation of the Abbey of Val-Sainte-Marie in Auvergne, is said to be 'actum 'apud fontem Bleaudi.' The 'fons Bleaudi' became Fontainebleau. But the origin of the term is lost in the mists of antiquity. Ancient antiquaries, delighting in that guess-work which threw discredit on their learning, exercised their ingenuity in explanations. Some invented an eponymous hero; others argued that the word commemorated the sagacity of the dog 'Blaut' which discovered the spring; others traced the name to the clearness of the water, which made a French Calirrhöe of the 'Fontaine-belle-eau.' All that can be said with certainty is that the etymology of the word is the 'Fontem Blialdi,' and its meaning 'the spring 'of the mantle;' but the attempt to trace the derivation of the title must be abandoned to the imagination.*

There existed, then, at Fontainebleau, in the first year of the reign of Louis VII., a royal palace, which was capable of holding the king and all the great officers of his court, and which was, with certainty, built at least in the time of his predecessor, Louis VI., called 'the Fat.' Nothing more unlike the modern palace can be imagined than this mediæval donjon. Those who are familiar with the house of Jacques Cœur at Bourges know how, three centuries later, defensive strength was still at least as much the aim of builders as comfort or splendour; on the inner side a palace, it is on the outer side a fortification. Fontainebleau in the days of Louis VII. was a fortified castle, a gloomy keep occupying the site of the present 'Cour Ovale,' flanked by towers, protected by lofty walls, strengthened by a moat, and approached by a drawbridge. Few traces remain of the early fortress, but the existing buildings were erected on its foundations, and its form is preserved in the irregular shape of the courtyard. Within the baily of the fortress stood the chapel of St. Saturnin, bishop and martyr of

* The word 'Blialdus,' 'Blaudus,' 'Bliaudus,' and other analogous forms, is frequently met with in Low Latin documents. Du Cange gives its meaning as 'vestis species,' and illustrates its use in Old French from the mediæval romances—*e.g.* 'De mult riche bliaut fut la dame parée,' 'bliaut de samis,' 'bliaut de fourrure.'

Toulouse, finished, as the inscription in the subterranean crypt states, by Louis VII. in 1169. Thus the feudal stronghold of the Cour Ovale formed the nucleus round which gathered, at different epochs, the present magnificent and heterogeneous structure. Anyone who passes from part to part of the great building, and asks himself 'What hap-'pened here?' 'What king built this or that portion of the 'palace?' 'What effect did his life or death produce upon 'France?' will gain a truer and more real knowledge of the history of the country than can be derived from the reading of books.

It was to Fontainebleau that Philip Augustus returned from the Crusades, or in the intervals of the war which he waged against Richard Cœur-de-Lion. Here, in 1191, he celebrated Christmas in the company of a brilliant throng of nobles with splendid festivities, before he offered thanks for his return at the shrine of the *bienheureux* St. Denis. Here, six years later, he signed a charter, which conveyed the hermitage of Franchard to the monastery of St. Euverte of Orleans. The site of the lonely cave, hollowed in the rock, its floor worn by the knees of the hermits, who lived a life of prayer, surrounded by fierce beasts of prey or still more savage human beings, is now a café thronged with pleasure-seekers. The contrast between a feudal donjon of Louis VI. and the palace of Fontainebleau as it exists to-day sums up the history of France. The advice of Adolphus Joanne to the modern tourist, compared with the counsel of Abbot Stephen to the solitary recluse of Franchard, epitomises, as it were, another aspect of the passage of time from the twelfth to the nineteenth century. Listen to the words * which the abbot of St. Geneviève of Paris addressed to William de Bierria, who had left the religious house of St. Euverte of Orleans to occupy the newly founded cell in the forest of Bière or Fontainebleau.

'Weep for thyself; weep for thy neighbour; weep also for the Lord. Weep for thyself, reviewing thy past years in bitterness of spirit. Weep for thy neighbour, that is for all who live or are dead, in the faith of Christ. Weep also for the Lord, being weary of this present life, and desiring that which is eternal. Let thy first tear be shed, that God may remember no more against thee the wilful, or unwitting, sins of thy youth; thy second, that the living may eschew evil and per-

* The translation is taken from the 'Anglican Church Magazine' for March 1891.

severe in good works, and that the dead may rest in peace; thy third, that thou mayest shortly be rid of the body of this death, and be with Christ, crying, "Alas, that my sojourn here is so long!" Let thy first tear, my brother, be a tear of penitence and contrition; thy second a tear of compassion and pity; thy third a tear of faith and thanksgiving.

'From prayer turn then to reading, and from reading to meditation, that so thou mayest mark, learn, and inwardly digest what thou hast read, and store it in the garner of thy memory. But take heed lest, by overmuch reading, thine eyes be dimmed, or thy brain be made to reel. Be moderate in thy reading, and afterwards neglect not to walk to and fro in thy cell, or to go forth into thy garden and rest thy failing eyes by the sight of the green herbs that grow therein—few and scanty though they be—or by the contemplation of thy beehives, that so the bees may be to thee for an ensample and a consolation. Among such diversities of occupation, thou shalt regard the roughness of the desert as the foretaste of the joys of heaven.'

As the centuries advance, Fontainebleau is brought more and more closely into direct contact with the general stream of French history. Especially is it associated with the glories of St. Louis, of Francis I., of Henry IV., and Napoleon I. Four of the greatest of French monarchs made Fontainebleau their favourite residence, and lavished their treasures upon its walls.

Fontainebleau was the centre of the 'chers déserts' of St. Louis, endeared to him not only by the pleasures of the chase, but by the memory of his mother, Blanche of Castille, who passed much of her time in the neighbourhood. On the banks of the Loing, by the road to Nemours, are still to be seen the vast ruins of her favourite Castle of Grez. Her son shared his mother's love for the forest. St. Louis was the first great builder at Fontainebleau. Under the shadow of the donjon keep, he built the pavilion which still stands, and is still called by his name. Hunting was his favourite pastime. It was probably no accident that the first didactic work on venery was composed in his reign—the 'Book of King Modus and Queen Racio.' He was not always so absorbed in crusading enterprises, or in dreams of heavenly beauty, as to neglect the delights of the chase. Among the treasures which he brought back from the East were the grey dogs of Tartar race that he introduced into the forest. A lasting monument of his passion for hunting still survives these. Near the village of Bois-le-Roi rises a little hill, the summit of which is crowned by the ruins of the hermitage of St. Louis. The king was separated from his attendants in the ardour of his pursuit of a stag,

when he was suddenly attacked by robbers. He blew his horn for assistance, but none came. He was at his last gasp, when his courtiers rode up. In gratitude for his escape he founded a hermitage, and dedicated it to St. Vincent, on whose day (January 22) he was thus rescued from danger.

Many scenes in the life of St. Louis are associated with Fontainebleau. It was here that, in 1228, he confirmed the privileges of the University of Paris. Here, too, in 1259, believing himself to be at the point of death, he called his son to his bedside, and delivered to him one of those exhortations which Bossuet calls the sacred heirlooms of the children of St. Louis. 'Son,' said he, 'I pray thee to 'make thyself beloved by the people of thy realm. For, 'verily, I had rather that a Scot should come out of Scot-'land, and rule the kingdom well and loyally, than that 'thou shouldest rule it ill and to evil report.' The king was restored to health, and, in gratitude for his recovery, founded a hospital by the side of the castle, and within its walls, for the sick of the neighbouring country. He entrusted it to the care of the brethren of the Order of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Mathurins. For a time he gave to the brethren the existing chapel of St. Saturnin,* but afterwards built for their special use the chapel of the Holy Trinity, on the site of which the present chapel is founded. Thus, side by side, Church and State existed within the same walls. In architecture, as well as in politics, the union has produced strange irregularities, which are exemplified, not only in the Cour Ovale at Fontainebleau, but in the Escurial of Spain, the Mafra of Portugal, the Superga of Sardinia.

Joinville records the words of St. Louis to his son. The same chronicler relates a trick which the king played upon his courtiers at Fontainebleau. On Christmas Eve a procession of courtiers entered the brilliantly lighted chapel of St. Saturnin. The king's custom on that anniversary was to present the officers of the household with fur cloaks, and all wore the royal gift. But Louis had secretly caused a cross to be embroidered in dark silk on the backs of the cloaks, so that, as they passed into the chapel, each

* On the ruins of this chapel Francis I. built the present Chapel of St. Saturnin, which is raised to a level with the ground. The older edifice, part of which belongs to the twelfth century, and is said to have been consecrated by Archbishop Becket, remains as a crypt.

man saw the crusading symbol on his neighbour's back. Perplexed and bewildered, they knew not how to interpret the king's purpose. But when St. Louis came forward, himself wearing the cross upon his shoulders, and asked whether they had the heart to tear off the badge and send him to the Holy Land alone, they cried with one voice, 'We will follow thee! We will keep the cross!'

At Fontainebleau in 1268 Philip the Fair was born. His reign formed a marked era in the history of France. Now was inaugurated the foreign policy of Henry IV. and Richelieu. The strength of feudalism was weakened, the government concentrated, justice established, an army organised, the religious and secular power separated, and, to crown the whole, the nation was for the first time summoned to a States-General. The changes bore the trace of the vigorous personality of the active, resolute, persevering king. Like his grandfather, Philip added many buildings to the palace; like him, he delighted in the pleasures of the chase; and it was in the Forest of Fontainebleau, in 1341, when in pursuit of a wild boar, 'grand et merveilleux,' that he met his death by a fall from his horse. Thus the king, within the appointed time, obeyed the summons of the illustrious victim of his policy, Jacques de Molay, Grand Master of the Templars, who, at the stake, had bidden Philip to meet him 'four months hence at the judgement seat of God.' It was long believed that the heart of Philip the Fair was buried at Avon, the mother parish of Fontainebleau. The accuracy of modern historians discovered that it is his cook, and not his heart, that reposes there.

It was in the castle of Fontainebleau that Charles V., surnamed the Wise, founded his famous library, and here, as tradition asserts, by paintings on its walls Charles VII. commemorated his victories over the English. But from the death of Philip the Fair till the accession of Francis I. the stream of history flowed in other channels, and Fontainebleau is associated with none of the great episodes in the struggle between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, or between the French and the English. The exigencies of State policy led sovereign after sovereign to prefer the castles of Touraine. It was, for example, at Chinon, or at Loches, that Charles VII. passed his life, though, faithful to Agnes Sorel in death, it was at Jumièges that he desired to be buried by her side. It was at Plessis-lez-Tours, in the turret chamber beyond the existing guard-room of the Scottish archers, that Louis XI. immured himself; it was in the iron cage or dungeons of

Loches that his victims languished; and it was at Cléry, near Orleans, that the 'perjured prince' adored his 'leaden 'saint.' At Amboise Charles VIII. founded his Italian colony, and in its precincts still exists the low-arched doorway which proved fatal to the King. At Blois Louis XII. was born, and he preferred his birthplace to all his other castles, and it was to Blois that he invited the great artist whom his secretary calls Leonard Davince.

The modern Fontainebleau dates from the gallant knight-errant, Francis I. A giant among his courtiers, a graceful horseman, an expert wrestler, a dexterous swordsman, Francis was hailed as the glass of fashion and the mirror of chivalry. Succeeding to the throne at a moment when the young nobility of France were wearied of the economies of 'le bon 'roi Louis Douze,' he enjoyed the means as well as the opportunity of indulging his love of lavish display. Deeply read in chivalric romances, he had framed to himself an ideal of a knightly king, and, in the opinion of his flatterers, he united the love of glory and highbred courtesy of Roland with the virtues of the most constant of lovers, Amadis de Gaule. It was Francis and the brilliant Pleiad of artists whom he gathered round him who were the true creators of the modern Fontainebleau. Everywhere his salamander appears upon the walls, ceilings, and woodwork, commemorating the victories of the king—to whom had yielded the bear of the Swiss, the eagles of the Germans, the snake of Milan.

'Ursus atrox, aquilæque leves, et tortilis anguis
Cesserunt flammæ jam, Salamandra, tuæ.'

It was Francis I. who reconstructed the ancient buildings and added tenfold to their extent and decorative splendour. Vast sums of money were expended on the palace which he called '*mon* Fontainebleau,' his beloved 'Chez Moi,' and which was now transformed from a feudal castle into 'la vraie 'maison des rois,' to quote the words of Napoleon I.—'la 'demeure des siècles.' All the forces which had revolutionised society were reflected in the changes effected at Fontainebleau. Italian influences, grace, and refinement of manners, reverence for classical antiquity—everything, in short, that inspired the Renaissance movement—are imprinted on the style and the form of the architecture and the decoration. At one bound, as it were, we pass from the feudal world to modern requirements — from defensive strength to tasteful elegance. The distinguished colony of

Italian artists whom Francis employed upon the work powerfully affected the direction of the art of the French Renaissance. To the grave companions of St. Louis, or the rude warriors of the Middle Ages, succeeded the architects, painters, sculptors, metal-workers, and scholars of Italy. In the centre of the 'chers déserts,' to which a saintly king came to dream of heavenly glory, rose a palace of Armida, the fitting scene for the ideal pageants of artists, or the gorgeous festivities of an Arabian Caliph. Fontainebleau became a French Vatican in which Francis played the part of Leo the Magnificent, and made of his palace, in the words of Benvenuto Cellini, a second Rome.

At the summons of this magnificent patron of the arts, the Mæcenas of France, as he delighted to be called, Leonardo da Vinci came to Fontainebleau to be received with all the honours of his right divine of genius, to be petted and honoured by the king in his soured and querulous old age. Though Leonardo painted nothing in France, he brought with him into the country the famous 'Mona Lisa,' which is still one of the chief glories of the Louvre. In France he died, at the Château de Clous, in 1529, not, as tradition relates, in the arms of the king, but with his friend Malzi at his bedside. To Fontainebleau came also Andrea del Sarto, and here he laboured fitfully till he left his art for the soulless beauty of his wife, to whom he sacrificed his splendid gifts. But neither Leonardo nor Andrea del Sarto is the creator of Fontainebleau. The plan of the new buildings was designed by the architect Serlio, and they were partly executed under the superintendence of Rosso, and subsequently of Primaticcio. Before the plans could be carried out, the space had to be enlarged. It is a significant commentary on the tendency of the time, that the religious order of the Mathurins, established by St. Louis, were bought out, and the buildings, which they had occupied, handed over to Italians inspired by the revived paganism of the Renaissance. It was now that the Cour Ovale, the site of the donjon of St. Louis, received something like its present shape. The great courtyard, by which the palace is entered from the side of Paris, was also laid out in its existing form. Year after year, and reign after reign, vast treasures of money and of genius were lavished on the walls within and without, and the work of construction, destruction, and decoration may be said to have continued to the days of Napoleon III.

Under Francis I., Battista di Jacopo, called by the French

Maître Roux, and by the Italians Rosso, from the colour of his hair and complexion, was appointed 'chief and superintendent over all the buildings, paintings, and other decoration of the palace.' He enjoyed a princely salary, a house in Paris, apartments at Fontainebleau, a canonry as abbé, and a train of attendants befitting his wealth and position. For some years he reigned alone, until his supremacy was disputed by Primaticcio, whose rising genius attracted the notice of Francis I. In the palace are still preserved traces of the jealousy of the two great artists, each sustained by the rivalry of a royal mistress. When Rosso poisoned himself in 1541, Primaticcio succeeded to his rival's place as chief and superintendent, and, supported by the Duchesse d'Étampes, was enabled to rid himself of so formidable a competitor as Benvenuto Cellini. Round the quarrels of these great artists are interwoven the rivalries of the two royal mistresses. In the figure of Danae visited by Jupiter in the shape of golden rain is recorded the beauty of Anne de Pisseleu, the girl who was trained by Louise of Savoy for the part of royal mistress, and who, for twenty years, and till the death of Francis I., was *maîtresse en titre*. The patroness of poets and painters, the protectress of the reformed religion, the wittiest of learned ladies, the most beautiful of bluestockings, she held her own against her rival Diane de Poitiers. But at the accession of Henry II. came Diane's hour of triumph. Even during the lifetime of Francis the heart of Henry was held captive by his father's mistress, whose wonderful retention of her beauty, and her supremacy over two successive sovereigns, were attributed to sorcery. Her portrait, with the bow and arrows and hound of the chaste goddess Diana, her crescent moons, her monograms, her emblems, everywhere attest her absolute rule over Henry II., who, on all public occasions, wore her colours of black slashed with white.

Nor was it only in depicting the rivalries of royal mistresses that the genius of artists was employed. Here, during the sixteenth century, laboured on buildings, frescoes, ceilings, panelling, paintings, sculptures, Lucca Penni, Naldini, Bellini, Pellegrini, Niccolò dell' Abbate, and a host of native artists, such as Jean Cousin, Pierre Bontemps, Jean Goujon, Germain Pilon, Jean Lescot, and Philibert Delorme. The agents of the king scoured Europe to collect arms, and jewels, and works of art. At Rome Primaticcio purchased for his royal master specimens of ancient statuary, and Vasari counts 125 famous masterpieces which thus

passed into the possession of the French. At Rome, also, were working a director and staff of skilled workmen, who copied and modelled the sculptures and bas-reliefs which Francis was unable to purchase or transport to France. Nowhere were the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Italian cookery served on a greater profusion of gold and silver plate; nowhere was the table adorned with such splendid specimens of the glass manufactories of Venice and the rival establishments in France. Matteo was summoned from Verona to superintend the metal-workers. Tapestries were brought from Arras and Brussels, and a manufactory was set up in Fontainebleau, where workmen executed the designs of Primaticcio. Manuscripts were gathered from Europe and from Asia to enrich the royal library, already enlarged by the collections brought from Blois and by the confiscated treasures of the Constable of Bourbon. Among the custodians of the royal library were Budé, Duchatel, Amyot, and J. A. de Thou. Priceless frescoes and pictures, statues of inestimable worth, rare manuscripts, treasures of golden and silver plate, of gems, jewelry, and arms, made the Fontainebleau of Francis I. and Henry II. the admiration and envy of Europe. It was now that in the chapel raised upon the subterranean crypt of St. Saturnin, the crescent of Diane de Poitiers appeared above the altar, epitomising, as it were, the transition from the mediæval piety of St. Louis to the cultivated taste and elegant license of the Renaissance.

In this magnificent palace Francis I. received the Emperor Charles V. For once, and for once only, Rosso and Primaticcio laid aside their professional jealousies and personal rivalries, and united in the effort to celebrate the advent of such a guest with becoming magnificence. The ancient enemy of the French monarchy was met in the forest by troops of gods and godesses, by fauns, satyrs, and woodland nymphs. Balls, masquerades, banquets, hunting parties, tournaments, illuminations, were organised in his honour. On the first night of his arrival the Duchesse d'Étampes herself brought the water to wash his hands, and the astute emperor, so runs the incredible legend, seized the opportunity of conciliating the powerful mistress. He dropped into the ewer a magnificent diamond, which the duchesse returned to him. He entreated her to keep it, and so, it is said, won her over to his political schemes.

The works of Francis I. were carried on by his successors. Catherine de Medicis had inherited from her family, and brought from Italy, the love of the fine arts, and in this

taste, at least, was in sympathy with her husband. In 1533 Catherine, then an orphan, and 'a short thickset girl of 'thirteen, with a large head, flat face, and restless eyes,' had been married to Henry of Orleans, a well-grown, handsome youth of fifteen. Even when just in her teens she was described as 'very subtle-minded, reserved, full of ambition 'and artifice.' The marriage with the daughter of the Florentine banker, which was the price paid by Francis for the support of Pope Clement VII. in his claims to the imperial crown, was regarded by the French aristocracy as a *mésalliance.* Over her husband Catherine had little influence. He was already captive in the chains of Diane de Poitiers. But she was prepared to observe, to watch, and wait; for the stars had foretold her destined rule over the King of France. Like her father-in-law, and like her husband, she was an enthusiastic builder. Her special superstitions are strongly marked in the palaces she inhabited. At Chaumont, for instance, is the little turret by which she could ascend the roof to study the constellations. At Blois, again, the tower of her astrologer stands close to the château.

It was an age of building. At Chambord, Anet, Chenonceaux, the Louvre, Blois, great works were in progress. At Fontainebleau, under Henry II., the building and the decoration of the palace continued uninterruptedly, broken only by the occasional removal of some master-builder suspected of the new opinions. Here, at Fontainebleau, were born two of his sons, afterwards Francis II. and Charles IX. The great work which commemorates the name of Henry II. is the gallery, called after his name, on which Primaticcio and Niccolò dell' Abbate squandered their artistic talents. On the ceiling, and on the walls, are to be seen his monogram, which was capable of being read as H. C. or H. D., according to the sympathies of the supporters of Catherine de Medicis or of Diane de Poitiers. But in other decorations less ambiguity was possible; everywhere predominate the emblems of *la vieille ridée,* as her enemies called her, who caught and held for twenty years the heart of Henry II. It was from the study of this gallery, constructed and decorated in the purest style of the Renaissance, that the great French artists, who were destined to be the leaders of the French movement, and to give to the exaggerated imitation of Italian traditions the simplicity and purity of a native school, drew their inspiration.

In the tiltyard at the Palace of Des Tourelles, which

then stood at the end of the Rue St. Antoine, and was still the royal residence at Paris, Henry met his death from the lance of Montgomery. But it was at Fontainebleau that his son and successor, Francis II., terrified by the conspiracy of Amboise, convened an extraordinary assembly to consider the affairs of the nation. The council met in August, 1560, and, with the exception of the King of Navarre and Condé, it was attended by all the great leaders in the coming struggle between the Huguenots and the Catholics. The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine were present on the one side; on the other, Coligny and his brother Châtillon. Moderate counsels found their spokesman in the Chancellor L'Hôpital. The deliberations lasted four days. It was then that Coligny delivered a fiery speech, in which he demanded toleration for the Calvinists, and, in words that must have sounded to his hearers like a threat, declared that 50,000 men would support his request. There, also, Jean de Montluc, Bishop of Valence, exposed the vices of the higher ranks of the clergy. The result of the conference was the convocation of the States-General at Orleans. Trusting to the king's safe conduct, Condé attended its deliberations. But he was arrested, condemned to the scaffold, and only escaped with his life through the sudden death of the king in December 1560.

Fontainebleau was the birthplace of Charles IX. Its forests were to him the enchanted Broceliande, in which he and his brothers had played the parts of the heroes of mediæval romance. The half-mad boy excelled his predecessors in lavish expenditure on the festivities with which he sought to distract his mind. Here the courtiers ruined themselves and squandered their estates in the extravagance of their attire. Fashions changed from hour to hour. To-day the brim of the hat extended beyond the shoulders; to-morrow the cap scarcely covered the head. Now the mantle reached to the ankles, now to the loins. One day shoes were worn 'in the Greek fashion,' as high as the middle of the leg; another day they were 'in the fashion of Savoy, 'so short and narrow that they resembled tubes.' A score of dresses, all richly embroidered with stores of laces, feathers, and ruffles, were required by anyone who wished to make a decent appearance at court. At Fontainebleau lists for tournaments were erected, closed with barriers and commanded by bowers, in which sat the courtly beauties. At one end stood an enchanted castle held by six adventurous knights, and guarded by a monstrous giant and a

diminutive dwarf. Here the princes and nobles of the court disported themselves; now dividing into Greeks and Trojans; now, as wandering knights, rescuing fair ladies from the enchanted castle; now dividing into companies and fighting against each other under chosen leaders. It was from Fontainebleau that Charles and his mother set out on their lengthy progress through the south of France, that fatal journey in which, as Protestant historians assert, the queen and the Duke of Alva plotted to exterminate the Huguenots. Tournaments and banquets and masquerades were redoubled after the massacre of St. Bartholomew. By a perpetual Arabian Nights' Entertainment Catherine vainly strove to lay the ghost of remorse, which her action had roused in the unhappy, lean, demented, red-haired youth to whom life had become a grievous burden.

None of the French sovereigns showed a deeper love for Fontainebleau than Henry IV., and with none are more events of his reign associated. His monogram, as well as his shield, quartering the lilies of France with the girony of eight which belongs to Navarre, are seen in every part of the palace. Sometimes his 'H' is linked with the 'M' of his wife, Marie de Medicis. Here and there the 'S,' traversed by an arrow, which was the punning device of Gabrielle d'Estrées, commemorates, like the crescents of Diane de Poitiers, the ascendency of an uncrowned queen. The chapel of the Holy Trinity, close to the great entrance of the palace, was his work. Upon it a number of French artists, among whom were Germain Pilon* and Jean Dubois, have employed their genius under the direction of Freminet. The origin of the chapel dates from 1608, when the Spanish ambassador visited Fontainebleau. Observing the mean appearance of the existing chapel, Don Pedro remarked that 'God was more poorly lodged than the king.' Henry was ready with his retort. 'It is because,' he replied, 'the 'French do not enshrine their God as do the Spaniards only 'within four walls. They lodge Him also in their hearts.' But the taunt produced its effect, and the chapel was its result. Its construction is, as it were, a translation into stone of the strong reaction against Protestantism which the seventeenth century witnessed in France. In the chapel have been celebrated innumerable royal marriages and royal

* Pilon is said to have executed some of the work at the chapel; but, if the date now most commonly assigned for his death (1590) is correct, this is impossible.

baptisms; but more interesting than these were the masses of St. Hubert, which were celebrated on the day dedicated to the patron saint of the chase in the presence, and for the safety of,

> 'Mastiff, greyhound, mongrel grim,
> Hound or spaniel, brach or lym,
> Or bobtail tyke or trundle tail.'

There every year, from the reign of Henry IV. to that of Napoleon III., masses were said 'en présence des lévriers, 'braques, bassets, chiens courants, batteurs, babillants, et 'toute la populace des chiens,' for whose preservation from danger prayer was made to Heaven.

One of the favourite legends of the forest commemorates Henry's passion for the chase. In the early spring of 1599 the king was hunting in the part of the forest which lies on the road to Moret, and near him were riding the princes and great nobles of his court. Suddenly the whole company heard the clang of horns, the cries of huntsmen, and the yapping of hounds, coming, as it seemed to them, from a spot at least half a league distant. The next moment the noises which had seemed so remote sounded in their very ears. The king sent the Comte de Soissons and other persons with him to discover what the sounds meant. Yet, though they heard the noises all around them, they could not see whence they proceeded. But in the densest part of the thicket they saw a tall black figure of very hideous countenance, who raised his head above the bushes, and said, 'M'entendez-vous?' or 'Qu'attendez-vous?' or, as some maintained, for they were too startled to be certain of the words, 'Amendez-vous.' And the next moment the spectre vanished.

The courtiers returned and told the king what they had witnessed. Then he sent for the charcoal-burners, the wood-cutters, the shepherds, and other persons, who are at all times and seasons in the forest, and inquired of them whether they had ever seen any such spectre, or heard similar sounds of huntsmen, horns, and hounds. And they replied that very often a tall dark man, accoutred as a huntsman, appeared to them, and that they called him the 'Grand Veneur.' It is added that Sully, while sitting in his cabinet, heard, almost at his windows, the noise of a hunting party. Believing that it was the king returning, he hastened to meet him. But he found no one there, and afterwards he learned that the king was at that moment three leagues away.

'I know,' adds Dan, 'that many authors tell stories of the chase of St. Hubert, which they say that they hear in various places. Nor am I ignorant of what is told of the "whipper," who appeared to Charles IX. in the Forest of Lyons, and who left the marks of the lashes of his whip upon a number of persons. Nor do I doubt that there may be demons who wander through the forest as well as through the air. But I also know very well that as to this "Grand Veneur," nothing can be said for certain.'

Was it in consequence of this warning apparition that, as Easter 1599 approached, Henry IV. followed the counsel of his confessor, and dismissed Gabrielle d'Estrées for a fortnight from the court? Was it poison which, during this same temporary absence, cut short her career at the table of the financier Zamet? A mystery hangs over the fate of Henry's fascinating mistress, who, as even Protestant historians relate, lived in the court without making a single enemy.

Henry was not only an enthusiastic sportsman, but, like Francis I., a great decorator and builder. He laid out the gardens and the park, forming the 'Mail Henri Quatre,' and adorning the centre of the lake with its island temple. Many of the structures erected in his reign have been altered by his successors, and especially by Louis XV.; others still remain intact. The Galerie des Cerfs, as well as the Galerie de Diane, were his works. In the former Monaldeschi was murdered; in the latter, built at the request of Gabrielle d'Estrées, the library is now arranged. Henry's private cabinet still remains, at the door of which Biron was arrested. The 'Salle de Conseil' is now the Musée Chinois; but it is more interesting as the room in which was held the famous conference between Du Plessis Mornay and the Cardinal Du Perron. The detached pavilion on the east of the palace was built by him for Sully, and, for convenience of access, it communicated with the main building by arcades. The open dome, under which the entrance to the Cour Ovale passes, was erected by him for the open-air baptism of his son, afterwards Louis XIII.

In the Salle de Conseil at Fontainebleau on Tuesday, May 4, 1599, was held the famous conference, in which the Pope of the Protestants, Du Plessis Mornay, was confronted with the Bishop of Evreux, afterwards Cardinal Du Perron. In his book on the Eucharist* Du Plessis Mornay made a variety of quotations which the bishop alleged to be false.

* Traité de l'Institution de l'Eucharistie.

The conference was summoned not to decide points of doctrine, but to determine the authenticity of the Protestant quotations. In the centre of the Salle de Conseil, which ran along one side of the Cour Ovale, was placed a porphyry table. There, at one o'clock, the members of the Council took their places. The king sat at one end, having on his right the Roman Catholic champion, on his left the Protestant leader. At the opposite end of the table sat the secretaries. Behind, and on either side of the king, were princes, great officers of State, archbishops, bishops, and nobles. Among the commissioners appointed to assist the king from the two hostile communions was Casaubon.

The assembly took their places. A copy of Du Plessis Mornay's work, printed in quarto form at Rochelle by Hautin, was placed before the king. By the side of the incriminated book was set a list of sixty passages selected from the 500 impugned by Du Perron. The inquiry began with a further choice of nineteen passages from the shorter list, and on the authenticity of these the question turned. Nine passages only had been examined, and in the case of all, so say the Roman Catholic historians, had the meaning of the quotations been falsified, when the Protestant leader fell ill. His sickness, said his enemies, was feigned. Be this as it may, he did not return to the conference, which therefore was broken up. The defeat of their champion was a severe blow to the Huguenot cause, and many persons at once abjured Calvinism. Thus, rejoices Dan, 'As it had pleased 'God to create the Hydra of heresy, so also it pleased Him 'to create the Hercules for its destruction.'

At Fontainebleau also was enacted the first scene in the tragic fate of the Marshal de Biron. Biron, who was governor of Burgundy, was suspected by the king of intriguing with Spain and Savoy. His designs were betrayed by his secretary, Lafin, who placed in Henry's hands evidence which proved the guilt of the Marshal Biron. He was therefore summoned by Henry to Fontainebleau. Biron arrived on Wednesday, June 13, 1602. He reached the palace at six in the morning, and found the king just entering the garden. Henry received him graciously, and embraced him with much kindness. Then, taking him by the hand, he walked with him through the gardens, pointing out the buildings and other works which he was carrying out. He then pressed him closely to tell him the truth, promising him his pardon. But Biron, believing in the fidelity of Lafin, who had in fact betrayed him, replied that he had

nothing to confess, and he refused a favour of which he had no need.

After a long conversation, they parted for dinner. The meal ended, they walked in the Salle de la Belle Cheminée, and, as they looked at the equestrian statue of the king in full armour, which forms its central ornament, Henry asked the marshal, perhaps with the purpose of sounding him, 'What, think you, would the King of Spain say if he saw 'me like that?' Biron, in his usual brusque manner, and without casting about for graceful compliments, replied, 'Sire, he would have no fear of you at all.' The king was piqued by the answer, and shortly afterwards retired to his cabinet. Presently Biron was summoned to his presence, and again urged to make a full confession. Again he refused, asserting that he had nothing to confess. 'I want,' said the king to Sully, 'to pardon this unfortunate man; 'but I am afraid if I do so, he on his side will neither for-'give me, nor my son, nor the State.' Sully then endeavoured to induce the marshal to make a full confession. But he met with no better success. 'I have nothing to tell the 'king or you,' was Biron's answer.

In the afternoon the king played at tennis, with the Comte de Soissons for his partner, against the Duc d'Epernon and Biron. The marshal made a brilliant stroke, which elicited from the king the remark, 'You are a fine player, 'marshal, but you are never on good terms with your 'partner.' And the onlookers, interpreting the words by subsequent events, found in them a sinister meaning.

After the set was finished the king went to supper. Once more, through the Comte de Soissons, he endeavoured to induce Biron to confess, but the latter strongly maintained his innocence. The next morning the king summoned him to the garden and asked him, 'Well, Monsieur de Biron, is 'there no possible means by which we may learn something 'from you?' Then Biron lost his temper, breaking out into vehement invectives against all who had slandered him to the king. Henry at once took his measures. The marshal's friends advised him to escape. The Comtesse de Roussi sent him a note, saying, 'If you are not off at once, in two 'hours you will be arrested.' While playing at cards with the queen, the Comte d'Auvergne whispered in his ear, 'It 'is not well for us to be here.' Still, however, Biron lingered. At midnight, as he was leaving the king's apartment, he was arrested and confined in the Pavillon des Armes close to the tennis court. The next evening he was

taken by boat to Paris to be imprisoned in the Bastille. There, a few weeks later, he was led by torchlight into the courtyard of the prison and beheaded. The one favour which Henry granted to his former friend was to spare him a public execution in the Place de la Grève.

Four years later Fontainebleau was the scene of a magnificent spectacle. The Dauphin of France, afterwards Louis XIII., and his two sisters were baptized in the baptistery erected for the purpose in the gateway entering the Cour Ovale. The whole of the courtyard was covered over with an awning. All the grandees of the realm were present, and Pope Paul V. was represented by his legate as one of the godfathers. The ceremony, which began at four, ended at six. It was followed by illuminations, and banquetings continued into the next day. Never was such magnificence seen before. The hilt of the sword of the Duc d'Epernon was set with 1,800 diamonds; the dress of the Marshal de Bassompierre, which cost 600 crowns, was of violet cloth of gold, and in the embroidery there was employed 50 lbs. weight of pearls. The baptism was accompanied also by strange portents in the sky. The heavens were lit up by a bright light which passed from west to east; armies of men, some on fiery cars, some on foot, some on horseback, fought battles in mid-air; the contest was furious, and multitudes seemed to be slain. The strange spectacle was interpreted by astrologers to mean that the young dauphin would receive the crown of Germany, reconquer Europe from the Turks, and overthrow the Ottoman Empire.

Throughout the reign of Louis XIII. the work of building and decoration continued without interruption. The monogram of the king and his wife, Anne of Austria, as well as inscriptions commemorating the victories of the modern Hercules over the Protestant heresies, attests the hand of the royal builder. He completed the chapel of the Holy Trinity; he built the external staircase by which the palace is entered on the western side, and in nearly all the rooms and galleries some traces of the decorative art of his reign may be seen. It is rather the art than the history of the time which is illustrated in the palace.

Few events of the reign are connected with Fontainebleau. But it was here that the peace with England was signed in 1629. Hither, also, came more than once, borne in his huge crimson litter, Richelieu, whose clear-cut Dantesque features tell their tale of imperial purpose and high resolve, and from whose pitiless lips so often issued the words 'Pas de grâce,'

which were fatal to hundreds besides Marion Delorme. Nor, if tradition be true, was Fontainebleau wholly unconnected with the birth of Louis XIV. In the neighbourhood of the palace is a village named Féricy, renowned for the blessed waters of St. Osmane, which were celebrated for their efficacy among childless women. In 1637 water from this fountain was conveyed to the Louvre, and, nine months later, the queen, who had hitherto proved barren, bore a son and heir to the throne.

On May 4, 1643, Louis XIV. succeeded his father. During his childish years few personal associations connect him with Fontainebleau. The historical interest of the palace centres round two foreign queens, one of whom was an exile and the other had voluntarily abdicated her throne. In 1647 the palace offered an asylum to Queen Henrietta of England, and, nine years later, received Queen Christine of Sweden. With the latter guest is associated the tragedy of the death of Monaldeschi, whose sword and coat of mail are still preserved in the palace. The story of his murder which has been most generally followed is that told in the 'Memoirs' of Madame de Motteville. From her pen the story has received many embellishments. But among the Harleian MSS. is the official declaration of the only known eye-witness of the scene, and it is from his statement that the following account is mainly taken.

In 1656, Christine, Queen of Sweden, had abdicated her throne, and passed through Paris on her way to Italy. She made her entry on horseback, accompanied by the Duc de Guise, who represented the king, and was received at the Louvre with every sign of royal friendship. But her eccentricities, her manners, her language, her oaths, in course of time, so disgusted her hosts, that, in the following year, when she announced her intention of revisiting Paris, she was asked to halt at Fontainebleau. There, in October, 1657, the king paid her a state visit, returning to the capital the next day.

A few days later, on November 10, was enacted that ghastly tragedy which sent a thrill of horror throughout civilised Europe. On November 6, the queen summoned to her presence the superior of the convent of the Mathurins, Father Lebel. She received him alone, bound him over to secresy, and consigned to his care a sealed packet of papers. The following Saturday, on November 10, Lebel was again sent for. On entering the Galerie des Cerfs, the door was closely shut behind him. Halfway down the gallery stood

the queen, one of the gentlemen of her train, and three other persons with drawn swords. Christine asked for the packet of letters, broke the seals, showed some of the documents to her equerry, and asked if they were his. The equerry, who proved to be the Marquis de Monaldeschi, in trembling accents, denied that he had written them. They were, in fact, copies made by herself. Christine then showed him the originals, called him a traitor, and bade him acknowledge his hand. Monaldeschi then confessed the authorship of the letters, and, throwing himself upon his knees, implored pardon, casting the blame upon others, and making various excuses for his conduct.

Then Monaldeschi rose, and retired with the queen, first into one corner, then into another, of the gallery, praying her to hear his explanations. She listened with a totally unmoved countenance, sometimes asking a question, but never betraying the slightest sign of anger, and resting upon a round-handled stick of black ebony. At last, turning to Lebel, she said: 'Father, be my witness that I am 'doing nothing in haste, and that I allow this perfidious 'traitor all the time, and more than all the time, he could 'have expected, to justify his conduct.' And, in the hearing of Lebel, the marquis continued his pleadings. At the end of two hours, about three in the afternoon, she again turned to the priest, and said in a raised, but calm and serious, voice: 'Father, I am about to withdraw. I leave this man 'to you. Prepare him for death, and take care of his soul.' At these words, both Lebel and the marquis threw themselves at her feet, and pleaded for mercy. But Christine, addressing Lebel, told him that she could not grant him the favour which he asked. She had confided to Monaldeschi all her secrets, even all her thoughts, in the full belief that he was a faithful subject; she had heaped upon him benefits, as if he were her own and dearly loved brother; she had condemned many a man to the wheel for less offences than this traitor had committed, and she, therefore, adhered to her determination. So saying, she left the room.

The three men with their swords drawn then came close to the marquis and urged him to confess, while Lebel, with tears in his eyes, exhorted him to ask pardon of God. Monaldeschi threw himself at the knees of the priest, and implored him to intercede with the queen. So piteous and moving were his entreaties, that Sentinelli, the leader of the three executioners, sought the presence of Christine, and begged her to spare him. He returned in a few minutes, and

said, 'Marquis, turn your thoughts to your soul and to God. 'You must die!' Then Lebel endeavoured himself to divert the queen from her purpose. He found the blue-eyed, hawk-nosed woman as calm and collected as if she had given the simplest and most ordinary order. All his entreaties were utterly useless. He returned into the gallery, embraced the marquis, and exhorted him, in the most moving language at his command, to trust in God's mercy and prepare for death. At these words Monaldeschi uttered two or three piercing screams, and then, throwing himself on his knees before the priest, began to confess. In his agitation the confession was a jumble of Latin, French, and Italian.

Before the confession was completed, the royal almoner looked into the gallery. Seeing him, Monaldeschi sprang to his feet, and, without waiting for the absolution, implored his intercession. Seizing his hands, he pleaded so earnestly that the almoner left the room, taking with him the chief executioner. In a few minutes the latter returned alone, and, with the words 'Marquis, ask God's pardon! without 'further waste of time, you must die,' drove him back against the wall at the end of the gallery. With his sword, he struck the victim in the stomach. Monaldeschi grasped the sword with his hand, and the other, drawing it from him, cut off two of his fingers. But the sword was bent, showing that Monaldeschi wore, as proved to be the case, a coat of mail. Then one or other of the armed men struck him a blow in the face, and the marquis, crying 'Father! 'father!' sank on his knees. Lebel drew near; the executioners stood back; and Monaldeschi, having completed his confession, received absolution. The moment that the words were said he received a violent blow over the head, and lay on the floor, making signs to the executioners to cut his throat. They struck him several times on the neck, but the coat of mail intercepted the blows. He was still living, when again the door opened, and the almoner entered. Crawling along the floor, the wounded wretch dragged himself to the feet of the almoner, and from him again received absolution. This given, Sentinelli drove his sword through the throat of Christine's victim. The marquis never spoke again. He lingered a quarter of an hour longer, while Lebel hung over him, crying 'Jésus Maria' and other words of devotion. For many years the spot in the gallery where he breathed his last was marked with the word 'Dieu,' his last articulate utterance. At a quarter to four he was dead; at a quarter to six his corpse had been removed to the church

at Avon, where a tablet, bearing the inscription 'CY GIST 'MONALDELXI,' still marks the place of his interment. On the Sunday following Christine sent a sum of money to Lebel to provide masses for the soul of her late servant.

The murder of Monaldeschi is the most striking scene which connects the reign of Louis XIV. with Fontainebleau. Though the Grand Monarque paid frequent visits to the palace, and though it was here that, in 1661, he proclaimed, with festivities of extraordinary splendour, the birth of his son, yet Versailles and Marly were his favourite residences, and it was there that he celebrated the victories of Condé, Turenne, Vauban, and Luxembourg. The structural and decorative changes at Fontainebleau which were his handiwork betray the character of the king and of his age. The canons of pure taste, the laws of strict harmony, were forced to obey the will of the absolute despot. A profusion of heavy gilding marks the pomp and emphasis of the Augustan age of the Grand Monarque. In ingenious mythological fictions are celebrated the splendours of its Cæsar, who enters Dunkirk wearing the casque, breastplate, and cloak of a Roman, surmounted by the wig of the Court of Versailles. As at Versailles, so at Fontainebleau, the king delighted in fountains, and the groups of statues in marble or bronze which adorn 'les cascades' were the work of the sculptors of the period.

It was at Fontainebleau that Louis XIV. was first smitten with love for Louise de la Vallière. Here, in 1661, the year of his son's birth, the twenty-four 'violons du roi' struck up the overture to the first representation of one of Molière's comedies, in which the author himself played a part. Here, in 1690, James II. of England found a refuge in the palace which had sheltered his mother. Here, from time to time, were celebrated the brilliant festivities which marked the early portion of the king's reign, and here, in gloom and darkness, the sun of France slowly set. Here, under the rule of Madame de Maintenon, piety became the fashion; here, in her pavilion, she shivered with the cold, while she consulted Mouthier on new dishes to tickle the jaded palate of Louis. And it was at Fontainebleau that two of the most momentous events of the king's reign took place. Within the walls of the palace he signed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and in 1700 decided to accept the will of Charles II., which left the throne of Spain to his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Philip V. The council at which this last important step was taken was held in the

room of Madame de Maintenon. In all his doubts and difficulties the king had long been accustomed to consult the woman whom he nicknamed 'La Solidité' or 'La 'Raison.' Such deference to the judgement of a woman, even if she had been, as was supposed, the legal wife of the sovereign, was extraordinary. 'It was not without surprise,' says St. Simon, 'that France saw her assume a public part 'in the deliberation of affairs, and the astonishment was 'extreme when two councils met in her apartments to 'discuss the greatest and most important question which 'had ever been raised throughout the whole length of the 'reign.' It was on the instigation of Madame de Maintenon that Louis took the momentous step which upset the balance of power and plunged Europe into war.

In September 1715 Louis lay dying. For months past his health had been impaired, though he resented the suggestion of Madame de Maintenon that he should eat more sparingly of strawberries and peas, and abstain from highly seasoned dishes. His death was received by a depressed, despairing people with every demonstration of delight. He left behind him a kingdom drained of its resources, an empty treasury, a heavy burden of debt, a commerce and manufactures, which were once flourishing, almost extinguished. And among the enervated aristocracy who thronged to an idle, vicious, hypocritical court, there was not a single statesman who was capable of taking the helm of government. In the crowd that gathered in the faubourg to curse the conqueror, as his coffin was carried by bye-paths and unfrequented roads to St. Denis, might be seen the progenitors of that maddened mob who, eighty years later, violated his tomb, and scattered his ashes to the wind.

Louis XV. has left behind him innumerable traces, both constructive and destructive, of his reign at Fontainebleau. There, as elsewhere, the court danced its giddy dance of death in the years which preceded the Revolution. Throughout the whole period which elapsed between the death of the Grand Monarch and the convention of the States-General the popular indignation was steadily increasing. During the dissipations of the Regency, the dull decorum of the early period of the reign of Louis XV., the unbridled debauchery of his later years, the movement gathered irresistible strength. With fatal skill the king carried on the work of destroying the grandeur of the French monarchy, and the part which he played at Fontainebleau was that of the destroyer of its buildings. His hand pulled down the famous

Galerie d'Ulysse, in which Primaticcio and Niccolò dell' Abbate had painted the adventures of the king of Ithaca. His hand, again, demolished the Salle de la Belle Cheminée to make room for the theatre, which Madame de Pompadour raised in its place, and which was burned in 1856. Many existing portions of the palace date from his reign; but their external appearance is mean and ineffective. Their internal decoration, on the other hand, is often exquisitely graceful. The royal apartments, for instance, are beautiful examples of the style of Louis XV., the ceilings adorned by Boucher, the panels by Van Loo. But here, again, the artistic and the political history of the time go hand in hand. The strength and vigour of the *ancien régime* were sapped and weakened, while the one redeeming feature of a degenerate society was the grace and elegance of its manners. And even these were as artificial as were Boucher's affected grace, superficial charm of colouring, and figures drawn not from nature but from imagination.

It was at Rambouillet or at Choisy that Louis worked his tapestry, or delved, or turned, or cooked, with his own hands, the most delicate dishes of his *petits soupers*. But at Fontainebleau, each in their turn, the four sisters of the house of Nesle reigned as *maitresses en titre*; here, also, Madame de Pompadour, and afterwards Madame du Barry, had their apartments. The Queen, Maria Leczinska, seven years older than her boy bridegroom, was a plain, unintellectual, narrow-minded woman of exemplary piety. She was the mother of many of the king's children; but she was incapable of retaining, if she ever possessed, his affections. Her time was spent at her toilette, or at her prie-dieu, or at the lansquenet table. Play ran high at the court, and, if Voltaire is to be trusted, cheating was practised in the apartments both of the queen and of Marie Antoinette. Whilst J.-J. Rousseau fled from the court, Voltaire solicited its favours. One evening when he was in waiting as a gentleman in ordinary of the royal chamber, the Marquise de Châtelet lost 84,000 francs at lansquenet in the queen's salon. Voltaire said to her in English, 'You are playing with cheats.' His remark was overheard, and he judged it prudent to take refuge at Sceaux, where he remained for several months in hiding.

The true queen of France, and not only queen, but regent and prime minister, was Madame de Pompadour. A brilliant horsewoman, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson had first attracted the notice of the king by her equestrian skill and

her velvet riding habit of the bright blue known as *l'œil du roi*. Once installed as mistress, she completely dominated the king. Her fertile fancy and ready wit suggested amusements for his jaded appetite; she carefully consulted his gastronomic tastes in company with her famous *chef*, Mouthier, who inherited the genius of his father, and boasted of his descent from a line of cooks. Her indefatigable industry relieved his shoulders from all the burden of State business. Her supremacy was undisputed. Her artistic taste, aided by the graceful fancy of Boucher, is associated with every detail of the *style Louis XV*. It was at her request that the manufactories of Gobelin tapestry and Sèvres china were placed under royal patronage. The choice library which she gathered in her hotel, afterwards the Elysée Bourbon, the plates which she engraved, the pieces which she modelled in Sèvres, the rare medals and masterpieces of furniture which she collected, prove that, low-born though she was, she was not unfitted to direct the fashion of art and of dress.

It was in her theatre at Fontainebleau that, in 1752, was acted 'Le Devin du Village,' a new opera in one act, of which, says the 'Gazette' of October 21, the 'Sieur Rousseau 'de Genève' is the author. Vast sums were expended on Madame de Pompadour's theatre, and, to make room for it, a masterpiece of sixteenth-century art was, as has been already said, destroyed by the king's orders. The people, dying of hunger, miserable, and desperate, bitterly complained, according to the 'Journal d'Argenson,' of the reckless expenditure. The representation of 'Le Devin du Village' thus groups in effective proximity the principal elements of the impending Revolution—the growing resentment of a starving people, the reckless prodigality of the court, the charm of its high-bred society, the contempt for the glories of the past, and the man who, beyond all others, translated into an eloquent theory the callous offences of an aristocratic clique, and muttered execrations of an unprivileged majority.

In Rousseau's 'Confessions' will be found an amusing description of the scene. With all his affectation of the *ton romain*, Jean-Jacques was as shamefaced and self-conscious as an awkward schoolboy in the presence of the fashionable world. With untidy dress, unkempt beard, and ill-combed perruque, he found himself placed in a prominent position in the centre of a gorgeously dressed crowd, and immediately opposite the box in which were seated the king and Madame de Pompadour. Many of the men were clad in

coats of that shade of blue which had come to be known, not as *l'œil du roi*, but as *bleu Pompadour*, and which Voltaire himself did not disdain to wear. The ladies wore the *fichus* and *coiffures à la Marquise*; the sword-knots of the soldiers were tied in the *rosette à la Pompadour*. As soon as the great lights were lit, Rousseau found himself among the crowd of court beauties—the only man in that part of the theatre. He expected to be treated with haughty coldness. On the contrary, he found everyone civil and attentive. Ill at ease, he made speeches to himself. As to his beard, it was the work of nature. His dress was simple, but not dirty. If he was thought to be ridiculous or impertinent, he cared nothing for undeserved blame. Thus soliloquising, he encouraged himself to bear with intrepidity the curiosity with which he was regarded.

His opera proved a complete success. The ladies all around him wept, and Rousseau also wept, delighted to give pleasure to so many women, who were 'beautiful as angels.' As to the king, the music was, for the next twenty-four hours, always in his mouth. He never ceased singing, in a voice which was more out of tune than any other in the kingdom, 'J'ai perdu mon serviteur.' The triumph which his opera obtained put Rousseau at his ease. But during the night all his fears returned. He was to be presented to the king, and there was a talk of a pension. He wished, he says, so far as was compatible with the tone and air of severity that he had adopted, to show himself sensible of the honour paid him by the king. But his unreadiness of speech and his constitutional timidity convinced him that he would be entirely at a loss for words. Almost before daybreak he pleaded ill-health, and fled from Fontainebleau.

The Trianons at Versailles are more closely associated with Marie Antoinette than the boudoirs of Fontainebleau. It was at Versailles, among her milkmaids and shepherdesses, that she struck the first blow in the cause of 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity' by abolishing the *tabouret*, a privilege of being seated in the presence of the king and queen. It was there also that she developed her passion for gambling, for lavishing extravagant gifts on her favourites, for introducing outrageous fashions and headdresses, like the 'Ques-a-cos,'* or mythological edifices.

* 'Ques-a-co?' is the Provençal for 'Qu'est-ce que cela?' The word was used satirically by Beaumarchais in one of his memorials addressed

But, as a skilful horsewoman, she delighted in the Forest of Fontainebleau, and in the graceful refinement of the boudoir at the palace the artistic skill of the age is well displayed. Upon its decoration the genius of Rousseau and Barthélemy was employed. In the centre of the parquet floor appear, from the midst of a sun, the letters 'M.A.,' which formed the monogram of the ill-fated queen. Tradition attributes the ironwork of one of the windows of the bedroom to the blacksmith's skill of Louis XVI. In the adjoining bedroom her bed is preserved, hung with tapestry, designed by a pupil of Boucher. The hangings were ordered at Lyons, and they were still unfinished when the Revolution broke out. More than twenty years later they were presented by the city of Lyons to Marie Louise on her marriage with the Emperor Napoleon I.

None of the French palaces exercised so peculiar a fascination for Napoleon as the 'Maison des Siècles' of Fontainebleau. The palace was refurnished and redecorated, till it was said that the wonders of Marly would have paled beside the magnificence of the imperial residence. It was here also that he lodged his royal prisoners, Charles IV. of Spain in 1808, and Pope Pius VII. in 1812. The pope had already visited Fontainebleau as an honoured guest. In September 1804, Napoleon had invited the pope to give by his presence the highest religious sanction to the consecration and coronation of the first Emperor of the French. The sovereign pontiff was met at the Croix de St. Hérem, in the heart of the forest, by Napoleon, on horseback, and in hunting dress. Seated on the right of the consul, escorted by a troop of Mamelukes, the representative of Catholic Christendom entered the palace, through lines of troops, and amid salvos of artillery. The pope's second visit was made under very different circumstances.

Angry discussions and disputes subsequently broke out between the emperor and the pope, which ended in Napoleon's determination to confiscate the Roman States. The Castle of St. Angelo was occupied by the French troops in 1809, and the pope was removed from Rome to Savona. There he remained till June 1812. Suddenly the emperor, then on the eve of starting for the expedition against Russia, determined to remove him to Fontainebleau. So

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to his judges in the Procès Goezman. It was seized upon by the Parisian wig-makers, and applied to a head-dress introduced by Marie Antoinette.

rapidly was the removal accomplished, that the pope arrived before the orders for his reception. Refused admittance at the gates of the palace, he was lodged till the evening in a house opposite the Cour des Adieux, now the famous Hôtel de France. The house was then occupied by a dentist. Had it been the hotel, presided over by a worthy predecessor of Monsieur or Madame Dumaine, Pius VII. would probably have preferred to remain there during the whole time of his captivity. In the Palace of Fontainebleau, in the apartments still known by his name, the pope lived for nearly eighteen months. When Napoleon returned from Russia, he charged the Bishop of Nantes to reopen negotiations with the pope on the subject of the Concordat. In January 1813, the emperor himself arrived unexpectedly in the apartments of the pope. Embracing his captive with effusive affection, he protested his filial devotion. The pope, so runs the legend, replied with the single word, 'Comedi-'ante.' Beside himself with anger, Napoleon stormed and threatened. In the midst of the outburst, the laconic pope murmured another single word, 'Tragediante.' A second interview proved more successful. In the presence of the emperor, Marie Louise, and the whole court, the pope signed the famous Concordat at Fontainebleau on January 25, 1813.

But another year elapsed before the pope's release. His signature of the Concordat did, indeed, make a change in his position. He was allowed the attendance of his suite, and twenty-seven cardinals were lodged in the palace or the town, each with their train of attendants, and each dressed, according as they had upheld or annulled the marriage with Josephine, in black or red. Their memory yet lingers in the culinary art of preparing 'les haricots du Cardinal.' It was not till January 1814 that the pope was released from his captivity at Fontainebleau.

It was at Fontainebleau that Napoleon, riding with a single attendant day after day for hours together through the forest of Fontainebleau, planned the divorce of Josephine. Fontainebleau had been the scene of the culmination of his audacity and pride; it was the spot on which he had meditated his most callous act of cruelty and ingratitude. By a fitting retribution, it was destined to be also the stage on which was enacted his downfall.

Among the suite of apartments built by Louis XV., on the site of a gallery constructed in the reigns of Francis I. and Henry II., is the room in which Napoleon signed his abdica-

tion on April 5, 1814. 'The Allied Powers having pro-
'claimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the sole obstacle
'to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the
'emperor, faithful to his oath, declares that he abandons
'for himself and for his heirs all claims upon the thrones of
'France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice,
'including even that of his life, which he is not prepared
'to make in the interest of France.' The writing-table on which the abdication was signed, the pen with which he wrote his name, are preserved in the room. Adjoining it is the bedroom where, on the night of April 12, as Baron Fain* relates, Napoleon attempted to commit suicide. During the retreat from Moscow Napoleon carried about with him a quantity of opium, which he had determined to take sooner than fall alive into the hands of the enemy. On this night of April 12 his valet heard him get up and, looking through the half-open door, saw him mix something in a glass of water, drink it, and then go back to bed. Shortly afterwards he was seized with the most violent pains. Dr. Yvan, from whom he had procured the poison, lost his head with terror, rushed out into the courtyard, leaped on a horse which he found tethered at the gate, and dashed into the forest. Meanwhile, the emperor gradually revived; the dose was either insufficient, or the drug had lost its strength. The next morning he had reconciled himself to life, and surrendered himself to whatever destiny his star might have in store for him.

On April 20, 1814, the emperor left Fontainebleau as a banished man. At 12 o'clock it had always been his practice to hold a review of the troops quartered at Fontainebleau. At the usual hour on this April 20 he left his room dressed in his uniform as a colonel of Chasseurs. With rapid step he descended the staircase of the great courtyard, and on the last flight paused to look quickly round him. General Petit came to the foot of the staircase to receive his orders, and a circle of officers was formed, in the centre of which stood the emperor. He raised his hand. It was the sign that he was about to speak. Every man was silent, and in the deepest stillness he began the words, 'Officers, non-commissioned
'officers, and soldiers of the Old Guard, I come to bid you
'farewell.' Then, having finished his speech, he embraced

* Manuscrit de 1813, contenant le précis des événements de cette année, pour servir à l'histoire de l'empereur Napoléon. Paris, 1824–5. 2 vols. 8vo.

General Petit, and, covering the eagle with kisses, he seated himself in a carriage, and drove rapidly away.

With the farewell of Napoleon I. the historical charms of Fontainebleau come to an end. There is no element of poetry in the flight of Charles X., still less in that of Louis Philippe. The downfall of Napoleon III. is too recent to be invested with the glamour of romance. But let the imagination wander back over the centuries of French history, and what a wealth of associations it conjures up, what dramatic scenes it re-enacts, what brilliant throngs of famous men and women it recalls to life!

As the shades of evening fall over the Cour des Adieux, and the wind sighs through the archways, the whole space is crowded with the shadowy figures of the heroes of a hundred fights, while they strain their ears to catch the hurried broken farewell of their dethroned and exiled emperor. Here is the site of the theatre where Jean-Jacques sat abashed by the presence of the brilliant society to which his eloquent theories proved so deadly a foe. In this salon Marshal Saxe, slumbering heavily on the prie-dieu, wins the heart of Maria Leczinska by the exemplary length of his prayers and confession; in that, a gay crowd meets at the table where Madame de Pompadour dispenses her wit, her wine, and her smiles, and among them is Voltaire, clad in the blue livery of the reigning favourite. Here is the room in which Madame de Maintenon shivered, and knitted, and read her books of devotion, and here is the council chamber where her answer to the 'Qu'en pense votre Solidité?' of Louis XIV. plunged Europe into twelve years of war. At the end of this long gallery, the wretched Monaldeschi implores for mercy, grovelling at the feet of the pitiless Christine of Sweden. Through this courtyard, borne by twenty liveried bearers, moves the huge red litter of Cardinal Richelieu. Here is the garden, in which Henry IV. walks with his hand on the shoulder of Biron; here is the gallery, with its equestrian statue of the king, where the marshal lost by a clumsy answer his best hope of pardon; here the doorway at which he was arrested, here the pavilion to which he was hurried, and which he only left for the Bastille and the block. Through this chamber rings the voice of Coligny as he demands toleration for the Protestants. Here the stout, muddy-complexioned Catherine de Medicis walks at nightfall, asking of the stars the time when vengeance and power shall be hers. Here is the doorway through which escapes the Duchesse d'Etampes, fleeing from the revenge of her rival, Dian -s. Here is the chapel

in which the fur-cloaked courtiers of St. Louis find themselves unwillingly pledged to leave France and join in the Crusades.

And on all these scenes the architecture of the palace is an eloquent commentary. It is like the music which accompanies and explains the words. Each change in style and taste illustrates the close connexion between the art and the mental or the moral character of the age. The religious awe of the middle ages, the need of defence, the anarchy of feudalism, are preserved in the crypt of St. Saturnin, and the shape of the Cour Ovale. The graceful paganism of Francis I., twining round Gothic forms, which have not wholly lost their meaning or their strength, marks the transition from the feudal to the modern world, from the ages of faith to the classicism of the Renaissance, and, by its exaggeration, often betrays the sudden passage from simple ignorance to excessive refinement. In the reign of Henry IV., the harmony between painting, sculpture, and architecture, which reached their perfection under Henry II., has lost its freshness, its spontaneity, its simplicity, its ease. The object of artists is novelty; the decorations have lost their lightness, the details are vicious, the general impression is laboured, the instinctive perfection of taste is exchanged for imitation. Art, like every other department of national life, has lost its spirit in religious and civil discord. In the reign of Louis XIII., art has travelled yet further from its classic inspiration. Still more marked is the decadence under the Grand Monarque. Size, profusion, pomp, emphasis, display, characterise the gilding and the stucco, in which the achievements are celebrated of an all-powerful monarch, who makes the laws of harmony bow to his despotic will, and whose best artistic representative is Boule. Destruction is one keynote of the changes made by Louis XV.; where his hand is the hand of the builder or the decorator, the work is wanting in strength, and is scarcely more conspicuous for its grace and elegance than for its affectation, its whimsical caprice, its unprincipled regularity. With the Empire stricter canons of taste and beauty are restored, the juster principles of classic art are revived, but at the sacrifice of the traditions of the past, and with the loss of its national inspiration. And, lastly, the revival of a love of antiquity, the reaction against the violence of revolution, the return of older habits of thought, are displayed in the careful restorations of the Gothic revival which was inaugurated at the Restoration, and was inspired by the Romantic movement of the nineteenth century.

ART. VI.—*The Unseen Foundations of Society: an Examination of the Fallacies and Failures of Economic Science due to Neglected Elements.* By the DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.G., K.T. London: 1893.

IT is a pleasure to read anything written by the Duke of Argyll. His language is always so clear and frequently so eloquent that it is as delightful as it is easy to follow his arguments. But, if it is a pleasure to read anything from the Duke's pen, it is especially refreshing to accompany him in his examination of economic fallacies. We become at once conscious that we have no danger of meeting in his pages either the mathematical demonstrations or the highly technical terms the use of which has done so much to make political economy a dismal science. For the Duke not merely sympathises with the revolt 'against the older and long-'established school of political economy;' he has no patience with the language of some of its professors and with the axioms which they print in capital letters. The mathematical method, he writes in one place, 'excludes every element 'in economic facts which is not either purely quantitative or 'at least does not lend itself easily to quantitative forms of 'statement. . . . Yet nothing can be more certain than that 'many of the most powerful among economic causes cannot 'be numerically expressed.' He adds, in another passage, 'The whole science is infested with a pestilent vocabulary of 'phrases. They are a parasitical growth upon it, confound-'ing and confusing the great facts and the great conceptions 'which are really vital, and which for the most part have 'found expression in the only vocabulary which is worth a 'jot—namely, that which has arisen spontaneously in the 'ordinary speech of men, reflecting and embodying their 'natural perceptions.' And, again: 'The danger is so great 'and economic science has been so infested with it, that it 'deserves to be singled out and advertised by a descriptive 'phrase. The "Capital Letter Fallacy" is a formula which 'expresses it.'

But though the Duke thus forcibly protests against the technical phrases which modern economists unfortunately are so fond of using, he falls, we think, into another kind of error from which most economical writers are free. He is too apt to wander into digressions which interrupt his argument and which, however interesting in themselves, have no real place in an examination of economic fallacies. His

historical chapters, especially those which deal with what he calls the Plantation centuries, and with the contrast between the feudalism of the Teutonic and the Celtic races, might have been omitted altogether or, at any rate, compressed into a few paragraphs. His thirteenth chapter—an elaborate reply to Mr. Henry George—seems equally unnecessary. We readily admit that it is one of the brightest passages in the whole book, and that it would form, if it were published separately, an admirable paper. But we cannot think that it has any right to a place in the present work. The Duke seems to attach too much importance to Mr. George's proposals; he takes them too seriously; and he examines them in a tone and with a temper which are unusual in a grave economical treatise. We have ourselves no sympathy with Mr. George's suggestions; we are as much opposed to the confiscation or State resumption of property as the Duke himself. But we are not prepared, because we differ from an opponent, to endorse the view that 'the world has never 'seen such a preacher of unrighteousness,' or to declare that 'everything in America is on a gigantic scale, even its forms 'of villainy, and the villainy advocated by Mr. George is an 'illustration of this as striking as the mammoth caves of 'Kentucky, or the frauds of the celebrated "Tammany Ring" 'in New York.' Such language defeats its own object. We feel as we hope our grandfathers felt when they saw some wretched criminal publicly flogged. We are almost tempted to forget the crime in our sympathy with the victim.

Mr. George, too, is deserving of some thanks because we owe to his doctrines the publication of the present work. We might have never obtained the Duke's treatise if Mr. George had not previously given us his own views. For, just as Tom Paine inspired Mr. Burke and Mr. Mackintosh, 'Progress and Poverty' has inspired the Duke of Argyll. Some fourteen years ago this 'preacher of unrighteousness' sent the Duke a courteous letter and his now well-known book. About the same time another writer sent him a treatise devoted to the proof that the heliocentric theory of our system is a delusion and that the world is flat.

'Later on I heard of both these authors addressing public meetings with great success; and, considering that all obvious appearances and the language of common life are against the accepted doctrine of Copernicus, it was, perhaps, not surprising to observe that the popular audiences which listened to the two reformers were evidently almost as incompetent to detect the blunders of the one as to see through the logical fallacies of the other. But the Californian philosopher had one

immense advantage. Nobody has any personal interest in believing that the world is flat. But many persons may have an interest—very personal, indeed—in believing that they have a right to appropriate a share in their neighbour's vineyard.'

And so, when the Duke found that Mr. George's teaching was directed 'to prove that almost all the evils of humanity 'are to be traced to the very existence of landowners, and 'that by divine right land could only belong to everybody in 'general and nobody in particular,' he not unnaturally thought of his own great estates, his own numerous tenantry, and was filled with indignation. Like the young man in the Gospels, who was told to dispossess himself of all that he had, 'he went away sorrowful, for he had great possessions.' St. Matthew does not tell us what the young man did after receiving such unpalatable advice; the Duke was stimulated to apply his vigorous intellect to an examination of the fallacies of the economists which had made such advice possible. A rich man himself, he naturally approached the subject as a man of wealth; and he has given us a work which might receive as its second title 'The Fallacies and 'Failures of Economic Science from the Standpoint of a 'Great Landlord.'

Yet we doubt whether the Duke's labours will have the exact result which he anticipates from them. The human intellect is so perverse that it is apt, in reading any impassioned plea, to think over the possible answers to it. Its disposition to do so is increased when the advocate holds a brief for his own order. All the conservative instincts of our nature are aroused when we read Mr. George's proposals for the State resumption of private property. But an exactly contrary impression is produced when we find a great landowner emphasising all the rights of landlords. We begin immediately thinking of the arguments on the other side. Mr. George almost made us Conservative; the Duke recalls us to our old faith.

For—according to the Duke—the first of the unseen foundations of society is the right of possession, and his whole book is an elaborate exposition of this doctrine. The older economists, the Duke thinks, have laid too little stress on the idea of possession. Adam Smith rather vaguely defines wealth as 'the necessaries, conveniences, and amuse-'ments of life;' and Cliffe Leslie more neatly says that wealth, in the teaching of the older economists, comprised 'all things which are objects of human desire, limited in 'supply and valuable in exchange.' Thus the idea of

'possession has been constantly, and even habitually, omitted by orthodox political economists in their definitions of wealth. It has been omitted, too, not less conspicuously by the rebels and reformers. I do not mean, of course, that the concept of possession has been intentionally or effectively excluded. It could not possibly be excluded if it be indeed essential. But it has been a neglected element. It has been forgotten as an object of separate recognition. . . . Objectors will be apt to deny that anybody has ever thought of calling anything wealth unless it were possessed. The answer is that nobody has ever done so consciously. But what has been done, and often, is to forget that valuable things, and the possession of them, form a composite conception, and that these two parts of the aggregate conception can be separated in fact, and, still more easily, in thought. It makes an immense difference in economic science if, in seeking the origin of wealth, we are compelled to begin with and to think of the origin of possession. It adds the whole wide fields of History, embracing at least the elements of Religion, of Ethics, and of Law to the older [? other] provinces of our inquiry. It is in virtue of this enlarged area—this great accession of territory—that it becomes no longer a "dismal science," but one, on the contrary, teeming with the most ancient, the most various, and the very highest interests of mankind.'

The Duke, then, proposes to define wealth as 'the possession, 'in comparative abundance, of things which are objects of 'human desire, not obtainable without some sacrifice or some 'exertion, and which are accessible to men able, as well as 'anxious, to acquire them.' He leaves us in some little doubt how far he is disposed to include a man's faculties in the term 'things.' In one place he writes:—

'We do not usually speak of mental faculties by themselves as constituting wealth. . . . We should never call a great artist, even with the most splendid gifts and powers, a wealthy man, if he was determined to paint, and to sell, only one picture in the year, so as to live in competence, but in no abundance. And yet we may, and we do, constantly speak of mental faculties as "things," although not the kind of things which we think of as wealth.'

But, in another place, he adds:—

'The first of all possessions consists in men's own personal faculties, whether natural or acquired, and those men who possess muscular strength directed by skill are the holders of a thing lettable on hire, of which all other men must, in one way or another, desire to secure the benefit.'

While he illustrates the doctrine in a third place by the example of the great inventors:—

'It cannot be too much remembered that the single brain of James Watt was, and still is, the biggest wage fund that has ever arisen in the world. . . . It gave birth to new desires. It called into action new

incitements to exertion. It opened a thousand new opportunities of enterprise. Above all, it gave birth to new conceptions of possible attainment.'

And again:—

'The one brain, or the few brains, which, in an engineer's office in Westminster, conceived the design and calculated all the details of the Forth Bridge, constituted in themselves an enormous wages fund, not only in the millions of money which that great structure cost, but in the example it set of overcoming by brain labour, and by the savings of brain labour, which is capital, the most formidable physical obstructions in the way of human enterprise.'

Wealth, then, according to the Duke of Argyll, apparently includes not merely the material things which a man enjoys, but the faculties with which he is endowed. And this enlarged definition helps to illustrate another portion of his argument. For as, so far as capacity is concerned, there is 'a variety of endowment ranging from almost animal 'stupidity up to the highest genius,' so, in material things, 'dispossession has almost always been the inseparable cor-'relative of possession,' and rich and poor have co-existed in every community. Nor is it any argument against property to say that it had its origin in conquest. For war is 'the field on which possession, the right of exclusive use 'over some particular portion of the earth, has been won, or 'on which it has been successfully defended.' The saying of the Psalmist, 'Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt; 'Thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it,' is applicable to every civilised nation on the earth. All of them occupy lands from which inferior races have been driven out, and the Duke declares that—

'We shall never grasp or estimate to the full the depth and sweep of the universal law which has made all wealth, because all possession, absolutely depend upon the combination of mental and physical qualities which give superiority in war, unless we look in the face the fact that the mere prior occupation of a country has never been respected when it was found in the hands of tribes incapable of defending their possession of it.'

In such passages as these the Duke is evidently thinking of the possession of real property. But in other parts of his book he has laboured to break down the distinction which some economists have drawn between land and other commodities:—

'The distinction, and even contrast, which is often drawn by economic writers between wealth, or certain sources of wealth, which are due to what they call "labour," and other such sources which are what

they call "the free gifts of nature," is a distinction or a contrast which is purely artificial and deceptive. Our own organism is the only free gift we have. There are no free gifts to us in external nature, not even the air we breathe. . . . What are called free gifts are no more than possibilities. . . . Natural agencies—the powers and properties of external matter—do indeed exist independently of us; but our possession and use of them does not. These depend upon ourselves, on our opportunities, and the use we make of them. Not only can these natural agencies be made the objects of possession, but they must be made such if they are to be of any use at all. This is especially, and above all things, true of those natural agencies which consist in the properties of the soil. None of these agencies can be of any value to man unless, or until, the great source of them can be possessed by some individual, or by some group of individuals, to the exclusion of all others who would seek to wrest that possession from them. . . . The result, as regards economic science, is that the one element in the definition of wealth which has been most neglected, turns out, on close analysis, to be the most vital of all; whilst also that item among the sources of wealth, which has been talked of as the free gift of nature, turns out to be the one gift which has been less free than any other; insomuch as that the highest energies of our race have always been needed to secure, and are now apparently as much as ever needed to defend, it.'

In our own country, at any rate, the landlord rarely uses his land himself. He temporarily assigns the exclusive right which he enjoys to a tenant. Originally the owner, in return for the rent which he received from the occupier, conveyed the whole right of exclusive use; while the tenant, in return for his payment, was entitled to call upon the landlord to defend him 'at all hands and against all mortals.' The obligations, according to the Duke were, therefore, mutual, and both parties to the bargain derived advantage from the arrangement. But this view of the matter hardly consists with the theory of rent, which Ricardo originally propounded, and which, with certain qualifications, later economists have accepted. The Duke, therefore, is led to examine in some detail what he calls the Ricardian theory of rent, and he holds that, if possession has been 'a neglected 'element' in the definition of wealth, the economist's theory of rent is a fallacy.

According to Ricardo, the rent which any land will yield is the excess of its produce beyond what would be returned to the same capital if employed on the worst land in cultivation. It was the logical consequence of this definition that the worst land could pay no rent; and Stuart Mill goes so far as to say that 'we may lay it down as a principle that, 'so long as any of the land of a country which is fit for

'cultivation is not cultivated, the worst land in actual cultiva-'tion (in point of fertility and situation together) pays no 'rent.' We do not enter into the criticisms of later writers on this theory because—whatever modifications they may have introduced into it—they have all accepted it as an abstract truth. The Duke—so far as we know—is the first author who has assailed it on principle. Rent with him is the sum paid for the hire either of land or any other commodity. To assume, therefore, that any land can pay no rent is to assume that its owner would part with its exclusive use without any compensating return:—

'It is not true that the only remedy for the owner of the poorest land is to allow it to be cultivated for no rent at all. He has another alternative, which is the very simple and familiar one of applying his land to some kind of cultivation which is cheaper and better adapted to its powers. It may be driven out of the letting market as a producer of wheat, and yet be well within that market as a producer of oats, or of potatoes, or of grass. And this is what actually happens. Land is never totally abandoned. The hire of it is lowered when it meets with lower values of produce or with increased costs of cultivation.'

But the Duke does not leave the matter at this point. If it be true that the worst land in cultivation pays no rent, it follows that rent does not enter into the expenses of production of agricultural produce. For, as the demand for such produce increases, more and more land will be taken into cultivation, and the price will necessarily be raised so as to afford the farmer a profit on the worst land on which his produce is obtained; or, as Ricardo himself put it:—

'The exchangeable value of all commodities, whether they be manufactured, or the produce of mines, or the produce of land, is always regulated, not by the less quantity of labour that will suffice for their production under circumstances highly favourable and exclusively enjoyed by those who have peculiar facilities of production, but by the greater quantity of labour necessarily bestowed on their production by those who have no such facilities, by those who continue to produce them under the most unfavourable circumstances.'

This sentence, the Duke rightly says, expresses 'the 'thought that the value of all commodities whatever, 'whether for sale or hire, is regulated by the price at 'which it [? they] can be produced and sold at the very 'lowest profit which will induce men to produce it [? them] 'at all.' It indicates that the Ricardian theory of rent, if true at all, is a doctrine 'of universal application, and no

'more true of the rent of land than of value in any other 'shape or form.'

And so far from the doctrine being true, the Duke regards it as 'one of the monstrosities of pretended science,' the exact converse of the truth:—

'We all know, and many of us must have suffered from the fact, that the opening of some cheaper and easier method of production so lowers the exchangeable value or price of some given commodity in which we deal, that those who may have before derived a large profit from its production can only thenceforward continue to produce it at a profit comparatively low. In all such cases, and they are numberless in commercial life, the exchangeable value of every article or commodity is always seen to be regulated by the best and cheapest, and not by the worst, or dearest, mechanism of production.'

And he illustrates his argument with an instance derived from his own experience. Some years ago, he discovered some iron ore, rich in nickel, near his own residence. At that time pure metallic nickel was selling at 8*s.* the pound, and, as his ore contained 10 per cent. of nickel, it yielded 224 pounds of nickel—worth 89*l.*—to the ton. This price would, of course, be the value of the ore to the refiner; but the Duke himself was actually able to sell it at 30*l.* a ton. In the first instance, 'the vein cropped out at the surface, 'and the ore could be extracted with little labour;' the mine, therefore, was 'highly profitable.' As the work proceeded, the difficulty of obtaining the mineral increased; but the mine still continued to yield a profit.

'But soon another and a more cheaply workable machine came into play. Another mine was discovered in Norway . . . the price of metallic nickel began to be "regulated" by the opening of this cheaper and more abundant supply. It fell below 8*s.* per lb. Still the price of nickel continued to be sufficiently high to yield some profit on the cost of output to me. . . . I continued to work the mine, and did so until a repetition of the same causes so "regulated" the price of nickel and of my ore as to destroy the profit of the mine altogether. Still cheaper and still more abundant nickel-producing machines were discovered in different parts of the world, especially in one of the islands of the Pacific. The produce of those cheaper machines "regulated" the only price which I could get for the produce of my poorer machine, until, at a certain point of this "regulating" process, my mine was "regulated" out of its existence altogether.'

This example neatly expresses the objection which the Duke entertains to Ricardo's theory. Ricardo contends that the price of a commodity is regulated by the cost of its production under the most unfavourable conditions which can induce men to produce it at all. While the Duke

replies that experience shows that prices are constantly controlled by the invention of superior machines, which enable production to be effected at lower and lower cost. Ricardo's false conclusions were, the Duke thinks, partly due to the circumstances in which he lived. He wrote his 'Principles' two years after the conclusion of the great war, at a period when prices had collapsed. He was immersed in the great debate on the 'policy which aimed at 'keeping up the price of corn to 80*s.* the quarter, by pro-'hibiting the import of foreign corn, so long as home-grown 'produce kept below that figure.' But he was himself convinced of the necessity of cheap food.

'He thought and he argued that cheap food would necessarily make labour cheap also. He lays it down as an axiom that "profits are at all times raised as wages fall, and lowered as wages rise." Nothing, indeed, can be more crude and rude than the form in which he avows this doctrine. "There is no other way," he says, "of keeping profits up but by keeping wages down." Then he lays it down with equal emphasis that low prices of food must always produce low wages. . . . [His] fallacies were due entirely to the fact that he had adopted a wholly false theory of value—namely, this: that the value of everything depends absolutely and alone on the quantity of labour requisite for its production. This was his master fallacy. Through an intimate weaving and knotting of its logical consequences he persuaded himself that corn can only be raised in price because of additional labour becoming necessary to produce it. Thus the very effort of farmers and owners to increase supply became in his eyes an effort tending of necessity to keep prices up. . . . And so from all this the conclusion is reached that the interest of the landowner is always opposed to that of the consumer and manufacturer, because their profits must always tend to be absorbed by higher wages following on higher prices of corn, and by higher rents always rising in proportion to a more costly and more difficult production.'

To this web of 'absolute nonsense' the Duke opposes his own view. Rent, as we have seen, in his judgment, is dependent not on the cost of cultivating the worst land, but on the opportunities afforded by the best land. Values, similarly, are controlled by the introduction of better machinery, and do not rise to the level required to sustain the worst machinery in use; and wages are not dependent only, or even in the main, on the bare cost of the labourer's subsistence. The true theory of wages

'represents those wages as dependent entirely on demand, and it traces that demand up to every circumstance which can raise the condition, multiply the desires, stimulate the inventive faculties, and give confidence to the enterprise and speculative instincts of individual men in all

classes of society. All these things—far too large and multiform to be adequately expressed in any mere list of words—constitute the true "Wages Fund." They are, as it were, a store of potential energy, not infinite indeed, but indefinitely vast and fruitful, on which increasing drafts can be made by the advancing knowledge and the more instructed conscience of mankind.'

The vision which the Duke thus affords us is undoubtedly attractive. In place of the 'cruel Ricardian dogma,' which taught us that there was no way of securing good profits except by keeping down wages, and that the interests of the landlord, the capitalist, and the workman, were all opposed, we are introduced to a Utopia, where co-operation among all classes becomes wise, because the interests of all are identical. In the best of all possible worlds, to which the Duke takes us, 'economic science teaches as an absolute truth that everybody is profoundly affected for the better by the prosperity of everybody else.' And, as the logical consequence of this reasoning, the Duke proposes to get rid, once for all, of the old formula, which made land, labour, and capital the three great sources of wealth, and to substitute 'three great,' but, we confess, rather vague conceptions, 'mind, matter, and opportunity.'

'In this enumeration mind stands for all the desires as well as for all the energies of man. It stands for all his moral, as well as his intellectual, faculties in all their relations to the external world. Matter stands for all the natural agencies which are placed at our disposal by the constitution of the world we live in, none of them being what theorists call "free gifts of nature," but all of them to be made subjects of possession only at the cost of knowledge and of effort. Opportunity stands for all those means and ways of access to the use of those natural agencies many of which are settled for us by implanted instincts, but many of which also are dependent on our own action and on our own understanding of eternal laws.'

We have so far endeavoured to state some of the Duke's more important conclusions, and to give them, as far as we could, in his own language; and, if we have failed in any respect to do full justice to his arguments, we can assure him that our failure is due to no wish to suppress anything that is material, but to the difficulty of giving in a few paragraphs a succinct account of doctrines elaborated in five hundred closely printed pages; and we can only hope that our readers may do the Duke the justice of turning from our own summary to his own detailed work. We must now, however, discharge the more difficult and less agreeable portion of a critic's duty, and endeavour to point out where

our own conclusions differ from those of the Duke. In doing so, we are afraid that our divergence may look larger than it really is. Considerations of space constrain us to dwell on the passages of the Duke's work in which we think him wrong, and not on the numerous other passages in which we think him right. With many of his views we unhesitatingly concur; in others of them he commands our sympathy, if he does not always carry our reason. But in many important matters we cannot follow his arguments, and we must take up the glove which he has thrown down and break a lance with him upon ground of his own choosing.

And, first, as to the Duke's suggestion that possession* has been a neglected element in the definition of wealth. Surely the idea of possession has been implied by every economist and expressed by many of them. Adam Smith's language, that wealth includes 'the necessaries, conveniences, and 'amusements of life,' seems to us unintelligible on any other hypothesis. While John Stuart Mill asks, 'What 'then is capital?' and replies in language which the Duke himself might use, 'Precisely that part of his pos-'sessions, whatever it be, which [a man] designs to employ 'in carrying on fresh production.' The older economists may not have emphasised the idea of possession with the same force as the Duke, because they were not face to face with that singular attack on property which has characterised our own age, and which has inspired the Duke's labours. They would probably have said of property as George III. said of Watson's defence of the Bible, that they had never known before that it required an apology. It is, in fact, almost as difficult for us to get rid of the idea of possession, as it is to imagine a vacuum. Some sort of possession, either by the tribe, the State, or the individual, seems the first essential of progress. We require neither two hundred pages, nor two hundred sentences, to convince us of its necessity.

We think, too, that the Duke is right that—so far as the world of to-day is concerned—the possession of real estate has almost invariably been based on conquest. Whether we

* We purposely use the Duke's word, though we think the term 'possession' is not happily chosen. What the Duke always means by 'possession' is 'ownership.' And 'ownership' and 'possession' are not only not synonymous terms, but in many cases—as in the case of things hired by one man to another—convey opposite ideas.

like the conclusion or not, the original title deeds to our lands rested on force; and it is too late now to examine by the light of modern ideas the methods by which they were acquired. It is more important to remember that, as possession, in the first instance, was the result of dispossession, as property, in other words, was the result of a superior race depriving an inferior people of its land, the right of the society necessarily preceded the right of the individual. The society seized the territory to which it moved; it subsequently distributed it among its individual, or some of its individual, members.

This circumstance seems logically to involve another conclusion, which the Duke has overlooked. The right of the individual to his property is necessarily subordinate to the prior right of the State. The conditions on which property is held must, in the first instance, have been determined by the community; and what the community has done the community may, of course, modify. In other words, the reign of conquest has been superseded by the reign of law; and the law is the ultimate tribunal which, in a civilised community, enforces the right of everyone to his property.

But, as soon as it is plain that the conditions on which property is held are regulated by the State, it is obvious that the State in the last resort may resume the property of the individual. To a limited extent this right is always exercised in every community. Our ancestors, for instance, placed a tax of 4*s.* in the pound on real property; while, in our own time, the assessed taxes and the succession duty all remind us of the same thing. But the right of the State to deal with property as it chooses has been, almost unintentionally, illustrated by the Duke himself. For the whole of his argument goes to prove that there is no distinction in principle between the different kinds of property which a man may possess. Property in land, like property in other things, owes its origin to mind in the large sense in which the Duke employs the term; and, indeed, the Duke expressly says that 'before 'all other kinds and forms of possession there arose from the 'outset the right of possession in every man to the legiti-'mate work of his own bodily and mental faculties.'

Let us for one moment follow up this reasoning. If the faculties of one of the Duke's ancestors enabled him to acquire vast estates, the Duke's own faculties have enabled him to produce the book which lies before us. It is the result of his own knowledge, the conception of his own brain, elaborated, as the Duke likes Bible language, in the

sweat of his own face; and it is introduced to the world through the labours of workmen following different trades, whose wages have been temporarily advanced out of the capital of his publisher. The 'fountain' in the Duke's brain, to use his own simile, has set in motion all this labour, and has created this visible piece of property in our hands. But the law, rightly or wrongly—for we are not now considering the propriety of the law of copyright—steps in and decides that the Duke and his representatives shall only have a temporary interest in the work which he alone has created. For a period, which is even uncertain—for it is partly dependent on the Duke's own life—he, his heirs, or his representatives, may enjoy the advantages derivable from an exclusive right of publication. But after a comparatively short time this right will be abruptly terminated; and the author, who produced the work, and the publisher, who spent his capital in printing and binding it, will cease to retain any exclusive interest in it.

If this be true of that class of property which is known as copyright, it is also true of those great mechanical inventions which have done so much, as the Duke eloquently reminds us, to increase the wealth of the world. In all of these cases the State allows their originators a temporary use of property of their own creation, but to all of them it refuses to permit them to create a permanent right of exclusive ownership. If, then, it be true, as the Duke's book endeavours to prove, that the distinction between property in land and other kinds of property (which economists have drawn) is artificial, it follows that the right which the State habitually exercises to control some kinds of property must extend to all kinds of property, and that the claim which a man can make to the exclusive use of his possessions rests not on principle, but on expediency.

Here, however, we should ourselves base the rights of property on other and, as we think, on stronger grounds than those on which the Duke has placed them. The Duke has argued the question mainly in the interests of those who have; we should rest it equally on the interests of those who have not. For it is the desire to possess, and to obtain the advantages derivable from the possession of wealth, which at all times and in all ages have formed the chief incentive to saving, the main inducement to exertion, and, consequently, the great cause of progress. That is why, as a French economist has recently observed, wealth increases more rapidly when the law secures the property of the individual and

its descent to his heirs. That is why every hindrance to the accumulation of wealth diminishes the exertions of individuals which confer so much benefit on the community at large.

While, then, we cannot accompany the Duke in all the steps by which he has reached his conclusion, we are at one with him in recognising the importance of possession, or, as we should rather say, security in possession. As a matter of opinion, moreover, we are inclined to agree with him that the system of individual ownership of real property, which is established in this country, is preferable to the nationalisation of land, which is advocated by Socialist writers. But we are hardly prepared to assert, as the Duke implies, that no other system is compatible with progress. The examples of India during the last hundred years, and of Egypt during the last decade, seem to show that, where security of possession is assured, the cultivator who holds directly under the State may enjoy the same opportunities for successful exertion as the tenant of a landlord; and, though the Duke contends that 'the 'portion of India which has most grown in wealth is pre-'cisely that part of it in which the Government has parted 'with the power of absorbing rent,' he must surely be aware that all the most competent Indian administrators prefer the temporary settlement which was effected by Munro in Madras, to the permanent settlement which was founded by Cornwallis in Bengal.

But the truth is that, while the Duke is right in saying that the first condition of prosperity is security, he has strangely overlooked the fact that the security which is essential to successful agriculture is that of the cultivator, and not of the owner. In the striking account which he has given of the consequences of insecurity in the old Oriental monarchies, he has omitted to notice that it was the occupier or the cultivator, and not the owner, who suffered from the periodical exactions of the Persian and Turkish monarchs. The confiscation of the owner's estate, if the cultivator had not been disturbed, would not have interfered with the production of a single acre. The Duke, indeed, assumes that, where the possession of the owner is secure, the security of the occupier follows as a matter of course. But, unhappily, all experience proves that this is not the case. Even on a well-managed estate the possession of land under a nineteen or twenty-one years' lease is a very different thing from the ownership of real property. As Arthur Young wrote, 'the 'magic of property turns sand into gold.' And again, if we

may requote another often quoted passage, 'Give a man the 'secure possession of a bleak rock, he will turn it into a 'garden; give him a nine years' lease of a garden, and he 'will convert it into a desert.'

We fear, indeed, that the Duke has been led astray by the indignation which Mr. George's proposals excited in him. He fancied that he was face to face with a serious attack upon landlords, and, with the natural feelings of a great proprietor, concluded that the onslaught had been made possible by the economists neglecting the element of possession in their definition of wealth. Yet, if it be remembered that Mill himself has quoted the passages from Arthur Young which we have just cited, and has made them the text of some of his most striking chapters, it is evident that he, at any rate, cannot be accused of any such neglect. What he did was to claim for the occupier the security of possession which was the owner's already, and which, in his day, neither Mr. George nor any other writer had attempted to question. He saw, as the Duke sees, that prosperity was impossible without that 'long continuity of loving labour 'which an improving agriculture absolutely demands,' and which requires 'above all other things a corresponding 'continuity of possession in the hands of those individual 'men who, in doing the rough work of life, have legitimately 'acquired it.' But he saw also, what the Duke fails to see, that this continuity of possession is not assured unless the security which the landlord enjoys is extended to the tenant; that the exactions of an individual owner may be attended with the same evil consequences to a tenant as the exactions of a monarch or of a community, and that a tenancy terminable at a landlord's will or after a limited number of years does not necessarily afford the same security or offer the same inducements for exertion which are felt by the peasant proprietors of France or even the Egyptian fellahin under Lord Cromer's guardianship.

No doubt in the great majority of cases in this country and on most, if not all, of the really large estates the tenant does enjoy this security; but, unfortunately, it never was assured to the Irish cottier. The occupier in Ireland was required to undertake the permanent improvements which in England are effected by the owner, and frequently found that his rent was raised, or that he was evicted from his holding, to make room for a successor prepared to pay more for the land. The Irish cottier thus failed to obtain that security of possession which lies at the root of all progress,

and Parliament was compelled to interfere in his interests. We are not concerned now in defending the legislation which was passed with that object. As we are old-fashioned enough to cling to our earlier beliefs, and as we have not joined in the revolt against the older economists, we regret that it should have been necessary, even in Ireland, to interfere with that great principle of liberty of contract which has done so much for mankind. We sometimes think, indeed, that both landlords and tenants in Ireland would have been better off if Parliament in 1870 had, once and for all, established fixity of tenure at existing rentals and had left owner and occupier subsequently free to make their own arrangements without further interference. All that we desire to point out now is that security of possession is at least as necessary for the tenant as it is for the landlord, and that it has no virtue if it is given only to the one and not extended to the other.

And this truth is also applicable to Great Britain. We have no desire to say a single word against English and Scottish landlords; on the contrary, we believe that no class, as a class, has on the whole done its duty better to those who are connected with it. Many landlords in the past have been proved capable of performing noble acts of self-denial in the interests of their tenantry and dependants. Even in the hard times, on which they have lately fallen, they have struggled with decreasing rentals and increasing charges to do what is right; and we gladly admit that, especially on the largest estates, the farmers have been assured that continuity of possession which, we agree with the Duke in thinking, has always been the source of all improvement. It is from no desire, therefore, to reflect on a body of men, who command our sympathies in their present difficulties, if we criticise this portion of the Duke's argument; but we cannot help pointing out that, even in Great Britain, the ideal relations between landlord and tenant, which the Duke assumes to exist, have never been established. He tells us that 'down to our own time, in a special form of words in 'every lease in Scotland,' the owner, in return for the rent paid by the tenant, undertook to defend him at all hands and against all mortals.

'These words were the record and survival of a time when that obligation might, and often did, invoke and involve the owner in a resort to the use of arms when needed to defend and protect the tenant in the stipulated enjoyment. But they applied equally to such legal steps as might be needed for the same purpose under those more

civilised conditions in which all rights are guaranteed, and all obligations are enforced, by law.'

Yet the Duke can hardly be ignorant that, on almost every large estate, so far from this covenant remaining, a contrary stipulation is commonly inserted in every lease. Instead of undertaking to defend his tenant 'against all mortals,' the landlord usually provides that against one class of mortals the tenant shall not even defend himself. For 'the mortals' which frequently do most injury to the tenant are game, and the landlord in giving the exclusive use of the soil to the farmer for other purposes commonly reserves to himself the exclusive use of the game. We do not wish to push this point too strongly; we readily admit that, on the best managed estates, the reservation of sporting rights is not abused; while, since the passing of the Ground Game Act, abuse has become less possible. But because, in some instances, game was allowed to increase to the occupier's prejudice, the Ground Game Act became necessary. The Legislature, rightly or wrongly, felt itself bound to interfere in the tenant's interest, and to give him that security or immunity from loss which unfortunately he did not always obtain from his landlord.

While, then, we are prepared to accompany the Duke to the very end of this portion of his argument, and while we concur with him in thinking that possession, or security, is an essential element in progress, we venture to conclude, in the first place, that this element was not so neglected by the earlier economists as the Duke imagines; and, in the next place, that, while he has rightly insisted on the necessity of insuring possession to the owner, he has hardly dwelt with sufficient emphasis on the expediency of security for the occupier. The relations between landlord and tenant, which have thus commanded our attention, naturally bring us to a consideration of the theory of rent, which Ricardo propounded, and which the Duke denounces. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this part of the Duke's argument. If he is right in saying that the Ricardian theory of rent is based on a delusion, we agree with him in thinking that we must necessarily reconsider any ideas which we have hitherto formed either on value or on the normal rate of wages. For much of the structure which economists have erected is based on this theory as its chief corner stone; if the Duke has succeeded in removing it, the whole edifice is shaken and must be rebuilt from its foundations.

In fact, Ricardo's famous doctrine has almost as much

influence on the economist as the law of gravitation exerts on the astronomer. It is 'the pons asinorum,' the asses' bridge of political economy. But the Duke declares

> 'In Euclid the "pons" is a good and solid bridge, leading to new and good pastures of demonstrable truth, over which the "asini" can't see their way to pass; whereas, in the Ricardian theory of rent, it is a bridge over which the "asini" pass and repass continually without the slightest suspicion that it is rotten beneath their feet, and without seeing that it leads only to endless fields of barren thistles.'

We feel, we confess, at some disadvantage with an author who writes down every one who disagrees with him as an ass; but, however rotten the structure may be, however barren the pastures to which it may lead, we cannot follow the Duke over the pleasant and easy road on which he invites us in preference to travel.

Let us, in the first instance, illustrate Ricardo's theory of rent by the simplest example. Let us take a single crop in large demand throughout the world, and let us, in the first instance, assume that the land, devoted to its growth, cannot be applied to any other object. Wheat will commend itself to every one as the best for the purpose of our argument. Let us assume that the whole amount of wheat required is represented by 100; and let us further assume that this crop is raised on land of various degrees of fertility yielding from two to five quarters of grain per acre; and that one-fifth of the whole crop, or 20 per cent., is raised on land yielding two quarters, and one-fifth on land yielding five quarters. The land yielding more than two quarters obviously possesses—and the Duke admits it—a differential advantage, which the landlord is entitled to consider in his bargain with his tenant, and to take as rent. So far both Ricardo and the Duke are at one. But, while the Duke maintains that the land yielding only two quarters will pay some rent, Ricardo denies that it can pay any rent. Let us test this by a further assumption. Let us assume that either the colonisation of some new country, the construction of some new railway, or the formation of some new trade route opens up some fresh and fertile territory for the growth of corn; thenceforward let us suppose that two-fifths instead of one-fifth of the whole crop is grown on land yielding five quarters. It is obvious that, if no increased demand for corn arises, more corn will be now grown than is required, or that some of the land hitherto under corn will cease to grow corn. Common sense tells us that the less fertile, and not the more fertile, land will be so disused. But the owner

of land yielding only two quarters will not readily consent to its being thrown out of cultivation; he will continue the struggle, and so long as his land yields any profit to the cultivator, he will maintain the contest. It is plain, however, that the whole expense of cultivation must be paid in any event. If, after paying the whole expense of cultivation, nothing remains, the payment of anything in the shape of rent is impossible. Suppose the land to be in the owner's own occupation, this circumstance will be apparent in his accounts if they are regularly kept. And it follows that, if a field cultivated by the owner himself just pays the cost of seed, wages, manure and supervision, and no more, the circumstance that it is occupied by a tenant will not provide the latter with a further margin out of which rent can be paid.

We have hitherto only taken into consideration the fertility of the soil. But just the same reasoning applies to land which enjoys differential advantages from the convenience of its situation, or from the facilities which it affords to the farmer. Let us suppose, for instance, that the land growing the corn of the world costs 6*l*., 7*l*., 8*l*., 9*l*. or 10*l*. an acre to cultivate, including in the word cultivate the cost of bringing the crop to market. The land which can be cultivated for from 6*l*. to 9*l*. will enjoy a differential advantage which its owner will appropriate as rent. If the area of the land which can be cultivated for 6*l*. be suddenly doubled, and the demand for corn be not increased, other land must be thrown out of cultivation. The land involving most expense will be first disused. But the owner again will struggle to maintain his own property. So long as his land will pay the bare expense of cultivation, he will continue to use it. He will do so though it only provides this bare cost without returning any surplus as rent.

If these two propositions are true taken separately, they must be equally true when they are taken together. The land which is inferior, both from its qualities and convenience combined, will be at the bottom of the scale. The land which is superior in these respects will be at the top of the scale; and the rent of land will vary from land at the top of the scale, where it will be at its highest, to land at the bottom of the scale, where it will sink to zero.

But, though the theory of rent seems to us as true as when it was first propounded, we are conscious that a change of circumstances in the interval has made a great alteration in its consequences. When Ricardo wrote, the

operation of a corn law, and the difficulties of oceanic communication, practically limited the land on which corn could be grown for the English market, of which he was chiefly thinking. It followed that, as more and more corn was required for the increase of population, worse and worse land was taken into cultivation, and the rent of the better land constantly continued to increase. But, since Ricardo's time, the adoption of free trade and the extraordinary development of steam have placed land in the most distant countries on a level with land at home. The English farmer has had to compete with the prairies of America, the sunny fields of Hindostan, and the fertile plains that are watered by the Obi, and the competition of these rich though more distant soils has thrown more and more British land out of use for the purpose of raising corn. Rents, instead of being increased, have been steadily reduced. But, though the effects are opposite, the law is the same. The land which combines the minima of fertility and convenience remains at the bottom of the scale; the land which affords the maxima of these qualities remains at the top of it. It and all the intervening land enjoy differential advantages, which the owner appropriates as rent.

But, the Duke replies, the owner has another alternative. Instead of leaving land which will only yield a bare profit under wheat, he may devote it to oats, to potatoes, or to grass. Let us, therefore, follow him for a moment into this contention. We suppose that he will agree with us in assuming that mountain land held as grass, or, in other words, as a sheep walk, represents the land which, acre for acre, yields the smallest rent to the owner. And we suppose that he will also agree that there are, at least, as great differences in the value of such land for feeding sheep, as in the value of other land for growing corn. The rich downs of Southern England stand at one end of the scale; the stony and wet mountains of the islands and highlands of Scotland stand at the other. The differential advantage which the better lands possess is returned to their owner in the shape of rent; while large tracts of the Western Islands, for example, not only pay no rent, but are actually so barren as to secure no tenant. If we descend then to the least profitable use to which land can be put for the purposes of growing food, we find all the gradations between land paying a comparatively high rent for the purpose and land paying no rent because it is worth no man's while to hire it. But, in this gradual scale between land which

cannot be let and land which is readily let, there must be a point where it just pays the farmer, be he owner or tenant, to turn sheep upon the mountain, but where no margin is left for rent. And it does not follow that this hypothesis is unsound because every sheep walk that is let pays some rent. On the contrary, the sheep walks which pay the lowest rental on their acreage usually cover large tracts of country. These tracts, in their turn, embrace lands of varying degrees of fertility, and the rental is based on the average fertility of the whole. Take, for instance, a sheep walk of 3,000 acres, let at 150*l.* a year, or at 1*s.* an acre; 500 acres of the walk may be rock or bog, and taken separately could not be let at all; 500 acres may produce just sufficient herbage to remunerate the farmer for his trouble in looking after the sheep upon them; 500 acres may afford this remuneration, and enable him to pay his landlord a small rent of 6*d.* an acre; the next 500 acres may, on the same principle, yield a rent of 1*s.*, while the best land, 1,000 acres, may, on an average, be worth 2*s.* 3*d.* The owner, in these circumstances, secures a rent of 150*l.* for the whole; but he does so by including the land on which it is not worth while to turn sheep at all, and the land on which it is only just worth while to turn them, with the richer land which affords a surplus profit.

Let us carry this illustration a little further. The increase of sheep in Australia reduces the price of wool; the extension of the tinned-meat trade reduces the price of mutton. The shepherd experiences a diminution of profits, and he applies for and obtains a reduction of 50*l.* in his rental. It is obvious that this reduction cannot fall on the first 500 acres, which were worthless, or on the second 500 acres, which just repaid him his trouble. It must necessarily fall on the remaining 2,000 acres, which alone enabled him to pay his rent. The first 500 of them will in future just repay the shepherd for his work; the second 500 will yield a small profit of 6*d.*; the remaining 1,000 a larger profit of 1*s.* 9*d.* an acre. The whole walk will still be let, but it would be let just as well if one half of it were thrown out of use altogether.

Such is Ricardo's law; and such, if we may use the word 'law' in its popular meaning and not in the strict sense in which a jurist would employ it, is the law by which rents are measured. But it does not follow that in every case and in all circumstances rents exactly correspond with this law. On the contrary, political economy excludes from its view

one factor of great importance—the temperament of man. It is one of the most striking, and perhaps one of the best, characteristics of the individual man that his confidence in his own capacity usually induces him to take a sanguine view of the future. Even in private life most men are apt to estimate their probable income at the maximum and their expenditure at the minimum, and Lord Melbourne cynically observed that, when a man made a careful estimate of his incomings and outgoings and found that they were just equal, or that the former left a small balance over the latter, he was on the eve of bankruptcy. But, if this be true of private life, it is much more true of industrial enterprise. A man, for instance, who takes a farm is apt to think that he is certain to be able to sell his sheep at the best prices, and to save, by good management, a few of the expenses which ruined his predecessor; he is apt to assume that the weather is certain to be good, and to overlook the losses which he may sustain from winter snows or summer drought. Thus hope, which 'springs eternal in the human breast,' induces the agriculturist to give too much for a farm, just as it induced the investor to give too much for Portuguese or Argentine stock. But with the aspirations that are natural to man the economist has no concern. He does not deny that he may, and that he frequently does, give more for an article than, strictly speaking, it is worth. All that he declares is that the value of a farm is measured by the differential advantages which it possesses over the worst land in cultivation; and that, if the tenant is persuaded to give more than this for it, he will, in the long run, and on an average of years, suffer the consequences which ensue from an unsuccessful speculation.

We have dwelt at some length on the Duke's criticism of the Ricardian theory of rent, for its soundness or unsoundness equally affects the Duke's theory of value. The generally accepted theory, which the Duke combats, is that the value of an article depends on the cost of producing it in the most unfavourable conditions on which men are induced to make it. But we may at once say that this doctrine only applies to those things where the supply exceeds, or can be made to exceed, the demand. The works of a great artist, for example, which cannot be multiplied, obviously come under another rule; for, if two men are each anxious to buy a Raphael, and there is only one Raphael in the market, it is impossible to predict the price to which their competition may raise the picture. In ordinary circumstances, however,

where the supply is equal or can be made equal to the demand, we believe the price of every commodity to be regulated by the cost of producing it in the least favourable conditions. We will test this case by the example which the Duke himself has given us. For his experience in nickel, so far from disproving, seems to us to confirm, the law which he has set himself so vigorously to destroy.

Let us consider how the case stands. When the Duke discovered nickel on his estate there is no doubt that there was an effective demand for this mineral, and that the cost of producing it was such that the value of it amounted to 8*s*. the pound. The owner of a nickel mine was in the exact position of the owner of corn land when wheat was selling, for example, at 8*s*. a bushel. Wheat sold at 8*s*. the bushel and nickel sold at 8*s*. the pound, because 8*s*. was the cost of producing a pound of one and a bushel of the other in the most unfavourable conditions in which these articles were either raised or extracted. Two possibilities existed in either case. An increased demand for nickel or for wheat might have necessitated, on the one hand, the cultivation of worse land, or the use of poorer ores, in which case the price would have risen; or, on the other hand, the opening up of richer land by new trade routes or the discovery of richer mines might have provided cheaper means for producing either the cereal or the metal, in which case the price would have fallen. It is a matter of common knowledge that this is what did take place in the case of corn. America, India, and other countries sent us large quantities of grain, grown with comparative ease, and, in consequence, much of the land in this country which had been used for growing corn ceased to be employed for the purpose. The Duke now tells us that precisely the same thing happened with regard to nickel. New and richer mines were discovered in distant places; the poorest of the old mines were consequently thrown out of use and the price of the ore fell. His own profits fell also till, at last, fresh discoveries made it impossible for him to work his mine at a profit at all. He thus experienced in this single speculation every step in the downward progress from working at a large profit to working at no profit or at a loss. There must have been a moment in this history when the yield of the mine must have just paid the expenses of production. The demand for nickel in the world was sufficient, in the existing conditions of the supply, to enable him, at the moment, to carry on the contest, though it was not

sufficient to give him any further profit as owner from the output of the mine.

We do not much care to consider whether the price in this instance was 'regulated,' as the older economists say, by the poorer mine, or, as the Duke alleges, by the richer mines subsequently discovered. We agree with the Duke that 'regulated' is a word of doubtful meaning, which it is consequently well to avoid. What we do contend is that the profit of the richer mines and the rent of the richer lands was measured by the differential advantages which they possessed over the worst mine and worst land in actual use. The profit in one case, the rent in the other, was measured, in fact, on the principle on which the degrees of heat and cold are marked off on a Fahrenheit thermometer. Freezing point on the thermometer represents the position of the landowner, or of the capitalist, on whose land, or in whose factory, food or any other commodity is produced under the most unfavourable conditions on which men can be tempted to carry on the work of production. Nothing, in other words, is left either as rent to the landlord or as profit to the capitalist. Where land is either cultivated or any industry is prosecuted on conditions less favourable than these, the farmer or the capitalist incurs a loss which is represented on the thermometer by a fall below freezing point. Where the conditions, on the contrary, are more favourable, there is a surplus, which the landowner appropriates as rent, the capitalist as profit, and which is represented on the thermometer by the rise of the mercury above freezing point.

Stated in this way, Ricardo's law, and the consequences which have been deduced from it, seem to us just as true as when the doctrine was first propounded. We agree with the Duke that neither rent nor value is regulated by what is 'poorest and lowest,' any more than heat and cold are regulated by the thermometer; but both rent and value are measured from the point where land can return no rent, and industry no profit, just as, on the Fahrenheit thermometer, heat and cold are measured from freezing point. The Duke replies that this is an 'obvious and empty truth.' We can only say that the truth was not obvious when Ricardo wrote, and that its full consequences do not seem to be obvious to the Duke now.

We must, however, pass on to the last question on which we are at issue with the Duke, and endeavour to examine very shortly the conditions which involve the rise or fall in the value of labour. No doubt the anticipations which were

expressed on the subject eighty or a hundred years ago have been falsified to a great extent by the result. Malthus taught his contemporaries to believe that the human race had a tendency to increase more rapidly than its food; and he argued that, if this tendency were not checked, the condition of mankind must gradually become more and more miserable. Ricardo concluded that there was no way of keeping profits up except by keeping wages down; and that the prosperity of any country presumably, therefore, depended on the poverty of the working classes. But, since Ricardo and Malthus wrote, these predictions, so far, at any rate, as England is concerned, have proved untrue. A large increase of population has taken place, and the poor are admittedly better off than at any previous period. A large addition has been made to the profits of industry, and the wage rate has probably risen from 50 to 75 per cent.

There can be no room for surprise that, in these circumstances, men should have learned to distrust the teachings of the earlier economists. Prophets cease to be believed when their prophecies prove false. But a law may possibly be true, though its operation may be suspended at some particular time or place; and what economists have to consider is whether Malthus and Ricardo were mistaken in their views, or whether the consequences which they deduced from their laws have been temporarily averted by circumstances which they did not foresee, but which have profoundly affected the destinies of the human family.

Two years ago, in reviewing a notable modern work in these pages, we endeavoured to lay stress on the very peculiar conditions in which Adam Smith and his immediate successors wrote. They stood on the very threshold of the greatest industrial revolution which the world has ever seen, and they failed either to perceive the fact or to measure its consequences. Watt's great invention, and its application to industry and locomotion, altered all the conditions under which mankind were living. And, if this were true of the world in general, it was especially true of the United Kingdom. We have lived to see the people of these islands, who were almost exclusively dependent in Ricardo's time on their own soil for their food, obtaining large proportions of their agricultural produce from distant communities. We have lived to see machinery creating large demands for labour, which in Ricardo's time would have been thought impossible; and we have finally lived to see hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen, for whom there was no room at home,

annually migrating to other sparsely occupied countries which the English-speaking peoples are making their own.

Such facts as these have necessarily made a profound impression on the conclusions of Malthus and Ricardo. Malthus assumed that the population of the United Kingdom must necessarily be in the main dependent on its own soil. The British people have had opened to them, since he wrote, unoccupied territories in Canada and Australia, about sixty times as large as the United Kingdom. Steam has so knitted the world together that it is perhaps as cheap for a working man to travel from London to New York, as it was for him, in Malthus' time, to go from London to Edinburgh. In these circumstances, the whole conditions which Malthus had in view have been altered. Instead of population pressing on its means of subsistence, the available supply of food has overtaken the demand. Large as the increase of the population in the United Kingdom has been, the area of land which has been brought into cultivation, and which steam has made available for the support of the people of these islands, has been still larger.

A change quite as great has affected Ricardo's doctrine. In the early years of the century, when he was writing, machinery had made little progress; it was perhaps impossible for the most clear-sighted of men to foresee how largely it would be introduced into almost every industry, and how greatly it would modify the conditions of labour. Let us take, for instance, one of the most beneficial of recent inventions—the sewing machine. A girl with the help of a machine will (let us assume) make three shirts in the time in which with her unaided needle she might make one; if without the machine she was able to earn a shilling, with the help of the machine she will earn three shillings. Suppose that she has to set aside one-third of her earnings to pay for the machine, she will still obtain two shillings for time in which she was only previously able to earn one shilling; but, though her own earnings will be doubled, the cost of her labour in making each shirt will be reduced by one-third; it will thenceforward represent only eightpence instead of a shilling. Now the same thing which has happened in the case of the seamstress has occurred on a still larger scale in every great factory; by the aid of machinery each operative produces more yarn, more cloth, more of any other commodity which he is engaged in making than he was able to do before; and the employer finds that he is, at once, able to increase the wages of his employés, and yet to reduce the

actual cost of labour on each pound of yarn, or each yard of cloth, or on any given quantity of any other commodity. Hence it has happened that in those countries where, as in the United Kingdom, machinery has been most largely resorted to, the rate of wages has steadily tended to increase, while the cost of production has simultaneously decreased, and we believe it to be an axiom with the best manufacturers that any fresh improvement of machinery enables them to raise the wages of their workpeople, and at the same time to reduce the cost of labour on any given quantity of their output.

Whether the advantage which the Anglo-Saxon races of the world have thus secured is likely to continue, is a matter on which different people may form different opinions. It is, of course, possible that, if the teeming myriads of the East, in China and India, should ever succeed in supplying themselves with machinery equal to our own, they may be able to undersell us in the great markets of the world. It is even possible that the migrations of the Chinese, which Baron Hubner years ago foretold, and on which Mr. Pearson has lately commented, may effect the same results by supplying our manufacturers with cheaper labour. On this branch of our subject we hazard no forecast, but we may point out that the increase in the wage rate, which has characterised the last fifty years in this country, has altered one of the conditions which Ricardo contemplated. The working classes have been introduced almost imperceptibly to higher ideas of life. They require more for what Ricardo would have called their bare subsistence, than they would have thought necessary half a century ago. If it be still true, therefore, that wages tend to be depressed to the rate which is barely sufficient for subsistence; if, either through the cessation of emigration, the importation of cheap labour, or any other cause, they should at any future time again fall, they will not easily descend to the point to which they were driven at the commencement of the present reign. The increasing providence of the working classes, their higher ideas of life, the regulation of female and child labour, the growing opinion that married women should be exempted from all duties except those which are natural to the wife and the mother, these and other circumstances have all tended to create the belief that the minimum sum on which a working man can afford to marry is higher than it was in the days of Ricardo and Mill. A belief thus generally accepted enters into the ideas of all

classes, and profoundly affects the conditions of the labour market.

If then the opening of new and almost unknown territories through the application of steam to locomotion has altered the conditions which Malthus had in view, the extension of machinery, and the supremacy which the Anglo-Saxon races have obtained in this respect, have prevented that depression of wages which Ricardo thought inevitable. Both writers may have reasoned accurately on the facts that were before them; but both writers failed to foresee other facts which were destined, at any rate, temporarily, and possibly permanently, to affect their conclusions. If, indeed, we desire to test the accuracy of their laws, we must leave our own country, where new and unforeseen conditions have arisen, and go to some other country, like China, where the old conditions, amidst which Ricardo and Malthus wrote, are still in force. We have no space at our disposal for such an excursion; but, from all we know, we believe that the lessons which would be derived from it would go far to vindicate the teachings of the older economists.

We have, in fact, so outrun our space that we have hardly room to notice the Duke's examination of the fallacies which he thinks he detects in the 'Wages Fund Theory.' According to J. S. Mill, wages are dependent on the demand and supply of labour, or on the proportion between the labouring classes working for hire, and the circulating capital and other funds expended in the direct purchase of labour. He adds, 'There is unfortunately no mode of ex-'pressing by one familiar term the aggregate of what may be 'called the wages fund of a country,' but 'it will be 'convenient to employ this expression, remembering, however, 'to consider it as elliptical and not as a literal statement of 'the entire truth.'

It is, we think, hardly fair to describe a phrase so guardedly introduced as 'a capital letter fallacy.' The more so as we do not believe that there is any material difference between Mill and the Duke. The Duke, indeed, eloquently pleads that 'the manual labourer cannot be 'mistaken when he feels that his wages are earned by himself 'and that they are paid out of the proceeds of his own work.' He admits, however, that 'as regards those who pay wages, 'since that value can seldom be at once recovered, the pay-'ment is almost always advanced out of capital as a necessary 'means to an end, and in the confident expectation of certain 'calculated returns.' And the moment we turn from the

abstract to the concrete, we see at a glance that this is true. The construction of a great railway, or a great canal, for example, employs tens of thousands of navvies; it sets in motion hundreds of furnaces; it employs thousands of operatives in rolling rails, in making engines, bridges and other machinery. But this great mass of labour could not possibly be set in motion if it waited to be 'paid out of the proceeds of its own work.' Every individual in the vast army of workers would starve before the new canal or the new line could earn a single penny. If the necessary labour is set in motion at all, it must receive its initial impulse from the application to it of that portion of the circulating capital of the country which in Mill's words is expended in the direct purchase of labour.

This being the case, we cannot see that there is any inaccuracy in styling that portion of the circulating capital of the country which is employed in the purchase of labour as a wages fund; and we cannot at any rate take exception to Mill's argument, that 'it will be convenient to employ 'this expression, remembering, however, to consider it as 'elliptical and not as a literal statement of the entire truth.' We may even go one step further, and say that we prefer the old-fashioned phrase—land, labour and capital—to the new formula—mind, matter and opportunity—which the Duke desires to substitute for it.

It is easy to see why the Duke wishes to get rid of the old formula. The mention of land indicates that distinction between real and other property which the Duke refuses to draw. The mention of capital indicates the necessity of a wages fund, which the Duke refuses to acknowledge. The mention of labour emphasises that kind of labour which is done by the body, and overlooks the higher work which is done by the mind. With the Duke, therefore, land and capital become matter; labour, mind; while a third element, opportunity, is imported into the formula. Yet we cannot help fearing that the Duke's new phrase is not likely to supersede the old one. Land, labour and capital convey to our minds a much more definite conception than mind, matter and opportunity. It is much more easy, for example, to think of labour as including mental energy, than of mind as including manual work; while 'land' and capital convey to us distinct ideas, which we fail to derive from such vague expressions as matter and opportunity.

But, though we are not prepared to accept the Duke's formula, we gladly acknowledge that he has done good ser-

vice in emphasising the importance of mental energy in the sphere of economics. It is after all the mind of man, the superiority of his mental faculties, which raises him above the brutes; and it is his mind which directs and influences both the highest and the lowest forms of his work. The mind of James Watt gave his fellow men a new power, which opened to them fresh opportunities; the mind of the humblest housemaid enables her to lay and light the fire on which we are dependent for our comfort and for our food. In the human mind 'lies the source, the centre and the throne of 'all the energies of human life. It is by it that the analogies 'of Nature are perceived, that her meanings are interpreted, 'that her agencies are yoked for useful service.'

If we thus desire to acknowledge the good service which the Duke has done by dwelling on the importance of mental energy in every department of economics, so we also desire to express our gratitude to him for proving that the lessons of political economy may be conveyed in language which plain men can follow, and by illustrations which plain men can understand. And how great these lessons are when taught by a competent teacher.

'Political economy,' writes the Duke in his concluding passages 'has too often been made, in very truth, a bad as well as a "dismal science." But in its real nature it is not so. On the contrary, it is the most vast, the most various, the most interesting of all the subjects of human inquiry. What we have got to do in its interests—which are the highest interests of human society—is, on the one hand, to give up the pedantic pretension to the precise and formal propositions which mimic those attainable in the exact sciences; but, on the other hand, to assert its cognisance of all the facts and laws of our human nature on which the structure of human society must repose. . . . But always in our science the grand conclusion is in sight—a conclusion reached by the purest and strictest logical process—that the real welfare of everybody is bound up with the real welfare of everybody else, if only we estimate aright wherein that real welfare consists, what are its necessary limits, and the means whereby alone it can be attained.'

ART. VII.—1. *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, 1793-1812. By Captain A. T. MAHAN, U.S.N., President United States Naval War College. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1892.

2. *Essays on Naval Defence.* By Vice-Admiral P. H. COLOMB, Lecturer on Naval Strategy and Tactics in the Royal Naval College at Greenwich. 8vo. London: 1893.

THE nearly simultaneous appearance of two works on naval strategy, by its recognised exponents in England and in the United States, forces on our notice the remarkable difference in the value officially assigned to the study in the two countries. England may well claim to be the fountain-head of naval history, naval strategy, and naval tactics; but at the Royal Naval College, where our naval officers are instructed in the more advanced branches of naval science, history is wholly neglected, while the cognate subjects of strategy and tactics are illustrated each year by one short course of six lectures. It follows that when Admiral Colomb addresses a wider public he does not refer to his professional and systematised teaching, but to a series of more or less desultory papers read, at wide intervals of time, before the Royal United Service Institution. These are, it is true, valuable and suggestive essays, though, perhaps, more so in their original form and at their original date; but collectively the work, by its very nature, is on a lower level than that which we have from the United States Naval War College. There the authorities seem to take a different view of the matter, and from the first Captain Mahan, the lecturer on history, strategy, and tactics, held a prominent place on the staff. Recently, on the retirement of Admiral Luce, he has been promoted to the responsible post of President; and thus, by the implied if not by the specific direction of the Navy Board, he has continued, on an enlarged scale, the very remarkable series of lectures whose subject-matter, embodied in his 'Influence of Sea Power upon 'History,' we had the pleasure of reviewing less than three years ago.*

In many respects Captain Mahan's present work is even more important than the former, and especially so because, whilst that was addressed mainly to professional readers, and appealed only incidentally to the general public, the

* Edinburgh Review, October 1890.

work now before us, important as it is to naval officers, is still more so to the statesman, the administrator, the shipowner, the merchant, and the tradesman. In fact, the only man, or type of man in England, to whom it will not prove of the deepest interest, is the pseudo-politician whose theory of public affairs is summed up in the maxim that whatever is English is wrong. To such a man—and, unfortunately, we have too many among us—we can conceive the book acting rather as an irritant, a blister—wholesome it may be, but painful; for, though written by one whom untoward circumstances have constituted a foreigner, and whom education has taught to regard English affairs with an impartial eye, the book is throughout a splendid apotheosis of English courage and English endurance, of English skill and of English power, the more splendid, the more glorious, as these are put forward not as matter of boasting or of laudation, but philosophically, scientifically, as illustrating propositions in naval strategy or in commercial war. There are probably many of us who have never truly realised how essentially the Napoleonic war was a war of commerce. We have all, of course, known the leading features of that great struggle, from which—as Mr. Walpole tersely expressed it—'the British Empire rose the first Power in the 'world;' and have even understood that the Russian campaign, which so directly contributed to Napoleon's downfall, was itself an incident of that struggle; but never till now has the full story been traced with adequate illustrations of cause and effect.

In the highest and best sense, Captain Mahan's book is a treatise on the philosophy of history, of history teaching by examples. It is not in itself a history, nor does it make any pretence of original research. But the mere facts are seldom in dispute. Accepting them, for the most part, as he finds them recorded in the standard histories and contemporary memoirs and correspondence, Captain Mahan's very great merit is that he has so arranged them that their significance now shines forth, projected like an electric beam on the clouds of heaven, so as to compel the notice of all who come within its comprehensive sphere. In his former work, Captain Mahan, examining the course of the War of American Independence, showed how, during that war, the French navy approached more nearly to an equality with the English than at any other period during the century. 'Never,' he now repeats, 'since the days of De Ruyter and 'Tourville, had so close a balance of strength been seen

'upon the seas. Never, since the Peace of Versailles to our 'own day, has there been such an approach to equality 'between the parties to a sea war.' And again, 'The 'French navy had reaped glory in the five years of war, not 'so much, nearly, as French writers claim for it; but still it 'had done well, and the long contest must have increased 'the efficiency of its officers along with their growing expe-'rience.' And this navy, improved in its internal organisation under the ministry of the Marquis de Castries, had attained its highest developement in 1789,* when the outbreak of the Revolution and the practical application of Jacobin principles to naval discipline ruined the force which, under happier auspices, might have been the safeguard of France. The details of this disorganisation, though familiar in the pages of French writers, and more especially in the admirable narrative of Captain Chevalier,† have never been better told in English than they now are by Captain Mahan. It is, however, unnecessary to trace them here. They are, indeed, curious; but of more serious meaning is the fact, as stated by Captain Mahan, that—

'in the action of French governments is to be found the chief reason for the utter disaster and overthrow which awaited the sea power of France. It was because the Government so faithfully and necessarily reflected the social disorder, the crude and wild habits of thought which it was powerless to check, that it was incapable of dealing with the naval necessities of the day. . . . It is instructive,' he continues, 'to dwell upon this phase of the revolutionary convulsions of France, . . . because the result was here so different from that which was found elsewhere. . . . Why should the same throe which brought forth the magnificent armies of Napoleon have caused the utter weakness of the sister service, not only amid the disorders of the Republic, but also under the powerful organisation of the Empire?'

It was because men wholly ignorant of the requirements of a peculiarly technical service undertook to deal with it; because, from first to last, from the days of Jean Bon Saint-André to the end of the Empire, it was arbitrarily controlled by men who had no knowledge of the conditions of naval life, who had no 'appreciation of the factors conditioning efficiency 'at sea.' Here then were the causes. The effects were the annihilation of the corps of officers, men trained under or in

* An interesting monograph on the state of the French navy at this date has recently been published under the title of 'La Marine Royale en 1789,' par Maurice Loir, Lieutenant de Vaisseau (1892).

† Histoire de la Marine Française sous la Première République (1886).

the traditions of Guichen, Suffren or Lamotte-Picquet; the abolition of the corps of gunners, and the dispersion of the disciplined crews. Masters or mates of the mercantile marine, warrant or petty officers of the navy, were the commanders of ships of war, while a few mutinous sailors, ignorant of all warlike training, formed the nucleus of the ships' companies, which were filled up with newly raised soldiers and seasick peasants, drunk with revolutionary frenzy, but unable to reef a topsail or to point a 36-pounder. Of the Brest fleet which fought on June 1, 1794, Captain Chevalier says, in so many words:—

'The crews were mostly made up of men who had never been at sea, and who, though they had been on board the ships for some months, had received very little training in harbour. Most of the captains and officers were making their first trial of sailing in squadron. So that, though the weather was fine, the ships' companies were so bad and the officers so inexperienced, there were very many accidents.'

That their manœuvring should be bad was a matter of course, but at least—it might have been supposed—they would have learned in harbour to work their guns with some degree of efficiency. On which point Captain Chevalier says:—

'In the battles of May 28, 29, and June 1, the English had 293 killed and 855 wounded. In the French fleet the number of killed and wounded amounted to nearly 5,000. Our ships, too, suffered great damage in their hulls and spars; several of them were completely disabled, while their opponents had sustained but slight damage and lost very few men. The English ships, thus set free, joined their consorts and overwhelmed those of our fleet which still continued to resist. As the battle began, the "Queen Charlotte" steered for the ship of the French admiral. In doing so, she was exposed to the fire of the ships which formed our centre, and especially to that of the "Juste," the "Montagne," and the "Jacobin;" and after passing through our line she was engaged with several others. At the close of the day, her loss in killed and wounded amounted to 42; that of the French flagship was 300.'

After the battle of June 1, the French officers of the west tacitly accepted the doctrine that they were not able to meet the English on equal terms; and though against the squadron which, under Cornwallis, effected the celebrated retreat on June 17, 1795, they had enormous numerical odds, the possibility of being delayed till they might have to fight an equal enemy would not permit them to take advantage of the opportunity. Even as it was, they paid dearly for the

slight pretence at aggression; for on the 23rd, they were found by Lord Bridport still outside Lorient, and suffered severely—ought to have suffered more severely—before they could make their escape into the harbour. It was a lesson which needed no repetition; and during the rest of the war the Brest fleet seldom ventured to sea, and then not without much anxiety lest it might meet with the English fleet.

Of these sorties, the most important is that which was made on December 16, 1796, when the fleet put to sea, loaded with the soldiers of the expedition to Ireland, under the supreme command of General Hoche, to whom the admiral was subordinated. The naval command had been, in the first instance, assigned to Villaret-Joyeuse; but as he took little trouble to conceal his disapproval of the whole scheme, he was superseded by Morard de Galle, an officer of the old navy, who, having narrowly escaped with his life during the Terror, had been lately reinstated in his rank. Captain Mahan, following Chevalier and other French historians, speaks of him as having been 'among the bravest captains 'of the great Suffren;' but Suffren himself, with presumably better opportunities of judging, noted his conduct in the engagement of September 3, 1782, as *très-mal*; and when, a few days later, M. de Galle, with three others, applied for permission to resign his command, Suffren wrote, 'J'ai été 'trop mécontent d'eux pour ne pas le leur accorder avec 'plaisir.' He did not, indeed, accuse him of cowardice; and it may well be that his misconduct was due rather to a want of comprehension, of firmness, of decision, such as now rendered him the meek subordinate of Hoche, and the utterly incapable commander of a dangerous enterprise. The French soldiers were full of enthusiasm, and Hoche, unable to understand the naval difficulties, summarily silenced the voice of naval opinion. And, in the words of Captain Mahan:—

'Never was a great expedition, destined to encounter extraordinary risks and to brave one of the stormiest of seas, more favoured than this at the first was by the elements and by the mismanagement of its enemies. For nearly six weeks before it sailed the winds prevailed from the east, and during the passage, in mid-winter, fine weather with favourable winds lasted until the bulk of the fleet reached the Irish coast. Nor was an enemy's vessel met, to take advantage of the crowded and inefficient condition of the French ships.'

When, however, following Chevalier, he adds:—

'To the enfeebled state of the French navy, to the decay of its material, to the want of seamen, to the disappearance of the trained

officers, and to the consequent disinclination of the superiors to undertake the expedition, is to be attributed the failure of an attempt in which their sympathies had never been enlisted '—

it appears to us that he omits what was really the principal factor in the failure—a factor to which, on other occasions, he assigns full weight. In an able and well-reasoned narrative of the expedition* Admiral Colomb has clearly shown that the failure was mainly, if not entirely, due to 'the 'influence of England's sea power,' to the active fear of the English fleet, though unseen. It was this fear which, on leaving Brest with a fair wind and a clear offing—the blockading fleet having been blown some fifty miles to the westward—caused the admiral to order his ships to pass out by the intricate and dangerous channel of the Raz de Sein. Hence the loss, at the very beginning, of the 74-gun ship 'Séduisant.' Hence, also, the separation from fleet and army of the two commanders-in-chief. But again, when Admiral Bouvet, left by this separation in command, opened his sealed orders and found that he was to make for Mizen Head, the fear of the absent fleet still operated. 'Wishing,' says Chevalier, 'to keep out of the way of the English 'cruisers, he ran towards the west for that day and the 'next. On the 19th, when he had reached the meridian of 'Mizen Head, he turned to the north.' On which Admiral Colomb remarks: 'The fact that Bouvet was ordered to 'steer for a place, and yet did not dare to do it for fear of 'being caught, makes him the sounder of a note of intelli-'gence singularly melodious in the ear of a nation relying 'on transactions at sea for its defence.' Historians have often dwelt on the adverse and stormy weather which the expedition afterwards met with.† They have omitted to mention that the delays which brought it into that bad weather were due, before starting, to the actual presence of the English squadron off Brest, and, on the voyage, to the fear of falling in with that squadron. But this fear was persistent, and as it had delayed the expedition both in starting and on the passage, so now it prevented its waiting for the storm to blow over. Wolfe Tone noted in his journal that 'it is the dreadful stormy weather and easterly 'winds . . . that have ruined us.' In this, says Admiral Colomb,

* Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, vol. xxxvi. p. 17 (Jan. 1892).

† Compare Lecky, 'History of Ireland,' vol. iii. p. 510.

'Tone was certainly wrong, because a great English expedition had many years before invaded the island of Cape Breton by way of Gabarus Bay, and it had met just the same sort of weather impediments which the French now met, and all it did was to wait till the weather moderated, and then go on with the invasion. What was to prevent the French from following the same plan? Possibly the growing shortness of their provisions—for the troops and seamen had been for weeks eating their heads off in Brest Harbour, while they waited for the chance of evading Colpoys' fleet—but certainly the knowledge that every hour's delay would bring the English nearer to them as their executioners. They were, like any other burglars, in fear of the police.'

But although the mere dread of the unseen enemy was sufficient to render the French attempt abortive, it is evident that the English missed an exceptional chance of utterly destroying the Brest fleet. Even as it was, the French loss, from stress of weather, ill-found ships, bad seamanship, ignorant navigation, and the few English frigates on the coast, amounted to about five thousand men and twelve ships. These included, besides frigates and transports, two ships of the line, the 'Séduisant,' wrecked at the beginning of the voyage, and the 'Droits de l'Homme,' whose tragic wreck in Audierne Bay—into which she was driven, in a violent gale by the splendid exertions of Pellew in the 'Indefatig-'able' and Reynolds in the 'Amazon'—has been described, with but little embellishment, by Captain Marryat in the 'King's Own.'

But unquestionably their loss ought to have been very much greater. Inferior to the English fleet in numbers and in efficiency, lumbered up with soldiers and stores, the whole expedition ought to have been captured or destroyed. The question, as important now as it was then, is, Why were the English unable to avail themselves of the opportunity? The answer is given by Captain Mahan in some admirable pages. It was, he conceives, because the policy instituted by Lord Howe and maintained by Lord Bridport was radically faulty. This policy was to keep the fleet snug at Spithead, more especially during the winter, whilst a relatively small detachment watched off Brest. Should the French put to sea this advanced squadron was to fall back to Spithead, and the whole fleet, as fresh and clean as the French, would sail to pursue and engage them. But, as Captain Mahan points out, before the news could reach the commander-in-chief at Portsmouth, and before the English fleet could get to sea, the French had necessarily several days' clear start, in which much mischief might be done, or

all trace of them be lost. Captain Mahan considers, and all the experience of the past confirms his argument, that, to maintain the blockade of Brest effectually,

'a fleet needs to be fixed at the highest number the resources of the nation can supply, and supported by a reserve so proportioned that, by a constant coming and going, no ship at the front should ever be suffering from an exhaustion either of condition or supplies. The station of this reserve, obviously a matter of the utmost importance, should, of course, be as near as possible to the main body, and, for sailing ships, favourably situated with reference to prevailing winds.'

Instead of that, and independent of the fact that, on the 16th of December, Colpoys had allowed himself to be blown some fifty miles to the westward, his 'fleet of fifteen sail was certainly 'not superior to the French. It might be considered adequate 'to frustrate the expedition, if met, but not sufficient to 'inflict the crushing blow that the policy and needs of Great 'Britain imperatively demanded.' Captain Mahan, therefore, maintains that neither the Government nor the Admiralty, nor the commander-in-chief had realised the principles which ought to have guided their strategy under the circumstances. The detachment off Brest was too small; the reserve was too large; it was stationed at Spithead, two hundred miles off, and it was not ready. Colpoys knew nothing of the French having sailed till December 22, and, having no instructions to guide him, fell back to Spithead, where he anchored on the 31st. Bridport also had the news on the 22nd, and replied that 'he would be ready to 'sail in four days.' 'A truly handy reserve,' says Captain Mahan, 'with the British islands about to be invaded.' But when the four days were at an end, various accidents interfered with the sailing of the fleet, and it did not get away from St. Helens till January 3, when the French had left Bantry Bay, and then with only fourteen sail of the line. 'An inadequate force at the decisive point, inade-'quately maintained, and dependent upon a reserve as large 'as itself, but unready and improperly stationed—such,' says Captain Mahan, 'were the glaring faults of the strategic 'disposition.'

Bad as the Brest fleet was, the condition of the fleet at Toulon was even worse. In the west, the successive commanders-in-chief, Villaret-Joyeuse and Morard de Galle, were, at least, officers of standing and experience. In the Mediterranean, in 1795, Admiral Martin was newly raised to his rank from the humble position of warrant officer, and though probably a capable seaman, he had no experience in

the art of commanding men or of manœuvring fleets. The men, too, were not such as even an experienced officer would have cared to command. But none of the officers had more experience than their admiral. Insubordinate or mutinous, they were, of course; they were also extremely ignorant, and there was no one to instruct them, no one to enforce discipline or command respect. According to Martin's report—

'A fleet could not possibly be worse off for sailors. Our crews have been completed by 2,400 men drafted from the different regiments here. Out of a total of 12,000 men forming the crews of fifteen ships of the line, 7,500 are soldiers or landsmen who have never been at sea, so that, allowing for officers and petty officers, there are less than 3,000 seamen to be divided among the fifteen ships, many of which cannot have two trained men at each of their 36-pounders.'

When this fleet met the English, on March 13–14, 1795, two French ships were captured, one of them, the 'Ça-Ira,' of eighty guns. Her crew is said to have consisted of 187 sailors and 496 soldiers,* which would leave her 157 short of complement. She must, however, have had many supernumeraries, presumably soldiers, for it was given in evidence before the prize court, that, at the beginning of the action, she had on board 1,050 men, of whom some 350 were killed or wounded. It is very well known that Nelson thought a great deal more might and should have been done by the English on this occasion; but it was of Nelson's genius that, of all the very capable officers that were off Brest or Toulon, he alone realised the absolute incapacity of the French fleets. Howe and Bridport, off Brest, had certainly not done so; neither had Hotham off Toulon; nor had the Government, which, on the reports of Hotham's meagre success, made him an Irish peer. No one in the fleet, except Nelson, seems to have judged that the victory had fallen very far short of what was possible. Now, it is plain enough. The French fleet ought to have been destroyed. Captain Mahan naturally says:—

'It was a singular misfortune to Great Britain that the interregnum between two such able men as Hood and Jervis should have coincided with the determination of the French to try the chance of battle with their Mediterranean fleet, and that the opportunities they lost should have fallen to so sluggish and cauticus an admiral as Hotham.'

But Hotham had served with credit as captain and com-

* Brun, 'Guerres Maritimes de la France,' ii. 267.

modore through the Seven Years' War and the War of American Independence. He knew what the French fleet had been under D'Estaing and Guichen: he had, himself, been rudely handled by Lamotte-Picquet; and he could not persuade himself that he was not in face of the same officers, the same gunners. 'It may be,' says Captain Chevalier, 'that the recollections of the American war protected our 'squadrons.' However that may have been, it is clear that Hotham's slackness in the hour of battle was disastrous to the interests of his country. Had the Toulon fleet been destroyed, whether in March or July 1795, as we now know it might have been destroyed, and as we know Nelson would have destroyed it, the political combinations and naval policy of the following years would have been widely different from what they were. But it was not in battle alone that Hotham's slackness or want of understanding produced fatal results. Nelson always maintained that the fleet could have prevented the invasion of Italy. 'At that time,' he wrote in 1800, 'we had nothing to do; and if Hotham had 'kept his fleet on the [Genoese] coast, no army from France 'could have been furnished with stores or provisions: even 'men could not have marched.' Captain Mahan's comment puts this even more clearly:—

'By occupying Vado,' he says, 'and the Riviera east of it, the coasting trade heretofore carried on from the ports of Genoa and Tuscany to Southern France would be stopped—a matter of great consequence to the Republic, as those departments only raised grain for three months' consumption, and depended for the rest upon that which came from Barbary and Italy by way of Tuscany. With a British squadron at Vado, the populace of Provence, the navy at Toulon, and the army of Italy would have to be supplied from the north of France by bad inland roads.'

Instead of a strong squadron, however, Nelson was sent in the 'Agamemnon,' with a few frigates, but without authority to stop neutrals. On the representations of the Austrian general and the British ministers at Genoa and Turin, Nelson accepted the responsibility to stop 'every 'vessel bound to France or to ports within the French lines, 'to whatsoever nation it might belong.' But it was impossible thus to stop the small coasters which made short night runs, close in shore. This part of the work, it was hoped, the Austrians might do, by occupying Vado; but they, on their side, expected the English to do the whole; and when they were driven precipitately back by the defeat at Loano, the blockade was virtually raised.

'My campaign,' wrote Nelson on December 4, 'is closed by the defeat of the Austrian army and the consequent loss of every place in the Riviera of Genoa. If I had been favoured with the two 74-gun ships which I have often asked for, I am fully persuaded that the last attack never would have been made. Instead of this increase of force, my frigates were withdrawn from me without my knowledge. Only "Agamemnon" remained.'

All that the 'Agamemnon' unsupported could do was to secure the Austrian line of retreat; but the map, and Nelson's letters, and Captain Mahan's comments on them all show how much might have been done with an adequate force. And, in short, says Captain Mahan,

'this campaign of the British fleet contributes another to the numerous lessons of history, upon the importance of having sufficient force at the decisive point and taking the offensive. It may be added that Hotham could better have spared ships to Nelson if he had not thrown away his two opportunities of beating the Toulon fleet.'

When, a week after this disaster, Sir John Jervis succeeded to the command, it was too late to go back on the mistaken strategy of Hotham. The mischief had been done; the Austrians had been driven from their positions on the coast; and whether the English fleet was or was not strong enough to retake them could scarcely be a practical question in presence of the Toulon fleet, which a large reinforcement from Brest had raised to a distinct numerical superiority over the English. Whatever the advantage of the English in quality, it was as yet impossible, even for Nelson, to estimate its numerical value. He felt it, he knew it intuitively; but he can scarcely have ventured to speak very decidedly, even to Jervis. 'Their numbers,' he wrote to his wife on February 12, 1796, 'we know full well, but the accounts of the state they 'are in are so contradictory as to leave us uncertain. Sir 'John Jervis is at present inferior to the French; they have 'built five sail of the line since we left Toulon.' Jervis himself had had experience of a French fleet under D'Orvilliers and under Guichen, and had, as yet, only hearsay evidence that he might not have to encounter a similar force. Of Jervis, Captain Mahan has formed a very high, in some respects, perhaps, an exaggerated opinion, but the sketch of his character is, on the whole, appreciative and just. His rule, he says, 'was one of fear rather than of 'love;' he had not 'the sympathetic qualities,' 'the inspi-'ration,' 'the genius,' of Nelson; but he had 'a cool, sound 'and rapid professional judgement,' 'a steady, unflinching 'determination to succeed,' and 'a perfect fearlessness of

'responsibility'—qualities which 'have won for him a place 'in the first rank of those chieftains who have not received 'the exceptional endowments of nature's favourites.' But even Jervis could not at once overcome the difficulties of his position. Hotham had neglected to secure the command of the sea when the opportunity was offered him; and when, towards the close of 1796, the fleets of France and Spain united to dispute it, the English Government quailed for the moment, and sent out orders for the fleet to withdraw from the Mediterranean. Corsica and Elba were evacuated, and the fleet passed the Straits. Bonaparte had brought his campaign in Italy to a triumphant close, and the allies, that is, the French, were masters of the sea. Public opinion in England anticipated the worst.

'Peace negotiations begun with the Republic had ended by the British envoy being peremptorily ordered to leave France in forty-eight hours; and although the Government had not expected a favourable issue, the effect on the people was disheartening. Consols fell to 51. The expedition of the French against Ireland had, indeed, failed; but so little share had the Channel fleet borne in their defeat, that the country was forced to ascribe to the direct interposition of Divine Providence a deliverance which it would have preferred to see wrought through the instrumentality of the navy. That trusted arm of the national defence seemed palsied in every quarter. Finally, among the greater of many discouraging circumstances, specie payments were stopped by the Bank of England on February 26, in obedience to an order of the Government. The profuse subsidies paid to continental States, and the demands for coin to meet the expenses of the navy in all parts of the world, were the chief causes of a drain against which the Bank directors had frequently remonstrated. To these causes for scarcity was added at this time another, arising in great part from loss of confidence in the navy's efficiency—the fear, namely, of invasion. People had begun to call for and to hoard coin against an evil day.'

It was just on this time of extreme depression, on St. Valentine's Day, that Jervis, turning to bay off Cape St. Vincent, shattered the prestige and the naval might of Spain. 'A victory,' he was heard to mutter, 'is very essen- 'tial to England at this moment,' and he gave her a brilliant one. Whether, in this celebrated battle, he displayed the highest order of tactical genius, has been disputed and denied; but, as Captain Mahan rightly says, 'to him alone belongs 'the honour of attacking such heavy odds, as well as of the 'correct and sufficient combination by which he hoped to 'snatch victory from superior numbers. . . . The whole 'responsibility and the whole original plan was his, and no

'man can take it from him.' All these, however, are after thoughts. At the time, when the news first reached England,

'most men did not care to think. It was enough for them that fifteen British ships had dashed into the midst of twenty-seven enemies, had collared and dragged out four of the biggest, and severely handled the rest. It was enough to hear that the crew of one British 74, headed by a man whom few out of the navy yet knew, had, sword in hand, carried first a Spanish 80 and then another of 112 guns. With such men to rule the fleet, they thanked God and took courage. Speculation is often futile; yet it is hard to see how the country could have borne the approaching crisis of the mutinies, on top of its other troubles, had not the fear of the Spanish navy been removed and the hope of better naval leaders been afforded.'

We are, however, permitted to believe that, notwithstanding this stupendous defeat of the Spaniards, and notwithstanding the recognition by the Brest fleet of the indisputable superiority of the English, the Directory and the military leaders of France, more especially Bonaparte, did not admit it even to themselves. It may have been that they supposed that the maintenance of her supremacy in the north fully tasked England's resources, or that they persuaded themselves that the superiority was much exaggerated. The history of the last war showed England powerless even to defend Minorca; and to those who, like Bonaparte, had confined their attention mainly to the affairs of the south, the action of England in the present war might be considered by no means brilliant. He had seen the English fleet driven out of Toulon; he had seen them unable to maintain the Austrians on the Riviera, or themselves in Corsica; he had seen their fleet twice in action with that of France and obtain no decisive advantage; he had seen them retire from the Mediterranean without striking a blow; and as to a victory over the Spaniards, the details of which were certainly minimised, the Spanish fleet, according to the reports of French officers, had always been contemptible. There can be little doubt that through 1797 and the first seven months of 1798 the French flattered themselves with the idea of the Mediterranean being a French lake. They controlled the Spanish, French, and Italian coasts: Turkey and the Levant must easily follow, and, with the Levant, the key to the riches of the East. The intelligence which they received of the mutinies in the English fleets naturally confirmed them in this dream, and it was with no misgiving about the command of the sea that Bonaparte sailed in June 1798 for the

conquest of Egypt. He was rudely awakened by the crash of the battle of the Nile.

French writers, whom Captain Mahan to some extent follows, have laid great stress on the bad condition of the French ships, on the weakness of their crews, not only in point of quality but in point of numbers, and of the unprepared state in which Brueys allowed himself to be caught at anchor. Much of this is criticism after the event, for in the latter part of last century the French had certainly persuaded themselves that a fleet anchored in line in shore was practically unassailable. They had repeatedly acted on this persuasion in the American War, and believed that the English would act on it in Aboukir Bay, or if not would be easily repelled. It is, however, probable enough that Brueys had trusted to some delay after the enemy came in sight to complete his preparations for the defence. But whatever the shortcomings of the fleet or of Brueys, the victory and its decisive nature was entirely Nelson's.

'Without a moment's pause, without a tremor of uncertainty, yet with all the precautions of a seaman, Nelson came straight onward, facing with mind long prepared the difficulties of navigation, the doubts and obscurities of a night action. . . . For half an hour Brueys was a helpless and hopeless, though undaunted spectator of an overwhelming attack, which he had never expected at all, delivered in a manner he had deemed impossible, upon the part of his order he thought most secure.'

Then his turn came. The huge size and formidable armament of the 'Orient' enabled her to beat off her earliest assailants, but soon they gathered in irresistible force. 'The 'French centre was the victim of a concentration similar to 'that with which the action began in the van, and destined 'to result in a frightful catastrophe.' The 'Orient' caught fire. The guns of the 'Swiftsure' and 'Alexander,' 'trained 'on the part in flames, helped to paralyse all efforts to 'extinguish them, and they gained rapidly.' At ten o'clock she blew up. Five others had already surrendered: the 'Franklin,' an eighty-gun ship long known in our service as the 'Canopus,' struck her colours shortly after. Three more surrendered the following morning. Another was set on fire by her own people. Of the thirteen ships of the French line, two only escaped. The English command of the Mediterranean was resumed with a completeness which staggered Bonaparte, who, for the first time, realised the danger of the position into which he had thrust himself and the army.

It was not only that the army was imprisoned, that its own communications were cut, but that the English were now able to operate freely against the French whenever the course of the war brought them within reach of the sea. It was thus that Acre was successfully defended, that the conquest of Syria was prevented, and that Bonaparte's ambitious scheme for, it may be, the re-establishment of the empire of Alexander, with India added,* was set at nought. The enterprise utterly failed because a small, an apparently insignificant English force controlled the adjacent sea; because Nelson had destroyed the French fleet in Aboukir Bay; because Bonaparte, 'to the end of his career, was 'never able rightly to appreciate the conditions of naval 'warfare.' Captain Mahan refuses to admit that, from the military point of view, Bonaparte's 'Oriental visions' were fantastic. It was by his extraordinary, even extravagant, imagination that he was what he was; but, over and over again, adventurers, by no means his superiors in genius, or as leaders of men, had 'raised and combined the nations 'of the far East;' and 'the motley host which he [at a 'later date] gathered under one standard from all the 'highly organised nations of continental Europe,' is a suggestive evidence of his powers. 'There was, however, one 'radical fallacy underlying his Oriental expedition, and that 'lay in the effect he expected to produce upon Great 'Britain. . . . As a blow directed against her, there was 'in his visions a fatal defect of conception, due more to a 'miscalculation of the intellect, than to a wild flight of 'fancy.' He mistook effect for cause, the fruit for the tree, the flower for the plant. He considered the possession of India, or other colonies, to be the cause of England's prosperity; the wide extent of her commerce to be the cause of her wealth and eminence among nations. If Bonaparte's visions had been realised, and India had been conquered, 'a splendid bough would have been torn from the tree,' which would have still stood, able to throw out new branches.

'The strength of Great Britain could be said to lie in her commerce only as, and because it was, the external manifestation of the wisdom and strength of the British people, unhampered by any control beyond that of a government and institutions in essential sympathy with them. In the enjoyment of these blessings—in their independence and untrammelled pursuit of wealth—they were secured by their powerful

* Compare Lanfrey, 'Histoire de Napoléon,' i. 390.

navy, and so long as this breastplate was borne, unpierced, over the heart of the great organism, over the British Islands themselves, Great Britain was, not invulnerable, but invincible. She could be hurt, indeed; but she could not be slain. Herein was Bonaparte's error. His attempt upon India was, strategically, a fine conception; it was an attack upon the flank of an enemy whose centre was then too strong for him; but as a broad effort of military policy, of statesmanship directing arms, it was simply delivering blows upon an extremity, leaving the heart untouched. . . . So, in his later years, he was beguiled into the strife wherein he bruised Great Britain's heel and she bruised his head. Yet his mistake is scarce to be wondered at; for after all the story of his career, of his huge power, of his unrelenting hostility, of his indomitable energy, unremittingly directed to the destruction of his chief enemy—after all this and its failure—we still find men harping on the weakness of Great Britain through her exposed commerce. Her dependence upon trade and the apparent slackening of the colonial ties foretell her fatal weakness in the hour of trial. So thought Napoleon; so think we. Yet the commercial genius of her people is not abated, and the most fruitful parts of that colonial system existed scarcely, if at all, in those old days, when her commerce was as great in proportion to her numbers as it is now. To paralyse this it must be taken by the throat—no snapping at the heels will do it. To command the sea approaches to the British Islands will be to destroy the power of the State. As a preliminary thereto, the British navy must be neutralised by superior numbers or by superior skill.'

From Admiral Colomb's point of view, this is much overstated; and if he would allow it to be true of a hundred years ago, he would not consider it applicable to the present time. According to him, 'the British Empire is a vast, 'straggling, nervous, arterial, and venous system;' . . . it is 'highly organised;' its life 'must hang by a thread.' It is not a tree from which a branch may be cut. 'It is 'no mollusc from whose inert substance huge masses may 'be detached at will without much effect upon its vitality. 'It is a living organism whose parts are all interdependent. 'A stab at the heart may put it to death more suddenly, 'but, perhaps, not more surely than the severing of a 'remote artery.' He conceives that, at the present time, the loss of a colony or the forced stoppage of one important trade might be fatal. He might surely have referred to a modern experience. Amongst all our seaborne trade that in raw cotton is one of the most important. Millions of our countrymen depend on it for their daily bread, and it thus takes rank as a veritable trade in food-stuff. At the time of the American Civil War this was brought to a sudden and complete stop. How great the suffering so caused,

many of us can still remember. It was terrible, but it was not fatal. The tree put forth other branches; the trade spread in other directions, and England's industry went on as before. We think, then, that Captain Mahan's contention is the more scientific and correct; that isolated stoppages or losses may cause grievous suffering, may even tax our endurance beyond its ability; but that a fatal blow can only be given by wresting from us the control of the narrow seas.

It is, however, quite certain that in all our wars with France, and more especially in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, whenever our commerce rather than our navy has been attacked, that commerce has increased by leaps and bounds. At the end of the eighteenth century, the shipping interests of France and Holland were prostrate; their foreign possessions were captured; Great Britain was the manufactory and warehouse of Europe; 'no flag was so safe 'from annoyance as the British, for none other was pro-'tected by a powerful navy; neutrals sought its convoy 'against French depredations, and the navigation of the 'world was swayed by this one great power.' As a result, the commerce of Great Britain, far from decaying or languishing, throve everywhere with redoubled vigour; and 'her foreign trade, export and import, which in 1792 had 'amounted to 44,500,000*l.*, rose in 1800 to 73,700,000*l.*

From an early period in the war, the struggle resolved itself into a commercial one. It was no new attempt on the part of France. In his former work Captain Mahan showed how, as far back as the war of the Spanish succession, France, in a similar way, attempted to crush England by destroying her commerce, with the result that then, too, that commerce grew enormously, and that while 'before that 'war England was one of the sea powers, after it she was *the* 'sea power, without any second.' So it was now. After 1795 no fleet put to sea from Brest with the intention of seeking and fighting the English; the aggressive action of the French at sea was limited to fitting out a large number of 'commerce destroyers,' more especially of privateers. In face of which, the English commerce flourished and increased; it was the French commerce that was destroyed. It was admitted by the Directory in 1799 that 'not a single mer-'chant ship is on the sea carrying the French flag.' 'This,' adds Captain Mahan, 'was by no means a figure of speech, 'to express forcibly an extreme depression. It was the 'statement of a literal fact.'

It was then that England, following up her advantage, exercised very stringent measures against the trade of neutrals, especially against the trade in contraband of war; and this, almost of necessity, brought her into collision with the Northern Powers. Hence, when the Tsar, in a fit of personal pique against Austria and England, withdrew from the coalition, he readily yielded to the flattering influence of Bonaparte, and became the leader of the 'armed neutrality' which, at the end of 1800, seemed to rise as the natural ally of France, and was, in fact, a coalition against England, formed by Bonaparte. Captain Mahan points out as a singular coincidence, that, just as in 1798 Nelson went out to the Mediterranean in time 'to check the yet undivined 'expedition against Egypt,' so now he was returning, 'as 'though drawn by some mysterious influence, to be at hand 'for unknown services which he alone could render.' How completely, indeed, Nelson was the soul of the expedition to the Baltic has never been more clearly put than now, by Captain Mahan. He thinks, of course, that Nelson ought to have had the chief command from the beginning; but that probably some passages of his conduct in the Mediterranean 'had excited in Earl Spencer a distrust of his fitness for a 'charge requiring a certain delicacy of discretion as well as 'vigour of action.' 'Whatever the reason, the withholding 'the chief command from him was unquestionably a mistake 'which would not have been made by St. Vincent, who suc- 'ceeded Spencer a few weeks later'—in time, indeed, to remedy the blunder so far as possible, by giving Sir Hyde Parker instructions capable of a very liberal interpretation. In Parker's hands, however, they proved useless; Nelson would have accepted the responsibility. The fact was that Nelson realised, and Parker did not, that Russia was the keystone of the hostile coalition, which, if Russia was withdrawn, must at once fall to pieces. It was thus that on March 24 he offered Parker

'a suggestion worthy of Napoleon himself, and which, if adopted would have brought down the Baltic Confederacy with a crash that would have resounded through Europe. "Supposing us," he wrote, "through the Belt with the wind first westerly, would it not be possible to go with the fleet, or detach ten ships of three and two decks, with one bomb and two fire ships, to Revel, to destroy the Russian squadron at that place? I do not see the great risk of such a detachment, and with the remainder to attempt the business at Copenhagen. The measure may be thought bold, but I am of opinion the boldest are the safest, and our country demands a most vigorous exertion of her force, directed with judgement."'

Afterwards, on May 8, he wrote to Addington in explanation of the armistice :—

'"I look upon the Northern League to be like a tree, of which Paul was the trunk and Sweden and Denmark the branches. If I can get at the trunk and hew it down, the branches fall of course; but I may lop the branches and yet not be able to fell the tree, and my power must be weaker when its greatest strength is required." It cannot but be a subject of regret,' says Captain Mahan, 'that the naval world should have lost so fine an illustration as he would there have given of the principles and conduct of naval warfare.'

Parker, however, was determined not to leave Denmark hostile in his rear. The result was the battle of Copenhagen, brilliant in itself, but commonplace in comparison with what might have been obtained by following out Nelson's suggestion; and, by the course of events, useless, for Paul was murdered on the night of March 24, eight days before the battle. The news was sufficient to induce Parker to wait for special instructions from home, and he anchored the fleet in Kjöge Bay. St. Vincent's virtual answer to his indecision was relieving him from the command and appointing Nelson to succeed him. The orders were received on May 5, and Nelson at once made the signal to prepare to weigh. 'If Sir Hyde were gone,' he wrote the same afternoon, 'I would now be under sail.' He actually did sail on the 7th, and was off Revel on the 12th. The Russion squadron had got out three days before and was then safe at Cronstadt; and with his hands thus strengthened, Count Pahlen, the Russian minister, wrote to Nelson that

'the Emperor does not consider the bringing the fleet into the Gulf of Finland consistent with the desire professed by his Britannic Majesty of re-establishing the good feeling which has so long existed between the two monarchies. . . . His majesty has ordered me to acquaint you that the only guarantee of the loyalty of your intentions which he can accept is the immediate withdrawal of your fleet, and that all negotiation with your court is impossible as long as a naval force is in sight of his ports. . . . His majesty will have pleasure in yielding to such just demands as your king shall put forward in friendly negotiation; but anything which would give to these demands the appearance of conditions can only lead to the failure of the proposed result.'

'I do not believe,' wrote Nelson to St. Vincent, 'he would 'have written such a letter if the Russian fleet had been in 'Revel.' The change of circumstances, however, fortunately answered all the purposes for the time being, and the threatening confederacy ended in 'friendly negotiation,' in which England yielded some of the more offensive points in

dispute. Bonaparte's attempt to take the pressure off France by a diversion in the Baltic thus completely failed, and the command of the sea was maintained without any serious interruption till the treaty of Amiens.

Of the negotiations leading up to that treaty, and of the treaty itself, Captain Mahan gives a good and well-connected account. He shows that the English Government was duped into concessions which ought not to have been made, and which many circumstances combined to render dangerous. 'A series of unpleasant surprises produced a feeling 'of insecurity, proved to the ministry that they had been 'outwitted, and converted the peace from first to last into 'a condition of armed truce.' The expedition to Haiti, too, was calculated to excite some uneasiness. A large fleet of ships of war, and 20,000 troops loose in the West Indies, might well seem portentous to the London public. To ministers it must have been clear that the sending some twenty or thirty undermanned ships of the line to sea was a guarantee of peaceful intentions, and that if war should break out the 20,000 men interned in Haiti were lost to France. But, in fact, there are good grounds for believing that Bonaparte's principal object in the expedition was to get these 20,000 men out of France with the more or less clearly formed purpose that they should not return to it. They were old and tried soldiers, but they were 'the army 'of the Rhine,' who were devotedly attached to Moreau; and though Lanfrey, whilst having no doubt that they were sent to Haiti to be out of the way, was unwilling to admit that they were deliberately sent there to die,* he wrote in ignorance of their having, but a few weeks before their departure, been engaged in a conspiracy against Bonaparte, the full history of which has but recently come to light.† But putting this expedition entirely on one side, there were scores of incidents which excited suspicion and anger. Bonaparte, possibly despising a cabinet which he had so easily duped, possibly exaggerating the unwillingness of the English to renew the war, convinced, too, that they could not do so without Austria, which was powerless, threw off the mask, and openly clutched the spoil. England, he asserted, had nothing to do with the affairs of Italy or Germany; and, furious at her remonstrance against his encroachments, answered in the formula: 'The whole treaty

* Histoire de Napoléon, ii. 389.

† Mémoires du Baron de Marbot, i. 161.

'of Amiens—nothing but the treaty of Amiens;' to which the English minister as tersely replied: 'The state of the 'Continent when the treaty of Amiens was signed, and 'nothing but that state.'

It is very frequently said that the war actually broke out on the refusal of the English to evacuate Malta in accordance with the terms of the treaty. It is well, therefore, to point out that this, as commonly understood, is erroneous; that, according to the treaty, the evacuation of Malta was dependent on conditions which were never carried out; and that, finally, after the manifest aggressions of Bonaparte in Italy, it was made the subject of fresh negotiations which the 'truculent arrogance' and blustering insolence of Bonaparte rendered abortive. On May 16, 1803, Great Britain declared war; and with a promptitude that has not always been shown, Cornwallis sailed from Plymouth on the following day, with ten ships of the line, and two days later took up his old station off Brest. On the 18th Nelson hoisted his flag on board the 'Victory' at Portsmouth, and on the 20th sailed for the Mediterranean.

The story of the next two years must be familiar to every Englishman, but it is one that can never be read too often, and now, illustrated by Captain Mahan's comments, may very well be read again, if only to clear away the confusion which has obscured the understanding of many of even our ablest writers. Of the general strategy of the English Admiralty, and of the measures by which the several English admirals carried out that strategy, Captain Mahan has nothing to say but in commendation. England had been forced to declare war by the necessity of resisting the encroachments daily made by Bonaparte. By doing so she regained her belligerent rights; she at once resumed the control of the sea, and acting on the strategy already laid down by Lord St. Vincent, and still directed by him, she pushed that control to every point of the enemy's coast. Her squadrons, 'hugging the French coasts and blocking the French arsenals, were the first line of the defence.' How completely they were so is admirably described:—

'That period of waiting, from May 1803 to August 1805, when the tangled net of naval and military movements began to unravel, was a striking and wonderful pause in the world's history. On the heights above Boulogne, and along the narrow strip of beach from Etaples to Vimereux, were encamped 130,000 of the most brilliant soldiery of all time—the soldiers who had fought in Germany, Italy, and Egypt; soldiers who were yet to win Ulm and Austerlitz, Auerstadt and Jena;

to hold their own at Eylau, and to overthrow the army of Russia on the bloody field of Friedland. On fine days, as they practised the varied manœuvres which were to perfect the vast host in embarking and disembarking with order and rapidity, they could see the white cliffs fringing the only country that to the last defied their arms. Far away, Cornwallis off Brest, Collingwood off Rochefort, Pellew off Ferrol, were battling the wild gales of the Bay of Biscay in that tremendous and sustained vigilance, concerning which Collingwood wrote that admirals need to be made of iron. Farther distant still, severed apparently from all connexion with the busy scene at Boulogne, Nelson before Toulon was wearing away the last two years of his glorious but suffering life, fighting the fierce north-westers of the Gulf of Lyon. . . . They were dull, weary, eventless months, those months of watching and waiting of the big ships before the French arsenals. Purposeless they surely seemed to many, but they saved England. The world has never seen a more impressive demonstration of the influence of sea power upon its history. Those far-distant, storm-beaten ships, upon which the Grand Army never looked, stood between it and the dominion of the world. Holding the interior positions they did, before—and therefore between—the chief dockyards and detachments of the French navy, the latter could unite only by a concurrence of successful evasions, of which the failure of any one nullified the result. Linked together, as the various British fleets were by chains of smaller vessels, chance alone could secure Bonaparte's great combination, which depended upon the covert concentration of several detachments upon a point practically within the enemy's lines. Thus, while bodily present before Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon, strategically the British squadrons lay in the Straits of Dover, barring the way against the Army of Invasion.'

These blockading squadrons were thus, in all strictness of language, the first line of the defence. Misled by the passive nature of their service and by their distance from the strategic centre, many writers have exaggerated the danger by contrasting the smallness of the force actually in the Downs or the Straits of Dover, with the threatening demonstrations of the enemy and the known power of Napoleon. They have not realised that the danger had first to come to the Straits of Dover, and that measures for strengthening the force to meet it were arranged in minute detail. And thus, as Captain Mahan points out, 'neither the Admiralty 'nor British naval officers in general shared the fears of the 'country concerning the peril from the flotilla.' St. Vincent, for instance, is reported to have said, in his grimmest manner, 'I don't say the French can't come: I only say 'they can't come by sea;' and Pellew, speaking in the House of Commons on March 15, 1804, said, 'As to the 'possibility of the enemy being able, in a narrow sea, to pass

'through our blockading and protecting squadron, with all 'the secrecy and by those hidden means that some worthy 'people expect. I really, from anything I have seen in the 'course of my professional experience, am not much disposed 'to concur in it.'

The French soldiers too, in their camp, were fond of discussing whether the ships of the line might not be successfully attacked by the flat-bottomed boats, coming out in their thousands. 'It was sought,' wrote Marmont, 'to 'establish the belief in a possible success; but notwithstanding the confidence with which Bonaparte supported 'this view, he never shared it for a moment.' In England there was a great outcry for gunboats, even as, in later days, there has been for torpedo boats. The French, it was said, have hundreds, thousands of gunboats, and we must have gunboats to meet them. That St. Vincent did not provide the gunboats was the charge against his administration which had, apparently, the greatest weight with the public. That he steadily refused to waste the resources of the country in any such way is one of his lasting claims to our esteem. 'Our great reliance,' he wrote, 'is on the vigilance 'and activity of our cruisers at sea, any reduction in the 'number of which, by applying them to guard our ports, in-'lets, and beaches, would, in my judgement, tend to our 'destruction.'

It has, however, often been discussed whether Bonaparte ever really intended the invasion of England; and the doubt, so expressed, has lately been repeated, on the authority of Napoleon himself, as stated to Metternich. In urging this, it has been forgotten that Napoleon's statements as to his motives or intentions at any time are absolutely worthless; and in this instance Captain Mahan adduces very strong reasons for a positive conviction to the contrary. He says:—

'The considerations that to the author possess irresistible force are: (1) that Napoleon actually did undertake the almost equally hazardous expedition to Egypt; (2) that he saw, with his clear intuition, that, if he did not accept the risk of being destroyed with his army in crossing the Channel, Great Britain would in the end overwhelm him by her sea power, and that, therefore, extreme as was the danger of destruction in one case, it was less than in the other alternative. (3) Inscrutable as are the real purposes of so subtle a spirit, the author holds, with Thiers and Lanfrey, that it is impossible to rise from the perusal of Napoleon's correspondence during these thirty months without the conviction that so sustained a deception as it would contain—on the supposition that the invasion was not intended—would be impossible even to him.'

We should be inclined to speak even more positively than Captain Mahan, who admits that 'the position at Boulogne 'was well chosen for turning his arms against Austria at a 'moment's notice,' though 'barring the power of the British 'navy, it was equally favourable to an invasion of England.' Captain Mahan's meaning is generally clear and unmistakable; but we must confess to an inability to understand the advantages which Boulogne, more than three hundred miles from Strasbourg, offered for a campaign against Austria. For the invasion of England, it was practically the only position; the more so as antecedent experience had probably left a traditional objection to Havre, La Hogue, or Quiberon Bay, as principal ports of embarkation.

But when very capable writers have allowed themselves to be led astray on a point so clear, it is not to be wondered at that a still greater number have mistaken or misunderstood Nelson's conduct in the Mediterranean command, and to this day speak of him as having been 'decoyed' to the West Indies, thereby placing the country in very great danger. They lose sight of the facts that Villeneuve's voyage to the West Indies had two clearly defined objects: to plunder or destroy the English settlements, and to wait a stated time—forty days—for the arrival of Ganteaume; and that both these objects were frustrated by Nelson's unexpected appearance at Barbadoes: the English islands were not injured, and Villeneuve would not venture to remain on the station, exposed to the attack of what—through imperfect intelligence—he believed to be a superior fleet. But in any case, owing to the way in which Lord Gardner kept Brest 'locked,' Ganteaume would not have joined him. They lose sight also of the fact that Napoleon was exceedingly annoyed at Nelson's action, and exhausted his vocabulary in expressing his contempt for the stupidity of the English, who could not see that they ought to have gone to the East Indies and, above all, ought to raise the blockade of Brest. In a soberer mood, however, he wrote: 'If I had been in the 'British Admiralty, I would have sent a light squadron to 'the East and West Indies, and formed a strong fleet of 'twenty sail of the line, which I would not have despatched 'until I knew Villeneuve's destination.' Which, in principle, is exactly what the Admiralty and what Nelson did.

'Nothing, in fact,' says Captain Mahan, 'is more noteworthy or more creditable than the intelligence and steadiness with which the British naval authorities resisted Napoleon's efforts to lead them into ex-centric movements. This was partly due to an accurate judgement

of the work of the enemy's detached squadrons, partly to an intuitive sense of the supreme importance of the Indian possessions, and partly to information much more accurate than Napoleon imagined, or than he himself received in naval matters. "You return," he wrote to Decrès on June 5, "as if the enemy were in the secret." This is just what they were: not as to all details, but as to the main features of his plans. While the Emperor was wildly welcoming in imaginary squadrons hastening to India, and guessing where Nelson was, both the latter and his Government knew where Villeneuve had gone, and the British admiral was already in the West Indies.'

And when Villeneuve returned to Europe, so also did Nelson, who arrived off Cadiz some three days before Villeneuve was met off Cape Finisterre by the squadron under Calder, which the Admiralty had promptly stationed there to intercept him. Captain Mahan is very likely right in saying that 'in the 'hands of a more resolute or more capable admiral than 'Calder, the campaign would probably have been settled off 'Finisterre;' only there are degrees of 'resoluteness' and 'capability.' Calder was a good average officer: and there were at that time many good average officers in the English navy: how many there were 'resolute' and 'capable' enough to gain a decisive victory with 15 ships against 20, it is impossible to say. But in one sense the action off Finisterre was decisive. Captain Mahan rightly says: 'If it be sought to 'fix a definite moment which marked the final failure of 'Napoleon's scheme for the invasion of England, that one 'may well be chosen when Villeneuve made the signal to bear 'up for Cadiz.' But this order to 'bear up,' given under a false impression of the near approach of Cornwallis, was mainly due to the loss his fleet had sustained in its action with Calder. If Calder, with 15 ships against 20, could capture two, he may have argued, what am I to expect from Cornwallis, or, for aught I know, from Nelson, with 25 against 20? and what he actually wrote to Decrès, the minister of the navy, was: 'No doubt it is thought that, 'sailing from Ferrol with 29 ships, I am able to fight with 'anything like the same number: I am not afraid to confess 'to you that I should be sorry to meet with 20.' So he went to his fate at Cadiz and Trafalgar, which marked the end, not the turning point of the campaign. But the influence of Trafalgar on the war was decisive. By the destruction of his fleet, Napoleon was forced into other methods of carrying on the struggle with England.

'To the clash of arms with the great sea power succeeded the strife of endurance. Amid all the pomp and circumstance of the war which

for ten years to come desolated the Continent, amid all the tramping to and fro over Europe of the French armies and their auxiliary legions, there went on unceasingly that noiseless pressure upon the vitals of France, that compulsion, whose silence, when once noted, becomes to the observer the most striking and awful mark of the working of sea power. . . . Here, therefore, the story of the influence of sea power upon this great conflict ceases to follow the strictly naval events, and becomes concerned simply with commerce destroying, ordinarily a secondary operation of maritime war, but exalted in the later years of Napoleon's reign to be the principal, if not the sole means of action.'

So considering it, Captain Mahan has passed over, without notice, the wonderful effort which France and Napoleon did actually make to regain the lost power at sea. It was fruitless, and does not enter into the discussion of results; but that such an effort as that of 1807 could still be made after the collapse of 1805, acutely emphasises at once the persistent nature of the struggle, and the extreme difficulty, if not the impossibility, of recovering sea power when it has been wholly lost. It is to the discussion of the commercial war that Captain Mahan devotes the latter half of his second volume; and it is to this part of the work that we would more especially direct attention. It is possible to say that, under modern conditions, past experience of active war counts for very little. Many have said it; and though in his former, as in his present work, Captain Mahan has shown how false and deluding the idea is, many will continue to say it; but no such assertion can honestly be made with reference to the destruction or protection of commerce. The principles on which these depend are the same now as they were a hundred years ago, or as they will be a hundred years hence; and if they have hitherto been but half understood, it is that they have never before had such an able and intelligent exponent as they now have in Captain Mahan.

It has, for instance, been frequently the custom in this country to lay stress on our losses at sea, comparing them unfavourably with those of the enemy; and even recently these losses have been quoted as tending to show the absolute impossibility of giving effectual protection to our commerce. As England during the war practically monopolised the sea-going trade of the world, while France, as we have seen, had none, it is clear that whatever loss the English sustained was so much in excess of any that could possibly be inflicted on the French; and again, as the attempting to plunder or destroy English commerce was the sole outlet for the energy or enterprise of the maritime population of France, the

losses of England were pretty certain to be considerable. But the important point of Captain Mahan's contention is, that, compared with the magnitude of English interests afloat, these losses were extremely small. By a series of calculations based on different data, but giving the same result, he shows that they did not amount to more than two and a half per cent., or little in excess of the ordinary risks of navigation. These losses, too, were partially made good by the prizes taken from the enemy; but still more complete compensation was found in the great expansion of England's commerce. 'The writings of the period,' he says, 'show that the injuries 'due to captured shipping passed unremarked amid the 'common incidents and misfortunes of life; neither their 'size nor their effects were great enough to attract public 'notice, amid the steady increase of national wealth.' He quotes passages in support of this statement, but a still stronger and more suggestive support is given by the revenue returns.

'Not only did the new taxes bring in liberally, but the older ones were increasingly productive. These signs of prosperity were not seen all at once. The first plunge into the war was followed, as it always is, by a shrinking of the system and a contraction of the muscles; but as the enemy more and more surrendered the control of the sea, as the naval victories of 1797 and 1798 emphasized more and more the absolute dominion of Great Britain over it, and as the new channels of enterprise became familiar, the energies of the people expanded to meet the new opportunities.'

But what Captain Mahan everywhere insists on is that for effectually protecting or destroying commerce, 'concen-'tration of effort' is necessary. 'The hunting for individual 'marauders resembles looking for a needle in a haystack;' but properly arranged convoys can sail over a controlled sea with a minimum of risk. In 1782, when Suffren disputed our command of the Indian Sea, the premium of insurance on ships in the China and India trade was fifteen per cent. During the Revolutionary War it did not exceed half that rate; and in 1805, under the command of Sir Edward Pellew, 'such security was afforded to the trade from Bom-'bay to China, one of the most exposed parts of the Eastern 'commercial routes,' that the premium fell to five per cent. if sailing with convoy. For ships so sailing, the losses by capture were not more than one per cent. on the property insured; but at the same time, the Calcutta merchants, neglecting to avail themselves of the convoys, lost nineteen

vessels in two months, and complained bitterly of the inadequate protection afforded them.

It appears to be now very generally assumed that convoys are altogether things of the past, and would not be endured in this 'go-ahead' age. Captain Mahan does not take the trouble to argue the point, but is content with establishing the absolute importance of the principle which he calls 'concentration of effort.' Success depending on that, convoy in some form or other he would take for granted. Admiral Colomb, in a special essay on the subject, comes to practically the same conclusion. After careful inquiry among merchants and underwriters, he says, 'there seems no doubt that a 'warrant to sail with convoy would now, just as it did in the 'last French war, enormously reduce the war-risk premium.' In which case many ships would prefer the reduced premium, though many would, no doubt, trust to their own speed and good fortune.

It is, however, not for the defence alone that Captain Mahan insists on the necessity of 'concentration of effort.' Commerce destroyers, he shows, cannot exist without a substantial base of operations; and he dwells, with marked approval, on the policy of the English Government in 'directing expeditions against the enemies' colonies, the 'foreign bases of their sea power, and, in the absence of great 'fleets, the only possible support upon which commerce 'destroying can depend, with whose fall it must also fall.' Guadeloupe, the last of the French West Indian Islands, was taken in 1810; so also were Bourbon and Mauritius; and by the reduction of Java, in 1811, 'an end was put to the 'predatory warfare which had been successfully carried on 'against the British trade in India.'

A point which Captain Mahan repeatedly illustrates, both directly and indirectly, and on which we may be permitted to insist, is that through the whole course of the Napoleonic war the English Admiralty showed a clear insight into the conditions of the struggle, and were guided by sound principles of strategy. That this was to some extent a legacy from St. Vincent and Troubridge, is probable, for many of their successors were not men of experience or distinguished ability; and, indeed, their action, silent and clouded by the routine of office, has commonly escaped notice. The enunciation of broad principles for the information of the public or the instruction of the enemy was no business of theirs; but, in spite of many blunders in detail, their conduct bears critical examination, and is seldom found to be in fault.

The policy of the Government, too, ably supported them, and especially in regulating the very difficult and intricate questions as to the position of neutrals. As to these, the standing rule acted on by England in the Seven Years' War, and now referred to as the 'Rule of 1756,' was in effect that a neutral could not, for the convenience of the enemy, carry on a trade which, in time of peace, that enemy prohibited to foreigners. This particularly referred to the coasting trade of France, and the trade between France and her colonies; and thus, as England obtained a more and more complete command of the sea, France was more and more isolated. It was, of course, open to England to make such relaxations in the Navigation Act and in the restrictions on neutrals as seemed to her own advantage, and thus to extend her trade far beyond the capacity of English shipping under the pressure of war. Even the enemy's colonies were rendered serviceable, and, provided their produce had become neutral property, neutral vessels were permitted to carry it either to the neutral country or to Great Britain.

France, on the other hand, unable to waive the Rule of 1756, gave it a new force and extended meaning: she flung to the winds her old contention that free ships should make free goods, and exaggerating the doctrine which she had formerly condemned, declared (January 18, 1798) that 'every 'vessel found at sea having on board English merchandise 'as her cargo, in whole or in part, shall be lawful prize, 'whosoever shall be the proprietor of the merchandise.' This declaration, intended to injure British commerce, in reality benefited it. In the natural course of things the neutral trade was of greater relative advantage to France, which had no shipping of her own, than to England, which could but increase her abundance. The true policy of France was, therefore, to encourage it in every possible way, throwing on the neutral the risk, and on England the burden of suppressing it. Instead of that, she repelled the trade, virtually forcing it into the hands of Great Britain. According to Captain Mahan: 'The year 1797 saw the lowest 'depression of British trade; coincident with the law of 'January 18 began a developement which, at first gradual, 'soon became rapid, and in which the neutrals driven from 'France bore an increasing proportion.' But some part of this developement must be attributed to the great victories of 1797 and 1798, which gave England the assured command of the sea. The same measures which protected English commerce protected that of friendly neutrals, and

increased the risks of those who still sought to trade with France.

The French ports being closed, first Amsterdam, and afterwards Hamburg and the North German ports, became the staples of British merchandise. 'The enormous subsidies 'paid by the United Kingdom to Germany found their way 'back, in part at least, by the increased purchasing power 'of the belligerent countries, which consumed the manufactures of Great Britain and the coffee and sugar which had 'passed through her ports and paid toll to her revenues.' And Captain Mahan quotes statistics from Macpherson's 'Annals of Commerce,' to the effect that the value of the merchandise thus carried into North German ports rose from 2,200,000*l.* in 1792 to 13,500,000*l.* in 1800. It appears, however, impossible to say what proportion of this should be placed to the account of 'the neutralising trade'—the trade carried on by enemies' ships fraudulently transferred to a neutral flag. From 1795 to 1806 Prussia, as a neutral Power, specially lent herself to this traffic; and some mercantile houses in Emden—houses with Dutch names—provided false oaths, false witnesses, and false papers, in accordance with the demand. It was asserted that, in 1806, 'there were upwards of three thousand sail, 'belonging to merchants of Holland, France, and Spain, 'navigating under the Prussian flag.' The consequence necessarily was that the Prussian flag or Prussian papers had very little value in the eyes of the captain of an English frigate or the judge of an English Admiralty court, and that such neutralised ships were very commonly sent in and were not unfrequently condemned.

The history of this neutralising trade, in full detail,* cannot but be especially interesting at the present time, when it is so often urged, even by honourable men in high position, that the simplest protection for English commerce in time of war would be to put it under a neutral flag. When the time came to endeavour to carry out the suggestion, the requisite amount of perjury might, in some cases, prove an obstacle; and in all, the legal difficulties would certainly be considerable. But, supposing these overcome, and supposing a nation found willing to prostitute her flag in the manner indicated, it is well to remember that the principal maritime Powers have declared in advance that they will not recognise any such change of nationality made

* As to which, see 'Naval Chronicle,' xxxi. 288.

subsequent to the declaration of war, and that the immediate consequence would be the treatment of vessels under that flag as suspected; whether ultimately condemned or not, they would certainly be captured and sent in, so far as the power of the enemy availed. There are not many nations which would accept such a war risk for no public end. Least of all could Belgium, which has often been suggested, in a war between this country and France. But, again, supposing that difficulty also overcome, it is a question of some importance how the ships so transferred to, say, the Belgian flag, are to be officered and manned. Not by Belgians, certainly; for Belgian seamen, to the fiftieth or even the hundredth part of the numbers required, do not exist; but if by English seamen, and if the vessel so officered and so manned be found carrying on her customary English trade, there is not an admiralty court in Europe, or in America either, that would not condemn her as lawful prize. It is quite certain that the enemy, whoever he may be, will insist on clear proof that the transfer has been *bonâ fide*, under very stringent conditions; that the ship has been truly sold by the Englishman, has been truly bought by the reputed owner. We do not understand this to be the meaning or idea of those who now lightly talk of 'changing the flag;' but it may safely be affirmed that to carry it out in the manner indicated would be about as unremunerative a piece of business as a company of shipowners ever engaged in.

One other consideration ought not to be lost sight of. The risk from the enemy, most to be apprehended, most difficult to guard against, is incurred in the first few weeks of war. But, however the transfer of a ship to another flag is to be made, it is a process requiring some little time, and before it can be effected, the loss has been sustained, or the worst risk has been run. But for this, and all other risk under the British flag, the best, the surest, and, as all experience has shown, the sufficient safeguard is a powerful fleet, securing the command of the sea. Given that, the losses from the enemy may be reduced to a minimum. Without it, the danger is great; but still greater to those vessels which, having put themselves under the protection of a foreign flag, have no claim on even such protection as the starved navy of England might be able to give.

It is impossible to say what advantage Prussia derived from the neutralising trade during the ten years of her neutrality. In the end it cost her dear, by the ready means

it afforded the French of conveying their military stores to the Baltic. The neutralised ships filled the French magazines, supplied the hospitals at Lübeck, and the army that besieged Danzig. The whole system, however, came to an end with the downfall of Prussia, and the promulgation of the Berlin Decree, November 21, 1806. According to the formula adopted, Napoleon resolved to 'conquer the sea by 'the land.' English commerce, unassailable by sea, was to be ruined by restrictions on shore, and, as a first step, it was ordered that no English ship, or neutral carrying English cargo, should be permitted to enter any port over which his sway extended. The decree was promptly answered from London, by the Order in Council of January 7, 1807, which, premising the king's unwillingness to carry his right of retaliation to an extreme, prohibited all trade by neutral vessels between ports so far under the control of France that British vessels could not freely trade at them. Restricted as the order was, Captain Mahan points out that 'it bore particularly hard upon American ships, which were 'in the habit of going from place to place in Europe, 'seeking the best markets or gathering a cargo;' and he quotes from the President's Message to Congress of October 27, 1807, 'American trade in the Mediterranean was 'swept away by seizures and condemnations, and in other 'seas was threatened with the same fate.'

Owing at first to Napoleon's absence in Poland, the decree was allowed to remain, to some extent, a dead letter; but when, on his return to Paris, it was enforced in its most rigid interpretation, then again the English Government answered with the Orders in Council of November 11, 25, 1807, instituting a strict blockade of all ports or places from which the British flag was excluded, or, in fact, of all Europe. That this was a 'paper blockade,' which even England, at the time, had not the numerical force to maintain, was an objection which she refused to allow. She refused to discuss with neutrals the means by which she would defend herself: it was for her alone to choose these and to enforce them, which, in fact, her maritime power enabled her to do.

But it was no part of England's policy to prevent trade to the several European ports. On the contrary, it was her policy to force the trade; but only in the way in which Napoleon was determined to prevent it. No trade, direct or indirect, with England, was Napoleon's decree. No trade whatever, except with England, was England's reply. As far as England was concerned, neutrals and, later on, even

ships of Powers 'not in amity with his Majesty,' were allowed to trade between English ports and ports subject to Napoleon: the one inexorable condition was that an English port should be the beginning or the end of each voyage; that at that English port the cargo should be shipped or landed, and that the English duties should be paid. Gibraltar and Malta were specially named as natural depôts for the Mediterranean trade, and 'the governors of these places were authorised 'to license even enemy's vessels, if unarmed and not over '100 tons burden, to carry on British trade, contrary to the 'Emperor's decrees.' Similarly, at a later date, Heligoland was seized and occupied as a depôt of the contraband trade. But under no circumstances was direct trade permitted between a neutral and a Napoleonic port, or between two Napoleonic ports. Captain Mahan naturally speaks strongly of the vexatious and irritating nature of these Orders, as affecting neutrals. 'They trampled,' he says, 'upon all 'previously received law, by sheer uncontrolled force. There 'was not only denial of right, but positive injury and loss.'

'Yet it must not be forgotten,' he adds, 'that the Orders were a very [illegible] and severe measure of retaliation upon Napoleon's Government; [illegible] Great Britain was fighting for her life. . . . The object of [illegible] Orders in Council was twofold: to embarrass France and Napoleon [illegible] prohibition of direct import and export trade, of all external [illegible] and at the same time to force into the Continent all the [illegible] products or manufactures that it could take. . . . The whole [illegible] was then, and has since been, roundly abused as being in no [illegible] measure, but merely a gigantic exhibition of com- [illegible] This simply begs the question. To win her fight, [illegible] and not only to weaken Napoleon, but to increase [illegible] the battle between the sea and the land was to be [illegible] England had no army . . . Napoleon had [illegible] alternative for either was to reduce the other [illegible] ministry, in the exigences of debate, betrayed [illegible] as to their precise aim. Sometimes [illegible] as a military measure of retaliation; some- [illegible] British commerce, as essential to her life [illegible] was alleged; and their opponents in either [illegible] inconsistency. Napoleon, with despotic sim- [illegible] purpose of ruining England through her [illegible] needed no other arguments than his [illegible] To call the measures of either [illegible] as it would be to call the ancient practice [illegible] because the only weapon used for it [illegible]

The quantity of British merchandise which, in one way

or another, was forced into the Continent was extraordinary, and would appear still more so did we not know by many experiences that, where the profit is commensurate with the risk, trade—like love—'will find out a way.' And how enormous the profit might sometimes be is shown by the statement that hemp, which in 1802 was worth 32*l.* per ton in London, was in 1809 worth 118*l.*; and conversely, that in this same 1809, '60,000 tons of coffee lay in the London 'warehouses unsaleable at sixpence the pound, while the 'price on the Continent was from four to five, and in places 'even seven shillings.' It is almost ludicrous to read that the French army, during the campaign of 1807, was clad and shod with British goods, imported by the French minister at Hamburg, in face of the Berlin Decree. It would seem, indeed, that during the earlier years of this tremendous blockade, the Decrees were systematically evaded by Napoleon's chosen agents, very much to their own profit. The military governor could generally find some excellent reason for admitting a British cargo, if it was clearly shown to him that doing so would be to his personal advantage. One method, the description of which has only lately been made public, deserves notice, not only for its ingenuity, but because it shows that the statistics of British ships captured by the enemies' privateers are certainly exaggerated—it would even seem enormously exaggerated. According to this story, told in detail by General Marbot, an understanding was come to between English merchants and French privateers. English ships, laden with the desired goods, were met by the privateers on the appointed rendezvous, were captured and taken into some Napoleonic port as agreed. An authorisation to land the prize cargo was obtained, by a liberal payment to the military governor—who in case of inquiries had the ready excuse that he was unwilling to damp the ardour of the brave 'corsaires'—and the merchandise was forthwith sent into the market. Of the extent to which this species of smuggling was carried it is difficult to form any idea, but that it was very great appears from Marbot's assertion that in the course of a few months Massena and his chief of the staff together made a profit of 3,600,000 francs, or 144,000*l.**

Later on, the French restrictions were more severe, the methods of 'the land' proved more effectual, and the market of 'the sea' was well nigh closed.

* Mémoires du Baron de Marbot, iii. 17–19.

'Folios of argument and oratory,' says Captain Mahan, 'have been produced to show the harm suffered by Great Britain in this battle over commerce. Undoubtedly she suffered; perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to say she nearly died: but when two combatants enter the lists, not for a chivalric parade, but for life and death, it is not the incidental injuries, but the preponderance of harm done and the relative endurance, which determine the issue. To the same test of principle must be referred the mistakes in details charged against British ministries. Military writers say that, when a right strategic line of effort is chosen, mistakes of detail are comparatively harmless. When France decided, practically, to suppress the concurrence of the neutral carrier, she made a strategic blunder; and when Great Britain took advantage of the mistake, she achieved a strategic success, which became a triumph.'

In its later phase the struggle was, literally, one of endurance. Alike in Great Britain and on the Continent, the sufferings were extreme; but Napoleon was at a disadvantage in the very mixed nature of his empire. The different people and their national rulers had no enthusiasm for the cause, nor sympathy with it. Up to a certain point, fear could make them submit; beyond it, human nature was bound to revolt.

'The inevitable end was already clearly indicated before Napoleon started for Russia. The credit of France was gone, nor could her people bear any added burdens. . . . The people of the Continent had become bitterly hostile through the sufferings caused by the blockade. . . . The question of physical endurance was settled; the only point really left in doubt was that of moral endurance. Would Great Britain and the British Government have the nerve to hold out till the Emperor was exhausted? . . . Time was not allowed to test to the utmost British tenacity; the darkest hour was fast passing away, the clouds began to break and the day to dawn. The battle between the sea and the land was about to terminate in one of the most impressive and gigantic military catastrophes recorded by history.'

The whole story is one of the saddest, most terrible, most glorious in the annals of our country; and as Captain Mahan has arrayed it, is a most striking illustration of the 'Influence of Sea Power' against which the genius of Napoleon strove in vain, before which his empire crumbled into ruin.

ART. VIII.—*The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke.* Vol. III. Privately printed. Edinburgh: 1892.

TWO volumes of this curious diary saw the light in 1889, and thanks to the courtesy of the Earl of Home, to whom the manuscripts have descended by inheritance, we were able (January 1891) to give our readers many telling extracts from a book which is a genuine survival from the age of Horace Walpole. A third volume has appeared, and we are again allowed to draw from its stores of information and amusement. The first volume had, as an introduction, Lady Louisa Stuart's matchless Memoirs of the family of John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich: the wittiest thing that has been written by a woman since Lady Mary Wortley Montagu laid down her pen. It was almost too much to hope that this third instalment might also have a jewel in its head. But it has. Mr. James Home has placed in its preface a genuine literary surprise, a piece of treasure-trove, in the shape of twenty-six hitherto unknown letters of Horace Walpole, all addressed to Lady Mary Coke. In Cunninghame's edition only one letter to her has been preserved. But here is a batch as authentic as it is possible to be. The manuscripts were found among the papers of the late Mr. Charles Drummond Moray, of Abercairney who inherited them, along with Douglas House (Petersham), from the Caroline, Lady Scott, for whom Lady Louisa Stuart's Introduction was originally written. We think it a pity that Mr. Home should have printed along with them the ribald mock sermon also addressed to Lady Mary. As for the letters themselves, they contain nothing but what is pleasant. We recognise in them the half-valetudinarian grace, the whimsical satire, and the wise experience, which distinguish the really gifted man of the world from the fribble and the gossip. They are, of course, vastly flattering. Lord Hervey's letters, to even such an august correspondent as Queen Caroline, prove that it was then considered respectful, rather than the reverse, for men to address a woman, whatever might be her age or station, in the language of an ill-suppressed gallantry. If this was the rule, we may well believe that in the case of princely Argyll's youngest and most exacting daughter, it was incumbent on every male friend to give himself the airs of a warm, very warm, admirer of her relentless charms. Another affectation is very apparent throughout these letters—viz. that of a lack

of interest in English political life, which both Walpole and George Selwyn thought proper to adopt. Both these men devoted a great deal of attention, even of good-natured attention, to the affairs of their friends; both discussed the foibles of their neighbours with acumen, and lost money, with less shrewdness, to them at Newmarket, and at the card table; while both were ready to discuss political questions so long as the English Cabinet, or England's relations with foreign countries, could be treated as gossip. But George Selwyn snored openly on the benches of the House of Commons, and Walpole, bored by his constituency, never lost an opportunity of grumbling when he had to work. Both these fine gentlemen had much kinder hearts than they chose to admit, and Walpole, at least, must have suffered a good deal from the unruly wills and affections of men and women in the world in which he said such satirical things and did such kind ones, before he could have indited the following remarkable warning to Lady Mary Coke. Lady Yarmouth, the person who first introduced Lady Mary into the inner *penetralia* of Court life, had just died, and thus Walpole tries to reason with his fair correspondent's excessive grief:—

'Your heart is too feeling for a world in which Ingratitude and Death reign. I am heartily sorry for your loss of Lady Yarmouth, but you must not give way to all the friendship you are capable of. By some means or other it will embitter your whole life, and though it is very insipid to be indifferent, the vexations consequential on attachments are much too dearly bought by any satisfaction they produce. Perhaps if Death were the only dissolvent of connections, one would run the risk of it: because Esteem is mixed with Grief, and the sensation has a kind of sweetness in it; but it is so seldom that Friendship is mutual that it rarely awaits the pang of a total separation.'

Nothing can be truer, unless it be the Russian proverb which avers that the ice always breaks at the place where you would least expect it; but this is a rare expression of feeling from the pen of the philosopher of Strawberry Hill. The sentences might have been written by Dr. Johnson, so grave are they, and so pregnant with meaning in their repression of pain: only the greater moralist would never have remained content merely to confess the pangs of perfidy, or the blank of solitude; he would have offered an antidote. Walpole can only beg human nature not to go beyond a civil indifference for fear of the consequences: Johnson would have been able to tell of 'patience sovereign o'er 'transmuted will'; of good things granted fully 'by Him 'who grants the power to crave,' and assured us that,

through the firmness of self-discipline and the help of a boundless charity, we may 'make the happiness we cannot 'find,' and fashion new and real centres of energy sufficient for the transformation of the most lonely lot.

It is almost pathetic to read Walpole's advice in the light of the fact that it was reserved for Lady Mary Coke herself to wound this old friend so deeply that he could only say of her: 'but *she* is mad.' However we must not anticipate this unpleasant finale to a correspondence that lasted over the best years of Lady Mary's life, and from which we only regret that our space does not allow us to make longer extracts. As we recently published many of Walpole's letters to Miss Anne Pitt (revealed by the printing of the 'Dropmore 'Correspondence'), we are obliged here to confine ourselves to making but brief extracts from those found at Petersham.

Taking it for granted that our readers remember the outlines of Lady Mary Coke's birth, parentage, education, and early widowhood, we propose not to go over any of the ground traversed in a former article, but to take up the narrative at the part where Vol. III. opens: in the winter of 1769.

Lady Mary's diary was really a series of *newsletters* sent by her to her sisters, Caroline and Anne, because the domestic duties of those ladies prevented them from living as entirely in and for the world as did the 'dainty widow.' Of these sisters, Caroline, the eldest, was her favourite, because Lady Greenwich either believed, or affected to believe, in Lady Mary's engagement to, or secret marriage with, the Duke of York and Albany. The young prince, who was twelve years her junior, had really never given Lady Mary, or her family, any grounds for supposing that he contemplated matrimony, either with or without Lord Coke's widow. But Lady Mary was vain and fantastic, and had a 'frenzy for 'royalty,' so it pleased her to talk of 'the Person who is 'gone,' and Lady Greenwich humoured her in her regrets and in her implied importance to the royal family.

That Horace Walpole did not believe in the attachment is plain, for he writes from Paris in the following blunt manner:—

'Paris, September 20, 1767.

'The Duke of York has had a violent fever at Monaco, but I think is reckoned out of danger. The Prince has paid him great attention—so great, that he has just put off a journey to the Duc de Choiseul's, at Chanteloup. What can a Frenchman do more?'

This passage is, we think, pretty conclusive evidence, for

whatever Horace Walpole did not know in matters social need not be held to be either knowledge or history. Princess Amelia did not believe in the Duke's entanglement, and though she met at Gunnersbury Lady Mary, the Princess was extraordinarily patient of her friend's royal airs, and received her with the most constant kindness at Gunnersbury.

Lady Mary lived at Notting Hill in a house which has not been identified, and from which she made long drives out to Gunnersbury and Kew: but when in town she occupied a house overlooking the Green Park. In those years the Princess of Wales resided in Carlton House, and the Princess Amelia came up to a house in Cavendish Square corner of Hanley Street, while the Duchess of Bedford lived in Southampton House, Bloomsbury, not far from the town house of Lord Mansfield. Lord Bute's residence was in Albemarle Street, and General Conway's in Soho Square.

Lady Mary was in the habit of meeting the Duke of York at Lady Harrington's in St. James' Street. She often visited Lady Blandford at East Sheen (then called Great Whitings), in the villa which is now possessed by the Duke of Fife, and probably she sat there under the pink and red hawthorns for which Lady Blandford's garden was famous. Only a few years ago those thorns existed, planted, no doubt, by Lady Blandford, about the same time as the two pink thorn-trees now in Grosvenor Square, which tradition avers were put in by Lady Blandford, and which still make a rosy link between our age and the *beaux* and *belles* of the reign of George II. Queensberry House stood then in Burlington Gardens: and of Lady Mary's sisters, Lady Strafford lived in St. James's Square, and Lady Greenwich in Bruton Street. The latter had inherited from her mother, the eccentric Duchess Jenny, the house now called No. 16, so familiar to many of us in recent years, either during the occupation of Lord Granville, or during the briefer tenancy of the late Earl of Carnarvon. This spacious 'family mansion' was the *rendezvous* of the Campbell ladies at a moment when society in general, and the great Scottish houses in particular, were agitated by the Douglas cause.

Two features in the manners and customs of this society strike one forcibly. The first was the custom of Sunday Drawing-rooms. Lady Mary constantly describes going to the Royal Chapel, and afterwards to the king's closet, to speak to the king and queen. Those who intended to *pay their duty* repaired to church in full court-dress. Oliver

Goldsmith makes an allusion to this practice in his ballad of 'Madame Blaize,' and in one passage of her journal Lady Mary Coke severely criticises a lady who, not having this intention, had come to divine service in ordinary morning dress, but none the less sat in the front row, opposite to the sovereign, which her gentle critic took to be an act of disrespect. These gatherings after church swelled to the dimensions of a Drawing-room, and as such they were often a serious infliction on the suffering Queen Caroline, as Lord Hervey's Memoirs prove. The custom, in full force during Lady Mary Coke's palmy days, continued well into the reign of good Queen Charlotte. The Bishop of London, Dr. Beilby-Porteous, put a stop to it by asking for an interview with her Majesty, and appealing to her not thus to interfere with the proper observance of Sunday. As to Lady Mary's observances on Sunday, they were an odd mixture of respect for the day and respect for their Majesties. She saw nothing incongruous in having 'her head' dressed by the *coiffeur* while the church bells rang, nor in sitting down to play loo after hearing or reading sermons.

High play for ladies is the other trait which meets us at every page of this diary. Human nature being the same now as it was then, we are not disposed to blacken the picture of eighteenth-century drawing-rooms, and to whitewash our own *fin de siècle* clubs and card-tables. Men and women gambled then, and they gamble now, and at Monte Carlo the opportunity is always there to invite the gambler, if not actually to make him. But since Lady Mary Coke's time such a change has come over English habits that, with a few flagrant exceptions, high play is rare among women. So foreign is it to our national code of propriety that one must go into Russian society to find card-playing the absorbing pastime of gentlewomen. The death-blow to that habit was given in London by Sarah, Lady Jersey, and Lady de Grey. These two beautiful young leaders of fashion opposed the establishment of card-tables in the side-room of Almack's, and even said that they would leave should the Duchess of Leeds insist on the introduction of the tables. In this way they got rid of the habit, as well as of another equally pernicious, which had been prevalent up to their time—viz. that of inviting men to dinner without their wives. To find this custom still in force one must now go to Berlin. Here in England its abolition has worked wonders in the matter of the sobriety of gentlemen, whose fathers were often 'three-bottle' drinkers, and

society owes a great deal to these two beautiful women whose firmness and good taste both exacted and carried out such alterations in London. It would assuredly have been better for Lady Mary Coke if some fair reformers had arisen in her day, and, taking the law into their hands, had banished the loo table. Lady Mary never admits it, but it was generally assumed by her family that one of her reasons for going to the Continent (apart from a quarrel with Lady Harriet Vernon, an intimate friend of Princess Amelia's) was the wish to break herself of the habit of gambling. Nightly drains had actually told on her fortune, and after some very heavy losses, she thought it best to disappear from the scene of temptation, and to try for new interests under new skies.

In October 1769 Lady Mary proceeded to the South of France, passing through Geneva, where she saw a good deal of company, and paid a visit at Ferney to Voltaire, who received her dressed in a flowered silk waistcoat and night-gown, a dark periwig without powder, slippers, and a cap on his head. She arrived at Aix, in Provence, on November 4, and took a house there for the winter. Lady Mary's account of the climate, flowers, and barren scenery of Provence is graphic, and easily recognised by the thousands who now winter in the South of France:—

'For the climate I think it Heavenly. To-day I dressed (December 26) with my windows open in a room without a fire, and as I am neither a fool nor a beggar, you may guess I am not cold. . . . Spanish jessamine is now blowing in the open air. I bought a large nosegay yesterday in the streets of carnations, violets, jessamine, and a yellow flower I don't remember to have seen in England (probably the *cassia*). I will bring home the seed of the latter with me. . . . My great disappointment is the death of the Comtesse de Vence (Villeneuve-Vence). She died six weeks before I came, of an accident. I had set my heart upon being acquaint with her.'

Later the traveller does get to know Sophie de Vence's widower:—

'I think 'tis since I wrote you that the Comte de Vence made me a visit, and hearing the curiosity I had about Madame de Sévigné, desired that he might show me the house which Madame de Simiane built, and where she dyed (1737), and in which are the portraits of all the Family. That of Madame de Sévigné is a very fine one, and that of Madame de Grignan is the picture of which Madame de Sévigné writes so much in her letters. Madame de Simiane must have been extremely handsome.'

Her likeness, by Largulhière, certainly bears out this remark, and though at Grignan it never was the fashion to

praise her much, yet as Pauline had but a small *dot*, her contemporaries probably found that she made up in beauty for what she lacked in fortune. One envies Lady Mary Coke her sight of these portraits. It was no doubt from Horace Walpole that she had first acquired her *cultus* for Madame de Sévigné's memory, and he it was who helped to bring the English traveller in Provence into acquaintance with the family of the queen of letter-writers. In a letter to Lady Ossory he mentions, not the autograph of Madame de Sévigné in his own possession, but one which he had seen in the hands of M. de Grasse (C.-J. de Grasse-Bar, married to a cousin who was a Villeneuve on the mother's side), and adds: 'I am quite ignorant whether the M. de Castellan 'whom I knew is living or not. He was not a descendant 'of Pauline (Simiane), but had married one' (Julie, third daughter). Then (in one of the Drummond-Moray letters) he writes:—

'I hear you have seen Voltaire, and learned many particulars about Madame de Sévigné and the Grignans. I am ready to print all you impart. If any draughtsmen grow in that part of the world, pray bring me a drawing of Grignan.'

Lady Mary did better: she went herself to see it.

'Monday, March 11, 1770.

'*Me voici enfin dans ce magnifique château.* I have not been sensible of so much pleasure for a very long time as I was when I came in sight of this Castle, at my entrance into it, and the thoughts of passing the remainder of the day, and lodging here at night. I have walked over every room, and have already visited the apartment of Madame de Sévigné three times. The moment I arrived I inquired if there was anybody still living who remembered her, and was told there was an old *bourgeois* of 88 years of age that came often to the Castle during the time She lived here, and had seen her frequently. Upon this information I desired the Comte de Muy's Agent to desire him to come to me, if he was able to come up to the Castle; if not, I would go to him. He arrived when I was at dinner, which I did not stay to finish, but run into the next room to meet him. He did not appear to be near so old, and his memory as perfect as it could have been fifty years ago. He told me he had seen her often, and that everybody loved her, and greatly lamented her Death. He said he remembered nothing more perfectly than the time of her dying, and that he asked why the Bells did not ring, and that they told him Madame de Grignan's in such very great affliction that the Count had ordered the Bells not to ring. She was buried the next Evening, and he was at her funeral. He went with me to the Church, and showed me where her Coffin was laid. While I was there one of the people belonging to the Church came to us, and

[illegible] and confirmed what the other said, with [illegible] Affliction was so great, [illegible] whenever she came into the Church [illegible] she might not see the place where [illegible] I am glad to have this circumstance to mention [illegible] She died in the Year Six, at a house of [illegible] near Marseilles, called Mayargues, and is [illegible] I am so proud of my present habitation that I am inclined to [illegible] in order to date them from hence. I am now sitting in a great apartment, not within hearing of a human being, nor is there anybody to lie upon the same floor. There are five apartments as large as this: numbers on the floor above, and the great Gallery mentioned in Madame de Sévigné's letters is below, even with the terrace, which is the finest I ever saw, much finer than Windsor Castle. My imagination is so totally employed about Madame de S. that I am persuaded by and by that I shall think she appears to me. Every noise I hear I expect to see the door open. . . . I must not forget to mention another anecdote much in favour of Madame de Grignan. She dyed, as I told you, in the Year Six, at a house near Marseilles, where she is buried, but ordered her heart to be carried to Grignan to be placed by her mother, and one of the Chanoines told me that six years ago they opened the Vault, and that he saw the lead coffin of Madame de Sévigné with the case which inclosed the heart of Madame de Grignan on one side of it. The Comte de Muy has promised to place a stone with an inscription over the place where Madame de Sévigné is laid. You cannot imagine with what reluctance I left Grignan. Upon a heath not far from it I gathered some cones of pines, which I shall sow on my return to England, in hopes of seeing something to remind me of that charming place.'

Lady Mary's enthusiasm was so profound and so genuine, that it would be interesting to determine from which of the published sources she had drawn her knowledge of the daily life and surroundings of the charming Marquise, who, like a bee, ranged from courts to garden paths—from the tables where they played *hombre*, *bassette*, and *lansquenet*, to the *prie-dieu*—from the talk of the town to the books of the closet, and whose passion of maternal love will be as lasting as the language in which it is enshrined.

There are at this moment in the British Museum no less than seven French editions (inclusive of Perrin's), of dates ranging from 1726 (the Hague: 2 vols.) to 1763 (Paris: 8 vols.), as well as an English translation (London: 1764, 10 vols.), which would enable amateurs of Madame de Sévigné's style and of her *siècle* to become thoroughly acquainted with the Marquise, her children, and grandchildren. Great, therefore, was Lady Mary's delight when M. de Vence

'showed me many of Madame de Sévigné's books, with notes in them, wrote with her own hand. He told me there were remaining several letters unpublished, but which he believed would be some time hence, but that hitherto there had been reasons which had prevented the publication. I asked him what had become of Madame de Grignan's letters? He replied the greater part were destroyed by Madame de Simiane, but perhaps there might be some remaining.'

When Lady Mary Coke's editor first glanced at this passage did he not smile at the thought that while Madame de Sévigné's admirers and biographers guessed, and argued from probability, the secret of the fate of the Sévigné-Grignan manuscripts was quietly reposing in a manuscript stowed away in the charter-room of a country house in Scotland? Only in 1889, and through the pages of the Marquis de Saporta's book, did French men and women get confirmation of their fears, and the assurance that Julie de Simiane had deliberately made away with the manuscripts of her mother's and grandmother's letters.* His account not only justifies Lady Mary Coke's tale, but furnishes 'the reasons' which first delayed or prevented publication of a part of the manuscript, and then condemned the whole of the originals to the flames.

Madame de Sévigné died in the spring of 1696, of the smallpox, and was buried twelve hours later at Grignan. Her daughter died in 1706, but the Marquis de Grignan, living to be an extremely old man, closed his eyes in an inn in Marseilles in 1714, and thus ended a rule over Languedoc which had lasted nearly half a century. His son, the Chevalier de Grignan, married an heiress, but left no children by her. His son-in-law, M. de Simiane, died in 1718, and then on the widowed Pauline devolved the responsibility of liquidating her father's enormous debts, and of ultimately selling Grignan, with its castle and chapel. They were purchased by the Count de Muy. Pauline had three daughters, and as much as any mother in that impecunious period which preceded the Revolution did she stand in want of money. She applied for a place at Court, but as she was *démodée* none was given to her. She sold Grignan, lived at a place called Belombre, and there, it is said, received genuine kindness from the rich and childless little *bourgeoise* who was her smart brother's wife. One of her expedients for adding to her means, and to the portions of her

* La famille de Madame de Sévigné, en Provence: par le Marquis de Saporta. 1 vol. Paris (Plon): 1889.

children, was to be a new and authorised edition of the letters of her enchanting grandmother. If the new edition was to be a good commercial speculation, it stood to reason that it must be ample and contain much new matter. Yet it must be expurgated, or it could but make life in Provence more difficult than ever for the descendants of two great ladies, both adepts in the Cartesian philosophy (which the Church disallowed), and both wielders of very witty pens. The first Lord Hatherton used to say that people who wished to live in peace must forego jokes with, or about, their country neighbours. Now that was what Madame de Sévigné and her daughter had never done, either in Brittany or in Languedoc. Thus, all the surreptitious and incomplete editions of the Sévigné letters (Troyes: 1725; Rouen: 1726; La Haye: 1726) had not only annoyed her family by the things which they omitted, but had grievously offended the country neighbours by the many piquant allusions which they contained. The very magistracy of Aix had found their *parquet* spoken of as 'a den of thieves,' and the ladies recognised themselves painted in their provincial best clothes, and, worst of all, found all their sensibilities dismissed with this most true, if unpalatable, remark, that it is one of the '*manières de province*' to make and to keep up quarrels about trifles. The families of 'the province of provinces,' descendants of Crusaders, had so much self-love and so little taste in epistolary style that they positively took all this in bad part, and made Madame de Simiane smart for the oversmart sayings of her forbears. Pauline had daughters to marry, and mortgages to pay off, and a house to furnish, on a fortune of 40,000 livres. She was also of opinion that when you must sail in a ship, it is a pity to make enemies of nine-tenths of the crew. From the authorised edition all imprudent witticisms must therefore be deleted, and such a greatly enlarged and amended edition would then, she hoped, bring peace with honour, and also with lucre. But the Chevalier Perrin, the editor of the compilation on which so many hopes were built, turned out badly. Appearing to share all Pauline's scruples, and professing the greatest deference for her wishes, he really made use of her, and the papers placed in his hands, to force the doors of the best Parisian *salons*. Four volumes came out in 1734, but they contained such personalities that Pauline was assailed with louder complaints than ever. She tried to stop the further publication, but Perrin was at a safe distance, and master in many ways of the situation, since those who cannot pay

are always, like the absent, in the wrong. In vain did she remonstrate and declare that she was the most unfortunate of women, one whom everything conspired to humiliate, and with whom nothing succeeded. Perrin turned a deaf ear, and worked away, on lines which suited himself, but not his employer. At last *de guerre lasse*, and fearful lest a far worse thing should ever befall her—viz. the irresponsible publication of Madame de Grignan's answers—she burnt all the originals she possessed. Thus perished the manuscripts of a correspondence that had not, and never can have, its like, whether as the history of an official family in the seventeenth century or as a human document, a page in the history of the human heart.

There was another element at work which doomed these papers to the flames. If *historiettes* about their neighbours, and criticisms of royal and important persons, were dangerous topics, the Jansenist leanings of Madame de Sévigné and Madame de Grignan were also calculated to give very serious offence. It does not appear that they could have been offensive to Pauline de Simiane personally, for she thought *de race*. As her mother and grandmother had thought so did she. Certainly she and her daughter, Sophie de Vence, were intimate friends of that luckless Jansenist, M. Genieis, who was seized in Marseilles, and who expiated his theological errors by nearly thirty years of imprisonment. And his really were errors. In proportion as Jansenism had gained in numbers and in political bias, it had lost in intelligence and in sanity. Madame de Sévigné was herself aware of the change, for in recording the death of Nicole she spoke of him as 'the last of the Romans.' But little of the old leaven of culture and personal piety was left, while in many dioceses a *petite église* had assumed really formidable dimensions. Practices both grotesque and criminal had come to disgrace the records of the sect. Men saw visions, the dead were raised, miracles were worked at the tombs of favourite preachers. Vaillant and his disciples were convulsionists as well as heretics, and, in the case of the Farinists of the Dombes, lives were even lost through wildly hysterical excesses. It followed, then, that by the time that Thérèse de Simiane married M. de Castellane-Esparron, a taint of Jansenism was realised to be very much less creditable in a family than when her great-grandmother read Nicole's treatises in the woods of Les Rochers. The gentlemen of the Castellane family had Jansenism *en sainte horreur*, and tradition avers that two brothers of it had a hand in the

destruction of the Grignan letters and papers which, among many other dangerous *topics*, must have perpetuated the religious opinions of Marie-Françoise de Rabutin-Chantal, Marquise of Sévigné, and of the Governess of Languedoc.

We can but regret the *auto da fé*, and we are sure that if by any fortunate chance a copy of Lady Mary Coke's journal were to find its way into Provence, and into the hands of the Marquis de Saporta, its appearance there would give extreme pleasure. Provençals would read with interest these sketches of life in Aix at the time of the marriage of the Dauphin (Louis XVI.), and they could see for themselves how deeply the so-called Augustan age in England was leavened with the literature of the age of Louis XIV. The third volume of Lady Mary Coke's journal would appear as a votive wreath laid, after nearly two hundred years, on the grave of the best of female writers, of the kind and witty woman whose family is not yet extinct in Provence, and who sleeps under the stones of Grignan.

Though Lady Mary Coke had found her winter in the South of France full of really pleasant episodes, she determined not to return to Aix. She never stated her reasons to her sisters. Perhaps it had no other ground than the caprice common to rich and idle women who have the 'world before them where to choose.' Perhaps the death of the Duke of York at Monaco had put her out of charity with fields of jessamine and groves of orange trees; perhaps she had found the card-tables of M. de Villars, the Governor of Provence, as fatally seductive as those of Princess Amelia or of Lord Hertford. At all events, she announced that, having always had a wish to meet the Empress Maria Theresa, she meant to winter next in Vienna. She might have added that in this, as in all other social matters, she was very fortunate, for she had already made in London, and at Spa, some useful acquaintances, while Catholic disabilities always kept a small contingent of the English Catholic gentry engaged in Austrian regiments. Horace Walpole sent her this valedictory letter:—

'September 24, 1770. .

'It was a thousand pities, dear Lady Mary, not to see your ladyship [illegible] when you were so very good as to call. . . . My relapse was [illegible] owing to the sudden change of weather. However, it has humbled me so much that I shall readily obey your commands, and be much more careful of not catching cold again. If it is possible, I shall venture to London before you set out: if it is not, I wish you health, happiness, and amusement, and, may I say, a surfeit

of travelling. I am glad you cannot go and visit the Ottoman Emperor, and I have too good an opinion of you to think you will visit the Northern Fury. If, after this journey, you will not stay at home, I protest I will have a painted oil cloth hung at your Door, with an account of your having been shown to the Emperor of Germany, and the Lord knows how many other Potentates. Well, Madam; make haste! you see how fast I grow old; I shall not be a very creditable Lover long, nor able to drag a chain that is heavier than that of your Watch. Yet while a shadow of me lasts, it will glide after you with friendly wishes, and put you in mind of the Attachment of

'Your most faithful lover,

'HOR. WALPOLE.'

Our spirited traveller had bought Lady Holland's coach for 100*l.*, and in it she made a most triumphal progress (*viâ* Brussels), eating at great men's tables, and wearing a riding habit of green and silver, which must have become her fair hair and complexion, but on account of which she was mobbed by the unsophisticated populace of Nuremberg.

'Upon the Danube.—I don't think the views are as fine as upon the Rhine, but I am yet in the Bavarian territory. Perhaps when I get into the Emperor's country they may mend. . . . October 28th.—The master of the vessel promises I shall be in Vienna by four o'clock. The abominable creature has not kept his word: 'tis seven o'clock, and he now says, though I am within half an hour of Vienna, he will not go on, and has fastened the vessel to the shore. Tuesday.—At half an hour after ten I arrived . . . this evening I have seen Lord Stormont, the British Ambassador, Lord Algernon Percy . . . and Mr. Dutens. The First Minister, Prince Kaunitz, has inquired every day for this week past whether I was come. This is doing me a great honour; but I suppose my friend, the Princess Kinsky, may have mentioned me to the Empress.'

Thus inaugurated, the stay of Lady Mary in Vienna was a sort of debauch in royal and noble acquaintances. Princess Kinsky and her sister, Princess Clary, were two daughters of the house of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, the elder and Catholic branch of the great family of Hohenzollern, now extinct, and merged in the house of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. These great ladies with Princess Colloredo, and the Countesses Thun and Pergen, formed the most distinguished members of society in the Austrian capital. The salon of Countess Thun (*née* Kaunitz) was especially delightful, but for some reason proved less congenial to Lady Mary than the Kinsky *coterie*, thanks to which fact, and to M. Dutens' gossiping, she managed to implicate herself in some of those quarrels of which the empress-queen was wont

to complain, saying that in her Court there were too many 'enfantises et jalousies pour des riens.'

'Vienna, Sunday, November 11, 1770.

'As you know my exactness, you may guess I got up early not to make the Princess Kinsky wait whatever time she called. It wanted about twenty minutes of ten o'clock when she came for me. We went first into the apartment of the Grande Maîtresse, and from thence to that of the Empress. Here we stayed some time with only the Ladys belonging to the Empress. The Emperor passed through the rooms, as did the Archdukes Ferdinand and Maximilian. The door of the outward room opened, and the Empress came in. Lady Strafford saw her in great beauty, but *that* the smallpox, and a great increase of fat has deprived her of. I don't mention her age, for everybody here affirms that till she had the smallpox she was extremely handsome. She is about my height, and though very fat not at all incumbered with it; a genteel slope, holds herself extremely well, and her air the most noble I ever saw—'tis still visible her features have been extremely fine and regular, though the swelling from the smallpox never quite gone down, and a little degree of redness remaining; more spirit and sense in her eyes then I think I ever saw, and the most pleazing voice in speaking. This is the most exact picture that can be drawn. She was very gracious, and presented the Emperor and the Archdukes herself. The Emperor is much handsomer near than at a distance. . . . I forgot to mention the dress of the Empress. She is still in deep mourning, and intends to wear it all her life. Her own private apartment is hung with black cloth, and in the room where she sits she has the pictures of the Emperor (died 1765) and of all the children she has lost. . . . I passed this evening with Madame Harrach. The Empress had been in the morning at a Concert at some distance from Vienna. One of her Chambellans came in and said she had been very merry and had laughed very much. Madame Harrach was quite happy to hear it, for since the Death of the Emperor, and the loss of so many of her children, the Empress had lost much of her gaiety. 'Tis incredible how much she is beloved. . . . According to my promise, I give you an account of the Court. The Princess Kinsky came for me about half an hour after six. She first coming into the room where the Empress sees the Company is a fine sight. . . . At the upper end of the room is a canopy of gold and silver stuff, under which is placed the table where the Empress plays. The Chair is of velvet. A little before seven the Imperial Family came in. I think the Empress came last. I was on the other side of the Canopy from the door she came in at: a circle was formed, but she only spoke to those who went forwards, and went no further than half way. She was then opposite the card table, which she went up to, took the cards, and gave one to the Princess Esterhazy, another to the Princess Lobkowitz, and a third to the Countess Sternberg, and with them Her Majesty sat down to the *french picket*. Having lost a game she got up. As she saw people she called them up to the table. She did me that honour. . . . I went to the Grande Maîtresse, where I met my two friends the

Princess Kinsky and Princess Clary; from thence at nine to Prince Kaunitz, and played at Lu, and lost 200 fish. The Princess d'Auersperg the other night lost 4,000, which is above 50 pounds English. I am referred to here for all the rules, as Lord Hertford is in England. . . . The eighteenth of every month the Empress passes in absolute retreat, as the Emperor dyed on the 18th of August, but on Friday the Emperor dines in public with all the knights of the order of the *Toison d'or* in their robes. They say 'tis a very fine sight, but as everybody is admitted I don't think I shall go. . . . I dined to-day with Madame Seilern. One of the *dames de la Clé* dined there: they take place of everybody. I have your letter of the 4th, and one of Lady Greenwich of the 8th. By the next post I imagine we shall have some news of the meeting of the Parliament, and probably of the war with Spain, for everybody here thinks it almost certain. . . . Everything one hears and sees raises one's admiration for the Emperor and Empress. The Emperor Joseph, though so young a man, has gone through many severe tryals, and in all of them has acted like an angel. The late Emperor died in his arms, he never left his first *wife* in her illness, but was constantly by her Bedside. Last year, when he lost his little Daughter, he attended her in the same manner. When the Empress had the smallpox he remained in her room night and day, but I must stop short: if I was to tell you all I think of the Empress I should never finish.'

It is certain that no contemporary memoirs (and there is no lack of them) give so finished a miniature portrait of Maria Theresa as this. We say miniature, because Lady Mary was not strong enough to *brosser*, as the French say, a really great portrait. She was too egotistical, and she lacked both the sense of humour and the imagination which are requisite to enable us to understand our neighbour's character. But she is truthful. Mr. Swinburne's account of the Empress, written nine years later, after the partition of Poland, and when the Empress had grown graver and more unwieldy, is absolutely on the same lines as Lady Mary's, and as such testifies to her veracity. MacCailane Mohr's daughter, though enthusiastic in her likes and dislikes, naturally looked at things more as an outsider than did Mr. Swinburne, who had a nephew in the Austrian service, and whose wife, being a Catholic, could become a recipient of the much-valued ribbon of the *croix étoilée*. Perhaps because her judgement was and remained immature, Lady Mary has penned nothing so good as Swinburne's sketch of Count Kaunitz, with his wig and his curls, his constant want of money, his little greedy habits, and his big imperious temper; but in her journal, as, indeed, in the Swinburne papers, there are not many directly political allusions to be found. In those days there was no press to

popularise news, and such allusions as passed from mouth to mouth at the Court were cautiously vague. Thus, Lady Mary:—

'January 9.—There is something important going on at this Court, but what I can't tell you: for nothing transpires here.'

From the dates, this was probably the Polish question, since the partition was effected in the following year, and the agreement between the Courts of Vienna and Berlin had been practically settled at an interview between the Emperor Joseph and Frederic the Great, at Neustadt, in September 1770. Perhaps Maria Theresa could not quite forget how in 1683, John Sobieski, by his defeat of the Turks, delivered not only the city of Vienna from its besiegers, but freed Hungary from the Ottomans. It is said that to the very close of her life her conscience was uneasy as to the partition, and it is certain that her kind heart was not quite indifferent to the feelings of the noble Poles who surrounded her. When the whole Court was assembled to go into the royal chapel, and assist at the *Te Deum* to be sung for the partition, the Empress went up to Madame de Salmour, (*née* Lubienski) and told her that she was excused from being present at the service. It may well be, then, that in the months that preceded this event Maria Theresa, whom Lady Mary describes as 'always making a chain of red silk, 'which they told me is used for some kind of embroidery,' found as she knotted ample food for grave meditation, whether her thoughts wandered from her skein of red silk to the position of the Dauphiness in French society, or to that act which secured disquiet to the spoilers of Poland, and for the dismembered country prepared a century of plots and persecutions, of secret and of open rebellions against the most cruel of national wrongs.

We must return to the winter of 1771:—

'February 1.—It has rained all night, frost and snow, and all hopes of the *Course de Traineaux* has vanished. I shall go to Madame de Harrach's this evening, and hear from her an account of the Ball. Great people always get rid of their disorders sooner than small ones: the Empress came into the Ballroom at the usual hour, looking extremely well and in very good humour, but returned to her apartment to give an audience to the French Minister. What his business was I cannot tell, but he looked rather in a bustle. The Empress came back in an hour, and the Emperor came in from the play, in appearance not in such good humour as the Empress. He went first to talk to the Princess Clary, who is one of his greatest favourites, and then went up to the Empress, with discontent in his countenance. If you are a politician, you may gather something from all this.'

This is a little like the important conversation reported by 'Carolina Wilhelmina Amelia Skeggs,' and truly Lady Mary seems more at home in a long account of the *course de traineaux*: the ladies all in velvet and fur, the gentlemen with diamonds in their hats, while from the windows of Prince Colloredo's palace she saw twenty-eight sledges, with running footmen to match. It was followed by the usual card party in the evening. Swinburne says of Princess Clary that 'she lived by playing at cards,' and Lady Mary, though she seems to have had no great losses herself, found her evenings pretty well occupied.

'I dine to-day with the Princess Esterhazy. I had no less than four invitations for to-day. The Princess told me she had been tasting for several days together different sorts of Tokay for Lady Spencer, who had given her a commission to send some to England; but 'tis difficult to get it good, and all extremely dear. She told me they had asked 80 ducats for a small cask (more than 12*s.* a bottle)—for a small cask that contains only sixty bottles. . . . I dined to-day with Madame Harrach. Her brother, who was one of the company, was a week at Holkham two months after I married. . . . Tell Lord Strafford that the Archduchess, who was just born when he was here, I have had the honour of seeing twice. They say she is clever, and speaks her mind very freely to the Emperor. . . . The Emperor lives in great friendship with all his family, but his two favourite sisters were the Archduchess, who was contracted to the King of Naples, and who dyed of the smallpox a few days before she was to have set out, and the Dauphiness. They tell me there never was so amiable a character as that young Princess, and that if she is not spoiled at the Court of France, she will one day be a blessing to that country.'

Alas! for the prediction.

'February 16, 1771.—During Lent there are French sermons preached at the Chapel in the Palace. I believe I shall go there with Princess Kinsky.'

William III. having decided to leave to the Court Almoner the duty hitherto performed by English sovereigns of publicly feeding, clothing, and washing the feet of twelve poor men on Maunday Thursday, the ceremony, as Lady Mary Coke witnessed it at Vienna, was in every way new to her, though, by means of Sir David Wilkie's beautiful picture of the Empress when on her knees before the poor, it has become familiar to later generations of English people.

'I was dressed this morning at half an hour after nine o'clock to see the ceremony of the Emperor and Empress serving the poor, and afterwards washing their feet. I went with the Princess Solkovsky, and she did not call till half an hour after ten. I feared we should have been too late, and the ceremony was begun, but very little of it

was over. 'Twas performed in the great room where the Empress sees Company, where there are too (*sic*) tables, one for twelve old men, served by the Emperor and the Archdukes; the other for twelve old Women, served by the Empresses and the Archduchesses, all dressed in the great dress, with the addition of a black veil. I never saw the Empress look so graceful. She charmed me more to-day than ever. All the Ladys of the Court attended in black veils also. The Empress stood opposite to the three first old women, placed all the dishes upon the table, and took them off, but with a grace that is not to be described; her manner of holding the napkin was so genteel, I could have looked at her for ever, and if you had heard her talk to those three old women you would have been delighted. When I came up to the table she said, "One of my oldest acquaintances is not here. She was taken ill this morning in church. She had come here from the time of my Grandfather, the Emperor Leopold." She afterwards did me the honour to tell me that she was not now able to perform the rest of the function. She said her breath would not permit her, but added, "My Daughter will do it." She then said, "but you should see the Emperor perform the ceremony. The Princess Solkovsky answered that we should not be able to get through the crowd. "Yes," said the Empress, "they will make room for you." Accordingly we went to the other side, where the Emperor was serving the twelve old men; but I remarked he did not talk to them, as the Empress did to the old women.'

The genial manner of Maria Theresa that day was not a *pose* put on for the occasion of the royal Maundy, for one spring she got a message from a pensioner, of 103 years of age, regretting that, being now bedridden, she could not come as usual to the ceremony of feet-washing on Holy Thursday. The Empress drove to the cottage next morning, and entered the cottage. 'I am told,' she said, 'that you are uneasy at not being able to come to see me. 'I cannot give you strength; that is only in the power of 'God; but I do as much as I can, and am come to see you.' The poor old woman tried to get out of bed to throw herself at her sovereign's feet; but the Empress restrained her, sat with her for some time, and left a purse to secure comforts for her old friend.

'The Emperor asked me whether the King did not perform the same ceremony in England, and seemed surprised when I told him he did not. I returned again to the Empress, who was placing the second course upon the table. When she had taken it off, the table was removed, and she sat down upon a stool. The Ladys of the Court pulled off the shoes and stockings of the old women, and one of the Chamberlains brought a great gilt dish (as in Wilkie's picture), and another held a ewer with water. The eldest Archduchess then kneeled down, washed, and kissed the feet of each old woman, going from one

to the other upon her knees; for she is not to rise till she has performed it all. When she has finished she gets up, and is presented by one of the Ladys of the Court with a ribbon to which hangs a purse, which she puts over the head of each old woman. The Emperor does the same by the men; they then all came to the Empress, who rose up and retired. She had been, at eight o'clock, in great form at one of the Churches, to receive the Sacrament.'

'Friday, April 5, 1771.

'I have this morning received the Empress's orders to attend her at six o'clock in the evening, in her own apartment. Madame Harrach goes with me. I never saw a finer day at this time of year. I leave Vienna with regret, and dread the thought of seeing the Empress this evening. If you knew the veneration I have for her, you would not be surprised that I am hurt with the idea of taking leave. You shall know what passes when I return. If I admired the Empress before the Audience, you may guess what I do now, after having been received with a degree of graciousness and goodness far beyond my expectation; and as everything she does is accompanied with a grace peculiar to herself, I own to you I was charmed in a manner that I don't know well how to express. I have not room in this journal to tell you half that she said. It must be reserved for another. At six o'clock Madame Harrach carried me to the Palace, and we were conducted to the Empress's apartment, where one of the Ladys with the gold key mett us, and said her Majesty had somebody with her; but a page told the Lady the Empress had ordered as soon as I came that She should know: upon which Madame la Comtesse de Bertoli went to the door and scratched, upon which the door was immediately opened, the person dismissed, and I and Madame Harrach called in. The Lady then retired. The Empress said: "I did not expect you would have gone away so soon: you have stayed all the bad weather, and the climate seems to have agreed with you, for you look better than when you came." I answered Her Majesty that I left Vienna with the greatest regret, upon which she said: "You have, then, nothing to do but to return." Madame Harrach told her what I had said in the Coach—that my spirits were so low that I was afraid of crying—to which the Empress said: "I am very glad you esteem me, as you have seen the Apartment below, I will show you this"; and she had the condescension to go with me into all the rooms, to show me every thing in them, to tell me all the pictures, and when we came into the room that had been described to me She said: "These are the pictures of all my family that are dead"—mentioned all their names, and, when she came to the Emperor's (Francis of Lorraine), She said, "Madame d'Harrach will tell you that nothing can be liker than this picture." In the same room where the Empress had made me remark the picture of the late Emperor there were the pictures of her Mother and Father, . . . and in one picture three Children of the Empress, none of them seeming to be older than two or three years; and over one of the doors the Empress showed me the picture of the Lady (the Comtesse de Fuchs) who had brought her up, and whose head she held for almost three days together when she was dying. From that

room she carried me into another, where she said she did all her business; and here *personne entre impunimen*: these were her words, and I thought it better not to translate them. From thence Her Majesty brought me into a room which She told me was the work of her Mother. It was composed of drawings cut out—small figures, &c. —placed by her according to her fancy, with japan over it. This was part of her employment during the years that she was confined to her chair. The next room was the Empresses bedchamber, hung with grey damask, and a grey damask bed. The room is very large, and on one side a door opens to a small Chapel, which the Empress showed me. In a corner of the room on the side of the bed is an urn of porcelain, one of the finest things of the kind I ever saw. On the pedestal of the urn sits a figure weeping, and round the urn hangs a chain which is fastened to the orders of the late Emperor, and the crown and arms, &c. The Empress desired me to look at it, and this was the only time she sat down, placing herself on one side of the urn. When she thought I had sufficiently examined it, She rose up, and told me she would show me the pictures of the King and Queen of Naples. . . . The next room was gayer than any in the apartment: it was ornamented with carving and gilding, glaces, tables, &c., and all the Imperial Family's pictures that are now living. The Empress told me it was the room where they dined. When she showed me the picture of the Dauphiness She did me the honour to say, "As you are going to Paris, you'll tell her——" I think she said that *you have been with me*, but I did not perfectly hear the last words, nor could I answer them, as I never intend to be presented at the Court of France. Her Majesty showed me a very fine commode the Dauphiness had sent her, and then said: "I will now carry you to a pair of stairs which will lead you to the apartment below," adding with great graciousness, "You'll stay to play" (there were cards that evening at Court). She then said: "If you go to Italy, or are accustomed to go to the Spa, the journey from there is inconsiderable." I told Her Majesty with great sincerity I would have taken a much longer journey to have the honour of seeing her: upon which, to my great surprise, she took me in her arms and kissed me. We then parted.'

Thursday, April 11, 1771.—'I was up and dressed before six o'clock, and waited till seven for the horses. The weather was fine, and the roads could not have been better. I lay at a place called Kemelbach: one post further than where the Dauphiness lay last year when the Empress and the whole Court went with her the first day's journey.'

It is evident that Lady Mary's thoughts were already turning to the Court of Marie Antoinette, to the beautiful young Dauphiness, who was the pride of Paris and of Vienna. We are, therefore, prepared to read as follows:—

'On Tuesday I arrived at Paris. Thursday.—While I was dressing I was surprised by a visit from Madame de Geoffrin. . . . She is a lady that has been much talked of, and I was glad to have an oppor-

tunity of seeing her: I found her alone. Our conversation turned naturally upon Vienna: the Empress, the Princess Kinsky. I found her perfectly *au fait* of all the characters, yet, I believe, she stayed there but a short time. . . . From Madame de Geoffrin I went to my friend Madame de Rochechouart, who, I am sure, was glad to see me. She thinks I ought to go to the Dauphiness, and said if she had not been obliged to go to the country, she would have gone with me to Versailles. She is persuaded, she said, that the Dauphiness would be very glad to see me, and there is nothing easier than going to see her in private. She admires her of all things. 'Tis certain the Empress meant me to see her; but I shall wait a few days, as I expect the Imperial Ambassador will come to me, and perhaps will say something upon the subject. I have not seen Madame du Chatelet; she left Paris the day after I came, and she does not intend being at the marriage of the Comte de Provence. The Affection that everybody has for the Dauphiness makes them all rejoice that the Comtesse de Provence is ugly, that she may have no chance of rivalling her. . . . Everything here with regard to Politicks is in great confusion. . . . The power of Madame de Barry increases every day; nothing can be done without her approbation. April 28th.—I have not yet fixt my day for setting out, though after I have seen the Dauphiness I have nothing to do here. April 29th.—I dined with Madame de Boufflers, who came to Paris on purpose to see me. She seems much dissatisfied with the state of affairs in this Country, but though, as she said, she was no Courtier, she could not help admiring Madame la Dauphine, and thought her a miracle for her age. She has got the King's leave to have a ball every Monday. . . . Madame de Boufflers and her daughter-in-law were often at Versailles at those Balls, where she saw a great deal of her, and she says nothing can be more amiable, lively, polite, good-humoured, and a conduct so prudent that, in all the difficulties of her situation, she never commits a fault. The Dauphin admires her, and says she has more grace than he ever saw anybody have in all his life, yet, 'tis certain he has never lived with her. Within this fortnight he has been prevailed upon to sleep in her apartment, which is all that can at present be obtained. I shall be vext if the Countess of Provence brings the first child. . . . Madame De Barry dislikes Madame la Dauphine: since which the King's affection for that pretty Princess is a little cooler, but by everybody else she is almost adored. . . . I was this evening with Madame de Villegagnon. When I came home I found a note from the Imperial Ambassador, to let me know Madame la Dauphine could see me at half an hour after 4 o'clock on Sunday, and that I must be with Madame la Comtesse de Noailles at Versailles at 4 o'clock. Sunday, May 5th.—. . . . At 4 o'clock I waited upon Madame de Noailles, who received me with great politeness, talked to me about the Empress, and said she was not surprised I admired her so much, as everybody did. In half an hour we went to the Dauphiness's apartment, but she was gone to the Dauphin's. We stayed about ten minutes in her outward room. I was then told to go in. She was so near the door, I had but just room to go in. She was dressed in her hair, with Diamonds, without a hoop, and a black cloak.

She is like enough to the Family for me to have known her to be an Archduchess; the same beautiful make and grace, and, I think, a pretty face. She asked me how long I had been in France, and what time I had been in Vienna, but said nothing of the Empress, the Archduchesses, &c., which surprised me, as Madame de Noailles said to her I was charmed with the Empress, and most flattered with her goodness to me. . . . I think she said no more than I have told you, then made me a courtsy, and I retired. She has a quick way of speaking. I believe I shall set out for England on Saturday. I went in Lord Harcourt's coach with Lady Albemarle to the Review of the French and Swiss Guards. We were told the King would be there at 3 o'clock, but he did not come till 4. His Majesty the Dauphin and the Comte de Provence were on horseback. Madame la Dauphine was in one of the finest equipages I have ever seen: the Coach was red velvet and gold, the carriage all carved and gilt, eight white Horses, the Harness magnificent, with white feathers up the necks and upon the heads of the Horses. She had in the coach with her two of the Madames, and the Princesse de Lambale.'

Fantastically lovely and sad is this picture of Marie Antoinette and her friend; the one so soon to exchange her titles of adoration for the nickname of 'Madame Déficit;' the other fair head to bleed on a pike under her sovereign's windows.

Lady Mary Coke supped at Madame du Deffant's, the night before leaving Paris, and closed her grand tour by returning to England, and to Boughton Park. A letter of Horace Walpole's served as prologue to her wanderings; another and a more amusing one must serve here as the epilogue:—

'Arlington Street, January 27, 1771.

'I am extremely flattered, dear Lady Mary, by your sisters telling me that you complain of my silence. Alas! I thought, surrounded by Emperors and Empresses, you could not think of nor care for the letters of such little mortals as I. I imagined that I must write to you with all the formalities of the Aulic Chamber. I had begun an epistle, but my words came so slow that I should not have finished before I hope you will return. By your kind reproof I trust you will allow me to descend from my Austrian buskins, and write in my usual style. I am not, nor ever can be, altered towards your Ladyship, but truth is, I feared your being become at least an Archduchess, and did not know, which would be a thousand pities, but your fair nose might have risen half an inch, and your lips, which could never mend, have dropped and pouted with prodigious dignity, at being addressed with a familiarity unknown to the House of Habsburg. I am transported with finding you still the same, and could now almost trust you with the baneful influence of the Czarina. However, pray never think of making *her* a visit too. You have travelled enough, and ought to have the Magi come to see you, instead of wandering yourself after every Star. I do not pretend, Madam, to tell you news. . . . One article rejoices me greatly, the Peace with Spain. I do not wish to conquer

the world every two years. . . . What do you say at Vienna to Monsieur de Choiseul's fall, and when will your neighbour Mustapha III. be sent in chains to St. Petersburg? Is the Dauphiness breeding? or are you very angry that she is not? . . . I do not know that we have a single new book, except one or two political pamphlets that nobody reads, except the Common Council, who cannot read. Lord Huntingdon is going abroad, not, like your Ladyship, to see Kings and Queens, but because he has fewer opportunities of seeing them than he had. . . . The worst and the best news I can tell you is that you and I, Madam, have been very near losing *our* Princess (Amelia), and that she is perfectly well again. I am to play there to-morrow, but our Loo is reduced to half-crowns. You have heard, I suppose, that on account of her deafness she goes no more to Court, and is to have no more Drawing-rooms. This sketch of everything will, I hope, atone a little for my past omissions, and yet why should I expect it? You are a wanderer, Lady Mary, like Cain, and seem not to care for your own country. You would have liked it better, I believe, during the Heptarchy, when we had more Kings and Queens than there are in a pack of Cards. If you should ever write your travels, and, like Baron Polnitz, give a full account of all the gracious Sovereigns upon earth, I flatter myself you will honour the "Strawberry Press" with them. I promise you they shall be printed on the best "Imperial" paper. It is employed at present on the last volume of my Anecdotes of Painting, which do not deserve better than quires of foolscap. . . . I am, Madam, your Ladyship's abandoned but ever faithfull and devoted knight,

'HORACE WALPOLE.'

But in this, as in other matters, Lady Mary took her own way. The proverb says that appetite comes with eating, and her hunger for the excitement of travel and foreign Courts was heightened by a sense of pique, because at her own she was not, and never could be, recognised as the widow of the Duke of York by any one but her own very foolish self. Her feeling is apparent in this entry:—

'August 1771.—'I have taken leave at Court. His Majesty inquired when I intended to return, and I believe meant to be gracious, but I am not the dupe of drawing-room conversation: *everybody is equally taken notice of*: no sort of distinction of any kind.'

This was really very hard, but His Majesty's consort had better luck in soothing Lady Mary. 'The Queen has sent 'her compliments to the Empress. I shall let you know 'how they are received. Her Majesty asked me if the King 'had not had an amicable quarrel with me about my leaving 'England? These are all mighty fine things; but I fancy 'if I was to tell my story nobody has been worse treated 'than myself. . . . The Princess (Amelia) brought me home 'at eight o'clock.' In this frame of mind Lady Mary again crossed the Channel, heard that the fêtes for the Archduke

of Tuscany's wedding were to be held not in Vienna, but in Milan, and that she had time to loiter in France in fine vintage weather. The loyalty of the people of Lorraine to the Emperor, and his sister the Dauphiness (as representing their ancestors the Dukes of Lorraine) pleased her; but she was less pleased at the idea that on reaching Vienna, she might find the Empress *in retreat* after parting with one of her sons. Matters, however, turned out better than Lady Mary feared. She was welcomed by the English ambassador and many friends, and told to ask at once for an audience.

'Friday, Sept. 27th, 1771.

'I dined at Prince Kaunitz at a Villa he has a little way out of Vienna. He has got a disorder in his eyes, which seems to distress him very much. I stayed till 6 o'clock, am now come home. . . . The price at Loo is reduced to the half it was last year; the Empress said something that made them understand if they did not keep it within bounds she should forbid it. At eleven o'clock I set out for *Schönbourne*, went into the great apartment, stopped in the gallery not knowing where to go—all the Ladys were at chapel with the Empress . . in about a quarter of an hour one of the Ladys said I was to go into the Empress'es Apartment. In the room next that hung with black she came in, the Archduchesses and Archduke Maximilan with her. I never saw her look so well, and am more charmed with her than ever. She made me forget all the length and tiresomeness of the journey, but I promise to recollect it again when I return to England that I may not wish to return again so soon. . . . "You saw the Dauphine. What do you think of her? Very lively? At least by her letters she seems to continue so, but she wears a great deal of rouge, does she not?" When I had answered all these questions, I said I had the Queen's orders to present her compliments to Her Majesty, to which she answered, "'Tis charming to employ a person that acquits themselves so well. I believe your Queen very amiable, and I know all that you have said of *me*"; with that she laid her hand on mine and pressed it, then turned from me, and went out of the room. It is impossible for me to convey all she said, or her tone of voice, both of which are peculiar to herself, and more captivating than can be expressed.'

Just in proportion to this captivation was Lady Mary's angry dismay when she fell into disgrace with the Empress; not, it may well be believed, owing to any caprice on the part of the large-hearted, capable sovereign, but because of the meddlesome folly of her English visitor. There are always jealousies at a Court. The policy of the Empress and that of her son were not always perfectly in agreement, though of the Imperial family itself Lady Mary remarks that

'the ease and affection which seemed among them all appeared very particular to me, who came from a Country which is not so happy as to see any great harmony in the Royal Family. The Emperor, con-

trary to the custom in England, though excessively fond of all his Brothers and Sisters, is particularly so of the great Duke who at present is his heir (Leopold II.).'

It was not, therefore, actually in the family circle that Maria Theresa suffered from jealous bickerings. Lady Mary's friends, the two Princesses of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, who led Viennese society as Princess Kinsky and Countess Clary, probably first led her into mischief, and, as usual, she turned a deaf ear to pacific counsels:—

'I can assure you that it is unnecessary to advise me to keep free from quarrels. I have a horror for them, and think I may venture to promise never to have one again with any mortal. With regard to everybody here, I have certainly nothing to do with them, and it would be ridiculous, as well as in all respects improper, to meddle in anything.'

Meddle, however, she did, and her second visit to Vienna ended so disastrously for herself as to embitter her temper for years to come. When we reviewed Lady Louisa Stuart's account of Lady Mary's family history we had occasion to quote her humorous description of the English lady's tantrums, and her conviction that her happiness and comfort were during many years endangered by the powerful intrigues of an enemy no less great and terrible than the Empress-queen Maria Theresa. It was all, as the poor lady had said, 'ridiculous,' and it was also sad. As she advanced in years Lady Mary was not one of those

> 'Whose kind old hearts grow mellow,
> Whose fair old faces grow more fair,
> As Point and Flanders yellow:
> Whom some old store of garnered grief,
> Their pallid temples shading,
> Crowns like a wreath of autumn leaf
> With tender tints of fading.'

On the contrary, this is how she struck an acquaintance about twelve years after her loss of favour with the Empress. Mr. Swinburne, meeting her at an agreeable dinner party at her sister's, Lady Betty Mackenzie, says:—

'A small party—Lady Mary Coke, Dutens, William Townsend, Horace Walpole, and Poyntz . . . Lady Betty could never have been pretty, but they say Lady Mary was. They say Mr. Walpole was in love with her, but she was persuaded to marry Lord Coke, who was quite a madman, and shut her up for a long time in a cage.'

By this time (1785) poor Lady Mary's trials of temper had become legendary, and so, alas! had her beauty; for Mr. Swinburne adds, 'she is now so deadly pale, that her face is 'absolutely cadaverous.'

ART. IX.—1. *Old and New Astronomy.* By RICHARD A. PROCTOR, completed by A. COWPER RANYARD. London: 1892.

2. *The Milky Way from the North Pole to* 10° *of South Declination.* Drawn at the Earl of Rosse's Observatory at Birr Castle by OTTO BOEDDICKER. London: 1892.

THE news of Mr. Proctor's death, September 12, 1888, was received, throughout the English-speaking world, with a shock of painful surprise. Especially to those interested in astronomy, so greatly multiplied in number by his labours, it announced a well-nigh personal loss. The circumstances of the event were sad, almost tragic. No end more desolate could indeed easily be conceived to a not over-fortunate life.

Richard Anthony Proctor was born at Chelsea, March 23, 1837. His father, a solicitor, died when he was thirteen. To his mother, he was indebted for his early education. She was evidently a woman of some ability, and her death during his collegiate days caused him overwhelming sorrow. Delicacy of health had kept him exceptionally long under her immediate care; but his constitution strengthening with years, he was sent to King's College, London, and thence to St. John's College, Cambridge. The developement of a taste for athletics, and his marriage, while still an undergraduate, to an Irish lady, whom he met during one of his vacation trips to the Continent, perhaps accounted for his unexpectedly poor degree. He graduated as twenty-third wrangler in 1860. Then arose the question of a career. What should he do with his life? And the answer lay practically in a choice between law and literature. So he tried Digests and Commentaries, and, not finding them to his liking, resolved to become an astronomical author.

The decision implied affluence, for only stinted wages were to be earned this way. But he could at that time afford to follow his bent; and, what was more important, he could afford to follow it with deliberate and advancing steps, *ohne Hast, aber ohne Rast.* Four years were given to the composition of his first book; and they were well spent. 'Saturn and its System,' published in 1865, was in every respect an admirable production. It was largely concerned with a theory which, though new, was true. Clerk Maxwell's demonstration of the meteoric structure of Saturn's rings has never been seriously impugned; it is scarcely possible that,

by any future discovery, it can be overturned. And to Mr. Proctor fell the opportunity of bringing it within the acquaintance of ordinary readers. He used the opportunity with consummate ability. In a manner thoroughly scientific, yet free from technicalities, he explained the geometrical relations of the wonderful Saturnian appendages with a completeness and precision which left nothing to be desired. The unconscious display, in every page, of an easy command over an intricate subject gave the work a particular charm, recognised, however, only by a select minority. It sold badly, and the author remained a loser by its publication. The first profits accruing to him in his chosen career came from a taking, but thoroughly unsound, article on 'The 'Colours of Double Stars,' which appeared in one of the early numbers of the 'Cornhill Magazine.' This glimmer of dawning success was perhaps one of the keenest joys of his life. The following year, 1866, brought him financial ruin through the failure of a New Zealand bank in which he was a large shareholder. Thenceforward, daily bread for himself and his family became, by hard necessity, the prime object of his endeavours; yet he still followed his calling, although the way that it led him was rugged and toilsome. From the moment that he heard of the loss of his fortune, 'onward for five years,' he wrote, 'I did not take one day's 'holiday from the work which I found essential for my 'family's maintenance.'* Sometimes, indeed, a surrender seemed on the point of being imposed upon him by the imperative claims of dependent lives. 'I would willingly,' he acknowledged, 'have turned to stone-breaking, or any 'other form of hard and honest, but unscientific labour, if a 'modest competence in any such direction had been offered 'me.' The struggle was severe. Article after article was sent back to him with empty editorial compliments. Book after book, atlas after atlas, was refused by the publishers. He became fully inured to the occupation, haughtily contemned by Macaulay, of 'hawking his wares up and down 'Paternoster Row.' At last the tide began to turn. Hardwicke engaged him for 25*l.* to write 'Half Hours with 'the Stars,' which ran through twenty editions in as many years; and he slowly gained a footing in the magazines. Lecturing engagements followed, in Australia, New Zealand, and America; and the wolf no longer lurked near his door. His indefatigable industry was rewarded.

* Monthly Notices Roy. Astr. Society, vol. xlix. p. 164.

[illegible] he married again during [illegible] and made a new home among [illegible] of Florida. From his far-off editorial [illegible] he nevertheless continued to direct the publication in London of Knowledge, a scientific magazine founded by him in [illegible]. There, too, he hoped to finish at leisure the [illegible] he [illegible] upon were [illegible]. Summoned to England on business in [illegible], he was seized with illness while travelling [illegible]. The [illegible] in that city pronounced him to be suffering from yellow fever; the keeper of the hotel where he [illegible] became terrified; and at dead of night, in the [illegible] of a storm of wind and rain, he was huddled off [illegible]. He survived the removal just twelve hours. The disease to which he succumbed was afterwards strongly asserted to have been, not yellow, but malarial fever. This, however, can never be established. What is certain is that he was thrust out to die as one plague-stricken, and breathed his last, friendless and forsaken, in the inhuman heart of a great city.

Proctor's talents were varied and brilliant, and he had a remarkable power of interesting exposition. But perhaps his most special gift was his sense of the relations of space. Where these were concerned he was a master. He did not merely apprehend them by means of diagrams or symbols, they made part of the very constitution of his mind. He was thus unrivalled as an interpreter to the unlearned of the geometrical facts of astronomy. They were so definite and [illegible] that he could scarcely fail in helping others to realise them. He was, besides, an accomplished cartographer, and an excellent mathematician. His energy was astonishing. In twenty-seven years he wrote fifty-seven books; he played chess and whist eagerly and well; was no despicable pianist, and delivered lectures in several quarters of the globe. What was more to his credit, he did some really hard, and really useful, work in astronomy. His charting of Argelander's 324,000 stars was in itself a considerable performance; he annihilated by irresistible arguments the atmospheric-glare theory of the solar corona; determined, with extreme exactitude, the rotation-period of Mars; and insisted on some beneficial amendments in the official programme for observing the transits of Venus. His manner as a controversialist, it is true, was somewhat acrid. He seemed equally impressed with the truth of his own convictions and with a sense of the amazing dulness of his

opponents. And he always commanded the ear of the public. So he was effective; and effective on the whole, as regards the scientific points earnestly debated by him, on the side of truth—possibly to his personal detriment. With more prudence, he might perhaps have secured a happier and a more prosperous career.

As it was, circumstances developed him on his weaker side. His insight into things even of the physical order could never have been profound, but, with due leisure for thought, it would always have been keen and just. He was however unfortunately driven by sheer need to rely for an income upon the versatility and facility by which his more solid mental powers were apparently set off, but really undermined. He became in fact a ready writer, and in that capacity tended, as was inevitable, to degenerate. Nevertheless, a higher standard was not lost sight of; he made peace with his intellectual conscience by the gradual preparation, in leisure moments, of a work truly representative of him, a work which should embody all the best results of his life's scientific activity. The 'Old and New 'Astronomy' was planned nearly a quarter of a century before it began to be published. According to the original design, 'Saturn and its System' was to form one of a series of planetary monographs; but this central idea widened, as time went on, until it became all but co-extensive with the whole domain of descriptive and historical astronomy. Its execution proceeded slowly; but at last, in 1887, the appearance of the magnum opus, in twelve successive instalments, was announced as impending, and of these, six had been published, and a seventh was in type, when the author died. It had been given to him to write fifty-six books; the fifty-seventh, which was to outweigh, and as it were absorb and represent them all, remained a colossal fragment. The arduous task of its completion devolved upon Mr. Arthur Cowper Ranyard, who also took up, and has carried on with conspicuous success, the editorship of 'Knowledge.' His share in the 'Old and New Astronomy' consists, primarily, in the wholly original composition of the long and important section on the Stars; next, in the somewhat laborious revision of chapters on the Planets, left by Mr. Proctor in manuscript. Comets and Meteors were, unfortunately, left altogether unprovided for. Mr. Proctor had neither treated of them himself, nor had he allowed room for their treatment by another; they were crowded out. This is undoubtedly a very serious defect in the work. It results from the over-

wide scope given to it at starting. We could assuredly have better spared the thorough explanation afforded us of how planetary appearances were 'saved' in the Ptolemaic system, or the amusing demonstration that Kepler ought, in all reason, to have needed only a quarter of an hour, instead of two months, for the final discovery of his third law, than the whole marvellous story of cometary apparitions, and of meteoric fire-storms. Not but that every chapter is admirable in itself. It would be difficult to point to anything in the text of the book that was not worth writing, and that is not worth reading; but the maxim *ne quid nimis* applies even to what is best, and the accumulated results of Mr. Proctor's life-long studies surpassed the capacity of any single literary receptacle. One should in truth have been provided for the Old, another for the New Astronomy. On the plan actually adopted, a much stricter rule of space-proportion should have been observed from the outset. The author, however, evidently gave himself the rein; and his initial excesses had naturally to be compensated by subsequent omissions. One form of exuberance especially he might have curtailed with advantage. He carried the habit of overflowing into foot-notes unconscionably far. As a general rule, the text should be allowed to speak for itself. A running commentary upon it only serves to distract the mind of the reader, by thrusting upon him unnecessary, and, so to speak, surreptitiously conveyed information. Mr. Proctor's notes are, it is true, highly characteristic; they express, taken at large, his conviction that the official astronomical 'world was out of 'joint'; and they express it with more point than politeness. We are irresistibly reminded of a line in 'Letters to Dead 'Authors'—

'And furious foot-notes growl 'neath every page.'

Mr. Proctor wrote indeed rather in the caustic, than in the furious vein; but let that pass. Personalities are always undignified, and we cannot but regret to see a book like the present turned into a vehicle for paying off old scores. We regret still more to observe some (albeit very few) offensive allusions to the Scriptures. Shallow irreverence is never *in* place; but it is nowhere more painfully *out* of place than in a treatise on a subject palpably transfused, so to speak, with the mystery of the Infinite. Mr. Ranyard, it should be added, expressly disclaims responsibility for Mr. Proctor's sallies, with which his own quietly courteous manner of dealing with his contemporaries is in strong contrast.

Setting aside the blemishes referred to, we can award to the work before us a very high meed of praise. It is throughout fresh, vigorous, and spontaneous; there is a delightful absence from it of trite repetitions, and mechanical reproductions of earlier statements taken on trust. The materials relating to each subject are cast in a new mould, provided for the occasion. We perceive everywhere the invigorating effect of a variation in the point of view. The material form given to the book is of a most imposing kind. A majestic volume of 816 pages, splendidly bound, magnificently and instructively illustrated, embodies the intellectual bequest to a closing century of one of its representative authors. Innumerable topics of discussion are offered by it: we shall confine ourselves to one.

The first man to whom the construction of the heavens presented itself as a subject for experimental investigation on the vastest scale was Sir William Herschel. He moreover invented methods for carrying his bold idea into execution, and applied them, on the whole, with astonishing success. The sublime ambition thus kindled in the human mind is not likely to perish from it. It may be that no complete solution of the problem is possible; it may be that, in their labours, and contrivances, and aspirations towards that end, astronomers 'follow that which flies before'; they will nevertheless continue their pursuit until mankind descends to a lower level, or sinks into terrestrial extinction. So far, they have met with unparalleled incitements to perseverance. The means of research at their command have developed extraordinary potencies; discoveries of the most curious kind continually reward their efforts, and animate their zeal; with the result that sidereal science year by year widens its boundaries, and makes more sure of its possessions. Slowly but surely too, as facts accumulate, the ideas prevalent regarding the constitution of the stellar universe are becoming modified. Slowly but surely the full intricacy of the problem is coming to be recognised, and the more obvious solutions of it at first attempted are being, one by one, set aside as inadequate. It is to the elucidation of this question of questions that Mr. Ranyard mainly devotes the space at his disposal; and his choice derives particular appropriateness from the circumstance that Mr. Proctor had done much useful work in the same direction. The laudable aim of our present author has been to derive no inferences from insecure data, but, rejecting all that might prove misleading, to build on a strong and sound foundation, or not at

all. His caution as to what he admits is indeed, if anything, excessive. We believe, for instance, that recent measurements of star-distances are in general entitled to much more credit than he feels able to allow to them; nor does it seem altogether wise to discard the nucleus of unquestionably genuine knowledge regarding stellar and nebular motion in the line of sight furnished by the work of Vogel at Potsdam and of Keeler at Lick. On the other hand, Mr. Ranyard sometimes accepts without hesitation evidence against which we should be disposed to enter a caveat. Nevertheless, his discussion is an able one, and leads to some remarkable conclusions.

But there is a preliminary difficulty. Before pretending to investigate the universe, we ought to make reasonably sure that the universe is capable of being investigated by such limited means and faculties as we possess. This it assuredly is not, if of absolutely boundless extent. Before a material infinitude, we could only lay down our weapons of research. To our apprehension, it would have neither form, nor dimensions, nor structure; no law of order conceivable by us could reign in it; it would be undistinguishable from a chaos. The plain facts, however, point the other way; they indicate for the sidereal world a definite shape, and ascertainable, if enormously remote, boundaries; they leave little doubt as to the strict limitation of the store of energy possessed by it. The consequences of the opposite hypothesis would be of a most striking character. Olbers, as Mr. Ranyard remarks,

'showed that if the universe of stars is infinite, as we are naturally inclined to suppose, no line could be drawn extending from the earth into distant regions of space which would not encounter some star. Supposing all the stars were equally bright with our sun—however minute their superficial dimensions might appear by reason of their distance—the brilliance of their discs as compared area for area would not be affected, and the whole celestial sphere would, if there were no absorption of light in space, shine as a luminous envelope equally bright with the surface of our sun. We should, in fact, only be able to discover the sun with difficulty by his spots, and the moon and planets would only be perceived by us as jet-black discs upon a bright ground as brilliant as the sun's.' *

In order to nullify the effect of this *reductio ad absurdum* of an infinite universe, appeal was made to aconjectural extinction of light in space; and Mr. Ranyard trusts further, for protection from the intolerable glare of unnumbered suns,

* Old and New Astronomy, p. 690.

to the intercepting effects of dark masses which, for anything we know to the contrary, may abound in celestial tracts equally with bright ones. But there is not the slightest sign that the apparent distribution of the stars is essentially modified by either of these causes. We should expect, if it were, to find telescopic observation impeded, at a given stage of space-penetration, by the dropping, as it were, of a veil. The stars would fail to be seen beyond a certain magnitude, not through lack of numbers, but through deficiency of light. Just the contrary, however, is observed: in the few districts of the sky outside the Milky Way which have been suitably experimented upon, it was the fewness, not the faintness, of the stars that closed the prospect. The stellar supply fell palpably, and pretty quickly, short; the stratum was not hidden, but unmistakably came to an end. Within the compass of the Milky Way, the background is indeed vastly more crowded, yet seems no less open. The perspective grouping of various clouds and streams of stars, ranged probably at very different distances from the eye along the line of sight, is, to all appearance, fully disclosed; no impenetrable barrier of obscurity intervenes. The starlight reaching us, then, is no mere remnant of infinite arrested emissions; it truly represents, on the contrary, the radiations of a finite number of stars.

There can be no question, besides, but that stars and nebulæ together form a definite structure; and a definite structure can only be composed of a limited number of objects. This we take to be self-evident. The 'Paradise of 'golden lights' around and above us, accordingly, rounds itself off and terminates no less than the 'frail and fading 'sphere' of the 'globe of dew,' to which Shelley compared it. But what, it may be asked, of the beyond? That is an impenetrable secret. We can set no bounds to creative power, neither can we insist upon its indefinite exercise for the mere purpose of peopling with worlds that void of space from the contemplation of which we instinctively recoil. And who knows but that the abyss we strive to abolish may be a phantom evoked by the startled mind itself?

'Various considerations lead to the general conclusion 'that the form of our stellar system may be like that of a 'sphere surrounded by a ring.'* So opines Professor J. C. Kapteyn, of Gröningen, a dealer in hard facts, if ever there was one. It is difficult to avoid agreeing with him. By no

* Publications Astr. Society of the Pacific, vol. iv. p. 260.

fanciful analogy, but in the sober actuality of what exists, the Milky Way represents the equatorial girdle of a prodigious world-sphere, of which the poles are marked by accumulations of unresolved, non-gaseous nebulæ. These last seem as if repelled from the precincts of the Milky Way, thronged by their correlatives, the gaseous nebulæ of the stellar host yielding, although less unreservedly, to the same attractive influence. The Milky Way is then the dominating factor in the problem of sidereal construction, and its investigation assumes a continually growing importance. Upon the accomplishment of this difficult task all the resources of modern astronomy are gradually being brought to bear.

Its intricacy can in some measure be estimated from an inspection of the drawings named in the heading of this article. They were executed without optical appliances; for these, by resolving the Milky Way into stars, destroy the nebulous effect betraying the vagaries of its course. The telescope looks too close, and takes in too little at a time, with the result that 'the forest cannot be seen for the trees.' Dr. Boeddicker's five years' labour was rewarded by the production of very far the best extant representation of the dimly shining zone, which he studied with such invincible patience under the misty Irish skies. The delicacy of its details, indeed, threw obstacles in the way of its publication, overcome only with the aid of Mr. W. H. Wesley's unsurpassed skill as a lithographer. The four plates before us are all but absolutely perfect reproductions of the originals. Their general effect is to bring out the extremely complex nature of the formation they depict. We have before us no level road through the constellations—no 'track of pilgrimage,' as mediæval folk used to call it, no 'path of souls' in the American-Indian phrase—but a gnarled and knotted trunk, riddled with holes and hirsute with branches. Very remarkable is the connexion established by the Birr Castle observations between outlying nebulæ and clusters and the galactic aggregations. The great Andromeda nebula, previously supposed entirely independent of them, is now shown to be reached by a luminous effusion from the starry cataract plunging through Cassiopeia and Perseus; the Pleiades and Hyades are still more completely involved; a galactic feeler issues towards Præsepe, the 'Bee-hive' cluster in Cancer; while a vast galactic effluence, sweeping in a sinuous fold through the constellation Orion, seemingly attains its object by forming a junction with the famous

nebula in the Sword-handle. The organic nature of the union subsisting between the Milky Way and other members of the sidereal world could not be more clearly illustrated. This 'magnificent collection'—so Herschel styled it—is, then, no isolated phenomenon, but the very foundation and bond of the entire celestial edifice.

Dr. Boeddicker's work was scarcely completed when the method used in its execution became virtually superseded. Eye-and-hand delineations of the Milky Way, it is safe to affirm, are of the past. Their value remains, indeed, as great as ever; but the toil that they cost appears wastefully expended in view of results more expeditiously obtained. Genuine photographs of galactic star-clouds were first taken by Professor Barnard at the Lick Observatory, in the summer of 1889. The conditions of success were by no means easy to hit off. The field of view, to begin with, had to be wide enough to embrace large groupings; and since the stars composing them are excessively faint, and are recorded by the camera individually, not collectively, a strong concentration of light was indispensable. A six-inch portrait lens gave, however, with exposures of some hours, results difficult to be surpassed. For specimens of them, most perfectly reproduced, we can refer our readers to Mr. Ranyard's pages. The pictures taken in different parts of the great Sagittarius region are especially instructive from the witness they bear to the working of unknown laws of aggregation. The Milky Way was here described by Sir John Herschel as composed of 'great cirrous masses and streaks,' and, a little further on, as made up of 'separate, or slightly or strongly 'connected, clouds of semi-nebulous light,' the appearance, as the telescope moved, being 'that of clouds passing in a '*scud*, as the sailors call it.'* One of the vast galactic masses thus observed with amazement at Feldhausen stands revealed, in Professor Barnard's photograph, as an elliptical cluster, probably of a spiral conformation analogous to that unexpectedly brought out on Mr. Roberts's plates, in the Andromeda nebula.† Another appears singularly perforated with dusky apertures, like a series of holes with cracks running out from them; while a striking feature of the detailed arrangement is 'the presence of a great many

* Cape Observations, p. 388.

† One of these photographs, taken with four hours of exposure, is magnificently reproduced in Plate XXX. of 'Old and New Astronomy.'

stars with ellipses or partial ellipses of small stars about them, the larger star apparently occupying the focus of the ellipse.*

A third view of the star-scenery in Sagittarius stretches away to the south of the Trifid nebula. 'This remarkable picture,' Professor Barnard says, 'shows the cloud-forms like waves of spray. A dark curving lane runs from the lower left-hand portion of the picture, and curves gracefully upwards. It is singularly like the stem of a great leaf. At the middle of the picture it is seen to pass behind some of the clouds of stars and emerge beyond, showing us clearly which part of the Milky Way at that point is nearest to us.' Here we get a hint of perspective relations, everywhere subsisting, but elsewhere with no accompanying clue for their disentanglement. Mr. Ranyard shows unmistakably, by a careful analysis of this extraordinary photograph, that the central stellar mass portrayed in it has an arboreal form. We seem to see a colossal shrub of light, rooted in a dark area, ramified and upspringing. This is certainly no play of imagination: the branching forms are there. Our author explains them by 'the projection of matter into a resisting medium,' a mode of action prevalent, he considers, throughout the Milky Way, as well as in the Orion nebula, its results being exemplified on a comparatively minute scale in the tree-like figures of solar prominences. But the generalisation, we confess, staggers us. We neither gainsay nor endorse it. Our speculative efforts are indeed confounded by the magnitude of the phenomena presented by the Milky Way. We prefer to record them without gloss or comment.

Mr. Ranyard also draws particular attention to certain 'dark structures' bordering the luminous 'shrub' just described. And they well deserve it, for they illustrate a universal peculiarity. Nebulæ and clusters are often interrupted by singular vacuities, or furrowed with star-fenced lanes. The Milky Way itself might be described as a congeries of bright and dusky patches, streaks and channels. Herschel's exclamation, 'Da ist wahrhaftig ein Loch am Himmel!' as his eye during a telescopic 'sweep' through Scorpio suddenly plunged into a rayless abyss, might be repeated over and over again in the course of photographic exploration. Now, to our thinking, such vacancies are undoubtedly what they seem; they are obscure simply because they are destitute of

* Barnard, 'Month. Notices,' vol. l. p. 313.

stars. They are negative entities. Mr. Ranyard, however, takes a different view. Openings, clefts, and chasms in lustrous cosmical masses have for him a positive significance. They represent opaque formations projected upon and cutting out the light from starry strata lying behind them. We are not, it is true, in a position to deny the possibility of interpositions of this kind. Dark stars certainly exist. Why not dark nebulæ? For the purpose in hand, nevertheless, they appear to us superfluous, and even embarrassing. The explanation, if valid in one case, must apply to all. Hence its obvious incapacity to account for the 'Coal-sack' near the Southern Cross, which, though perfectly black to the eye, is shown photographically to be partially filled in with small stars, assuredly justifies its total rejection. Indeed, the great rift itself, by which the Milky Way is divided into two branches over one-third of its course, may be regarded as only an intensified effect of the fissuring tendency elsewhere working within its substance on a smaller scale. Besides, the detailed correspondence of the bright and dark portions of the galactic structure is too close to be accidental. They are mutually and closely related, and evidently belong to an organic whole. Sir William Herschel long ago perceived the dominance over the distribution of stars in the Milky Way of a so-called 'clustering power.' What the nature of that power may be, or what the manner of its regulation, we do not know, we can scarcely even conjecture. But it is easy to see that the crowding of certain tracts of space through its continued exercise should necessarily be accompanied by the denudation of others.

That the Milky Way is an annular formation very few any longer deny. But it is very far from possessing a uniform character. Certain sections are condensed and bright, others are ill-defined and faint. These variations, as Mr. Ranyard says, 'cannot be accounted for by 'the convolutions of a single cylindrical stream seen in 'perspective. It appears rather to be an aggregation of 'stellar structures of very complicated form.' In some regions, too, it is seemingly composed of larger stars than in others. The absolute size of these bodies is, however, in all cases unknown. 'Star' is a term of wide meaning. The bodies denoted by it vary indefinitely in bulk, in brilliancy, in mass. Some are totally obscure, and make their existence known only by their effects in eclipsing, or swaying the movements of, lucid companions. Others are dull and massive; others, again, shine with extraordinary vividness

in proportion to the amount of matter that they contain. Stars are known to us thousands of times larger and brighter than the sun; a few at measured distances are certainly smaller, but stars on the planetary scale have not yet come within our ken. Apparent magnitude naturally depends upon distance no less than upon emissive power; and we are, in the vast majority of cases, unable to distinguish the share of each in bringing about a given result. The tiniest speck of light just discernible with the Lick refractor may be an orb on the scale of Sirius, reduced by inconceivable remoteness to optical insignificance, or it may be comparatively near to us, and therefore really small. Now to which side should we incline in assigning the status of the stars swarming in the Milky Way? Are they minute absolutely or only apparently? In the absence of any positive knowledge as to their distances no unqualified answer can be given. We can only seek to determine which way the balance of probability inclines.

The late Mr. Proctor brought together a good deal of evidence to show that the bright stars scattered over the Milky Way really belong to it and form part and parcel of its collections. He drew the further inference that these are situated at distances to be reckoned moderate on the cosmical scale, and must hence be composed of a multitude of very small stars, gathered together in groups and streams under the influence of a few very large ones. Sir John Herschel and Dr. Gould were, however, struck, each in turn, while sojourning in the southern hemisphere, with the appearance of a zone of stellar brilliants following a great circle of the heavens inclined at an angle of about twenty degrees to the medial plane of the Galaxy. The ring seems to be complete, but is less conspicuous in its northern portion. Dr. Gould interpreted it to signify the organisation of four or five hundred of the nearer stars into a distinct cluster, including our sun as one of its members; but further inquiries have tended to throw doubt upon the solar relationship, and to accentuate the galactic affinities of this sky-girdle. Thus, the stars in Orion, which form an integral part of it, have been shown photographically to be bound together by far-stretching wreaths of fire-mist, with the great nebula in the Sword-handle; and the nebula in the Sword-handle is clearly placed in Dr. Boeddicker's drawing, at the termination of a branch of the Milky Way. The Pleiades, too, hold on to the Milky Way, and yet belong to the Belt. The Belt is then an appanage of the Galaxy,

or the Galaxy of the Belt; and it is even possible that where they cross they may intermingle. Indeed, Mr. Ranyard makes it pretty clear that, at least to some extent, they do run physically together. The Southern Cross, as everyone knows, emblazons one of the brightest sections of the Milky Way, adjacent to the margin of the 'Coal-sack;' and its two leading stars are included in a photograph lately taken by Mr. H. C. Russell, Government Astronomer at Sydney. Now, round the image of α Crucis on the plate, a crowd of minute stars are disposed in a radiated pattern, with implied reference to a centre. 'The symmetry of the arrangement,' Mr. Ranyard remarks, 'of the diverging streams of small 'stars with respect to the large star, hardly permits us to 'doubt that the streams of small stars are associated with, 'and are at the same distance from us as, the large star from 'which they appear to radiate; but the probability of such a 'connexion is greatly increased by a closer examination of 'the large star, which is seen to be surrounded by a dense 'cluster of small stars similar in magnitude to those forming 'the diverging rays.'* If the suggested association really subsists, the brilliant of the Cross must be fully a million times† more luminous than the stellar points congregated about it; either these, accordingly, are inferior to our sun in emissive power, or the grand orb near them is a million times its superior. We can take our choice as to which alternative is the more probable. Proof more cogent of similar disparities is met with in the northern sky.

'The stars throughout the whole of the Cygnus region,' writes our author,‡ 'are evidently associated with nebulosity. Dr. Max Wolf states that α and γ Cygni appear on his negatives to be connected by nebulous films, and that a nebulosity may be traced in brighter or fainter patches throughout the whole region. Probably the whole of the Milky Way is faintly nebulous, the stars being connected by a nebulous envelope, somewhat after the manner of the stars in the Pleiades group. There seems to be evidence that the stars of the Hyades group are similarly surrounded by a faint nebulosity, and that both the Pleiades and Hyades groups are connected with the Milky Way by a faint nebulous stream or a succession of nebulous

* Old and New Astronomy, p. 746.

† Mr. Ranyard, in our opinion, considerably overrates the disproportion between α Crucis and the constituents of its stellar *cortège*. Stars so faint as the eighteenth magnitude have, in all likelihood, never yet been photographed. To reach them is as much as can be expected from the new Bruce telescope at Harvard College.

‡ Op. cit. p. 745.

[illegible] in a manner similar to that already referred to with regard to the principal stars in the constellation of Orion.

'Such a nebulous connexion of large stars with the Milky Way indicates that the large stars so connected must be at about the same distance from us as the stream of small stars which give the bulk of the light of the Milky Way. The association of large stars with the Milky Way is also proved by the way in which many large stars fall into line with curves of small stars. One or two such coincidences might be accounted for as accidental, but the very frequent alignment of small and large stars shown by the photographs may with safety be taken as proving a close association between such large and small stars.'

On the whole, there seems no longer any reasonable doubt that many bright stars make part of galactic assemblages. The next step is to try and estimate, as best we can, the distance from ourselves at which those assemblages are situated. Mr. Ranyard assumes them, from plausible considerations, to be about fifteen times more remote than a Centauri, our nearest neighbour in space. Their light, if this be so, reaches us only after sixty-five years of travel; and a star thus placed, yet shining as of the first magnitude, should be five hundred times a more powerful radiator than the sun. But the components of the galactic haze surrounding this large orb would probably in many cases fall short in size of the planet Uranus. Mr. Ranyard, indeed, resolves the star-dust of the Milky Way into suns on the terrestrial scale; but his result is obtained by considerably undervaluing, as it seems to us, their individual brightness.

There are some reasons, moreover, for believing that the galactic clusters are in truth at a much greater distance than is implied even by a light journey of sixty-five years. Argelander's 324,000 stars exhibited in Mr. Proctor's chart decided condensation in the plane of the Milky Way. But their distribution outward in space seems pretty equable, down at least to the ninth magnitude, or thereabouts. Now, it is all but manifestly certain that the cloudlike aggregations of the Milky Way do not occur within the sphere occupied by these 324,000 stars. They lie outside, perhaps far outside, its limits. For Argelander's stars take hardly any notice of the great galactic rift; they are nearly as thickly strewn over it as over the shining branches on either side. This proves to our thinking, conclusively, that the crowding together of very small stars, producing the nebulous effect to the eye of those branches, takes place at a distance exceeding that of an average ninth-magnitude star. Nor are we altogether without the means of inter-

preting the definition. Professor Pritchard, from direct measurements of about thirty stars of the second magnitude, concludes such objects, taken all round, to be at a remoteness signified by fifty-eight years of light-travel, and ninth-magnitude stars, also taken all round, must be twenty-five times farther off than the Oxford stars. There seems, accordingly, no escape from the inference that the 'milky' radiance from the 'circling zone' of the heavens has been afloat on the 'crystal waves of ether pure' during, at any rate, a millennium and a half, before it impinges upon the earth. Immersed in the Galaxy, then, our sun would show as of fourteenth magnitude, or fainter, so that the thronging orbs of that marvellous assemblage cannot be very greatly his inferiors in real lustre. What, then, shall we say of the triton-suns to which these are but minnows? We have to admit for them an almost incredible splendour. Yet giant-suns are no creation of the fancy. Their existence has been demonstrated by arguments entirely independent of those here advanced. Arcturus, for example, undeniably exceeds the solar standard of light-giving several thousand times. Rigel and Canopus take rank as his peers, and there is reason to believe that Sirius would shrink into insignificance among the Pleiades.

The Milky Way would seem to be composed of bodies more intensely lustrous, area for area, and less dense than the sun. Professor Pickering and Dr. Gill, assisted by Professor Kapteyn, during the progress of their different kinds of photographic surveying work, separately collected evidence of the predominance in galactic regions of 'White 'Stars'—stars, that is to say, giving the same type of spectrum as Sirius and Vega. And although their direct observations did not extend beyond stars of between the ninth and tenth magnitudes, it might reasonably be inferred from them that the veritable *dust* of the celestial highway shines with the same quality of light. This is in itself probable. For 'White Stars' are often nebulously connected, the Pleiades and the Orion *lucidæ* affording conspicuous examples of the association; while solar stars, so far as experience has yet gone, are invariably free from such chaotic appendages. But the Milky Way is a nebulous region. World-stuff in an elementary stage—'lucid matter 'taking forms'—is accumulated there. It is the proper home of gaseous nebulæ, as distinguished from non-gaseous ones, which markedly avoid it; bright-line, or gaseous stars, are rarely found outside its borders, within which, too, tem-

porary stars—one exception out of over a score of known examples proving the rule—kindle to brief, astounding brillancy; while photographic investigation promises to bring more and more fully into view the envelopement in cosmical haze of true galactic clusters. Their composition out of Sirian stars would then fall into line with the results of antecedent experience, and may be accepted, at least provisionally, as a truth acquired to science.

We cannot, however, agree with Mr. Ranyard in holding that the sun, and other stars like it, have only a casual connexion with the Galaxy—that they are 'irrevocable 'travellers,' flitting, as it were, from infinity to infinity. He demonstrates, it is true, with perfect success, that they cannot form a separate cluster, interior to the ring of the Milky Way, and in federative dependence upon it. Their movements are much too swift to be thus accounted for. The gravitative tie in any such cluster could not possess a tithe of the strength necessary to control them. Nor is it possible at present to fix upon a centre round which they can be supposed to flow in closed curves. The high velocities of some of the stars constitute, indeed, one of the most startling facts in sidereal science. The bodies owning them are called 'runaways,' because they appear as if aliens to any settled universal order, and bent upon an aimless plunge into the abyss encircling the

'Lucid interspace of world and world,'

where they still find themselves. It does not, to be sure, follow that what seems, is; only we are too ill-informed to establish the distinction. Nor are we prepared to class the sun, with its comparatively moderate speed, as a runaway star. Its situation, close to the medial plane of the Milky Way, and near its centre, affords in itself a sort of guarantee of stability and systemic union, which we should be loth to discard as worthless. Our present author, however, has no such reluctance. He contemplates with philosophic calm the subversion of our actual sidereal relationships. 'If the sun,' he says (p. 804), 'is moving in space with a velocity of, say, 'eighteen miles a second relatively to the galactic system, it 'seems probable that in less than a million years, if no un-'toward accident should happen to the solar system in passing 'through or close to the Milky Way, the astronomer of the 'future may be able to study the galactic system from the 'outside; for with a velocity of eighteen miles a second the 'sun would in 450,000 years be carried across a space equal

'to ten times the distance between the sun and *a* Centauri, 'and unless the stars associated with the Milky Way are on a 'gigantic scale compared with our sun and the Sirian and 'solar stars whose mass we have been able to estimate, the 'galactic ring cannot have a diameter twenty times as great 'as the distance separating the sun and *a* Centauri.'

On this showing, our globe must have passed the Pillars of Hercules, at its entry from the Ocean-stream into the *mare clausum* of the Galaxy, a million years ago, perhaps in Tertiary times. Let us hope that, at its exit, it may escape the fate of the Pleiad-dove, crushed between the vicious Symplegades. That the risks of the voyage are not imaginary, the danger-signal kindled by the blaze of every 'new star' may suffice to show. But it is unnecessary to speculate as to whether or not our race will ever be called upon to incur them.

Mr. Ranyard has devoted particular attention to the study of nebulæ. His discernment of the strange curvilinear and branching shapes emerging from Mr. Roberts's photograph of the prodigious Orion formation, and his disclosure, with the help of Mr. Wesley's skill as a draughtsman, of their analogy with certain structural details of the photographed solar corona, opened up new views as to the nature of such objects; * the extraordinary tenuity of which he now demonstrates. He argues that the enormous volume attributable to the Orion nebula, on the lowest possible estimate of its distance and dimensions, necessarily implies for it either a vast mass or inconceivable rarity. The presence of a vast mass should however be betrayed by the swift motions of adjacent stars. But these seem, on the contrary, almost completely stationary. Hence there is no escape from the second alternative.

'The small average proper motions,' our author writes (p. 794), 'of stars in the neighbourhood of the Orion nebula entitle us, therefore, to assert with some confidence that the average density of the Orion nebula cannot exceed one ten-thousand millionth of the density of atmospheric air at the sea-level. This would about correspond to the mean density of the solar nebulous mass, supposing it to have been spherical when its radius was a little more than 107 astronomical units, or when the sun occupied a sphere with a radius of a little more than three and a half times the distance of Neptune. Thus we might, from the evidence of proper motion alone, have concluded that the Orion nebula is less dense than the solar nebula was at the epoch when the birth of the planets commenced.'

* Knowledge, May 1889; Old and New Astronomy, p. 732.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] again intimate, it appears to us, a gradual [illegible] of matter, during untold ages, from a slowly rotating [illegible]. Here, too, the lines of structure are occasionally seen to be deformed through the attraction of secondary centres, which, since they prescribe the course of those lines, cannot have originated from them. Such objects remain, none the less, largely enigmatical; their discovery in 1845 was the first and most important result of the construction of the great Rosse reflector; subsequent research, aided by photography, has shown the law of their formation to be

fundamental throughout the cosmos. Professors Holden and Schaeberle detected, with the great telescope of Mount Hamilton, the 'helical' forms of certain planetary nebulæ, and the first-named astronomer made it clear by experimental evidence that a considerable number of nondescript nebulæ could be resolved into screw-shaped structures variously foreshortened. The luminous whorls of the Andromeda nebula and of some analogous objects discover themselves on long-exposed sensitive plates; even

> 'That marvellous round of milky light
> Below Orion,'

irregular though it seem to ordinary observation, has spread and settled into an abysmal whirlpool under the penetrating gaze of the camera; while the same coiling tendency is displayed by some of the protrusions of the Milky Way, as well as in many evidently purposeful arrangements of stars.

But the most extraordinary revelation of its prevalence is contained in photographs of the Magellanic Clouds taken at Sydney in 1890. These strange collections of detached and clustering stars, of nebulæ, gaseous and non-gaseous, resolvable and unresolved, certainly belong to the galactic system, although organised beyond question on a totally distinct footing. They were first photographed by Mr. Russell, not without difficulty. The Nubeculæ proved somewhat averse to self-registration. An exposure of four and a half hours sufficed to develope but imperfectly the inner structure of the greater Cloud; still, its nature was recognised as that of a complex spiral with two centres. Ample confirmation of the discovery was derived from an impression obtained in seven hours. 'Each increase in the 'time of exposure,' Mr. Russell remarked, 'brings out new 'details of this striking object, all helping to indicate more 'and more clearly its spiral character.' * And a picture of the lesser Cloud, taken in eight hours, left no doubt of its general similarity to the companion object. That the disposition along spiral lines of the members of these vast and heterogeneous systems implies the progress of internal change is not open to question. It gives us to understand that no dynamical equilibrium has yet been arrived at within them—that no fixed order of revolution has yet been established. But the end towards which the mighty processes thus shadowed out to our minds are working remains profoundly

* Month. Notices, vol. li. p. 97.

obscure. These south-polar clouds are perhaps the most astounding objects in the heavens; they are, in Herschel's words, *sui generis*; nothing analogous to them is met with in the northern hemisphere; they were plainly formed under the influence of local and peculiar conditions of aggregation. All the contents of surrounding space, as Mr. Proctor pointed out many years ago, seem to have been indiscriminately swept into them, for they stand out from an almost starless background of sky; and it is extremely significant that the only gaseous nebula known to differ fundamentally from the type of spectrum shown by its class occurs within the wide expanse of the greater Magellanic Cloud. How vast that expanse may be, it would be futile to conjecture. The powers of the mind are inadequate to estimate, however dimly, the realities of that strangely organised assemblage.

Well may Mr. Proctor declare, in his fine Introduction, that

'astronomy teaches us to regard the whole system to which the earth belongs as occupying the merest speck of space by comparison with the visible portion of the stellar domain, while the sphere enclosing all the stars visible to the naked eye is small by comparison with the spaces revealed by the telescope, and infinitely small by comparison with those spaces whose existence is suggested by telescopic research. Nor is even the vastness of the domain of astronomy,' he continues, 'the most impressive feature of the science. The wonderful variety recognised within that domain is but faintly pictured in the solar system with all its various forms of matter—sun, primary planets, and moons; major planets, minor planets, and asteroids; planet-girdling rings, meteoric systems, and comets, with perchance other forms of matter hitherto unrecognised. Beyond our system lie giant suns, suns like our own, and minor suns; double, triple, and multiple suns; all orders of star-clusters and star-clouds; streams, branches, nodules, and gathering aggregations of suns in endless variety; and great masses of glowing gas, occupying regions of space compared with which the domain of the mightiest sun is but as a point.

'And beyond the wideness of the domain of astronomy, and the amazing variety recognised within that domain, there remain the yet more impressive lessons taught by the infinite vitality which pervades every portion of space, and by the vast periods of time over which astronomy must extend its survey. The mind cannot but be strengthened and invigorated, it cannot but be purified and elevated by the contemplation of a scene so magnificent, imperfect though the means may be by which the wonders of the scene are made known to us. The information given by the telescope is, indeed, but piecemeal, and as yet no adequate attempts have been made to bring the whole array of known facts as far as possible into one grand picture; but, seen as it is only by parts, and (even so) only as through a veil and darkly, the scene presented to the astronomer is grander and more awe-inspiring than aught else that man is privileged to contemplate.'

ART. X.—1. *A Bill to amend the Provision for the Government of Ireland.* . .

2. *Speech of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., in the House of Commons on Feb.* 13, 1893, *in moving for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Provision for the Government of Ireland.*

3. *Speech of the Right Hon. Arthur Balfour, M.P., at Belfast.* 'Times,' April 5, 1893.

4. *Irish Nationalism: An Appeal to History.* By the DUKE OF ARGYLL. London: 1893.

'ON the first Tuesday in September, one thousand eight 'hundred and ninety four,' the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland are to make trial of a new Constitution. Such is the will of Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Gladstone is already in his eighty-fourth year!

The scheme of government devised by the Prime Minister it will fall to the lot of other statesmen to work. His personal interest ends with the passing, and does not touch the working, of the Bill. The difficulties to which it will give rise will not be difficulties for him; the dangers that it will inevitably cause *he* will never be called upon to face. There is, therefore, no check on that blind optimism, on that absolute belief in the efficacy of his own legislative proposals, which sad experience has taught an ever-increasing portion of the British people to distrust and to dread. Mr. Gladstone has evolved out of his own mind a new Constitution, and no one doubts the sincerity of his conviction that, unless it is prevented by wicked men from becoming the law of the land, a new era of peace, of goodwill, and of prosperity will dawn both on England and Ireland on that happy morning of September 1894.

And what is the fundamental idea of this new Constitution? It is the portentous principle that the people of the United Kingdom form, not one nation, but two nations, and that upon this foundation their political institutions must be constructed and developed. It is true that history, that geography, that conditions of race, that the circumstances of the present age —in short, that facts past and present, prove the fallacy of that theory of Irish nationhood which has always been asserted by Irish conspirators, and which is now the claim of Irish professional politicians on both sides of the Atlantic. At what time and in what respect were the inhabitants of

Ireland ever accounted 'a nation'? Does history record the existence of a national polity? Was there ever an Irish flag, an Irish fleet, or an Irish army? Did Ireland send its ambassadors to foreign nations, or receive, at its own capital, the representatives of foreign sovereigns? It is quite certain that by no other nation has Ireland ever been considered 'a 'nation' at all, and that, even within the confines of Ireland itself, there have never been found those marks and characteristics which invariably accompany actual 'nationhood.'

The word 'nation,' like the word 'commonwealth,' signifies a people bound together by common political institutions, governed by the same laws, owning the same allegiance, and maintaining their own civil order.

> 'So work the honey-bees;
> Creatures that by a rule of Nature teach
> *The act of order to a peopled kingdom.*
> They have a king and officers of sorts:
> Where some, like magistrates, correct at home;
> Others, like merchants, venture trade abroad;
> Others, like soldiers, armed in their stings,
> Make boot upon the summer's velvet buds;
> Which pillage they with merry march bring home
> To the tent-royal of their emperor;
> Who, busied in his majesty, surveys
> The singing masons building roofs of gold;
> The civil citizens kneading up the honey;
> The poor mechanic porters crowding in
> Their heavy burdens at his narrow gate;
> The sad-eyed justice with his surly hum,
> Delivering o'er to executors pale
> The lazy yawning drone.' *

A 'nation' contains men of every class, following their own separate avocations, yet joined in one community for their own good government, for their own defence, and for the attainment of their common national ends.

Mr. Gladstone, then, is not attempting to restore political nationhood to Ireland. He is endeavouring to create it. What an object for British statesmanship to pursue! Surely it should be the highest aim of a patriotic Minister to strengthen by every means in his power the sense of common citizenship, the love of a common country! To persuade the Englishman, the Scotchman, and the Irishman to value more highly the British citizenship that unites us than those narrower feelings, surviving from an early stage of our history, which still tend to keep us apart. Whatever is the

* Henry V.

fate of Mr. Gladstone's Bill—and there is no doubt what that fate will be—the mischievous effects of his seven years of Home Rule agitation will take long to die away.

For the last seven years the English Home Rule leader has been striving to reconcile the irreconcileable. To Irishmen he has held himself out as able and willing to satisfy Irish 'national' aspirations. To English and Scotch Liberals, on the other hand, he has pledged himself to maintain the national supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. He would make Ireland a nation, he would give her national institutions; and yet he would at the same time take good care that the sovereignty of the greater nation, composed of the whole people of the United Kingdom, should be in no degree diminished or impaired. And during seven long years of controversy men have been found to believe that Mr. Gladstone could really do this!

In 1886 he proposed to accomplish his double purpose by means of a comparatively simple plan. He was then prepared to bring about a virtually complete severance between the British and the Irish Legislatures, between the British and the Irish Governments. He maintained, and his colleagues elaborately argued, that the supremacy of the Parliament at Westminster, in which no Irishman was to have a seat, would be in no degree lessened by his scheme. The British Parliament could not, they assured us, even if it wished to do so, alienate or limit its own sovereignty. It might, no doubt, delegate its powers to some subordinate authority, but what it was competent to delegate it was competent also to resume. Practical men might ask, and did ask, how much of the supremacy of the British Parliament remains to it, for instance, over the colony of Victoria, and whether it was really within the competency of Parliament to resume to itself the powers of government it had vested in the colonial Legislatures. It is, moreover, in truth the merest sophistry to argue that, even in constitutional theory, Parliament cannot limit its own sovereignty. Parliament is in constitutional theory omnipotent, and able, therefore, amongst other things, to accomplish its own destruction. If, for instance, the present Parliament were to repeal the English and Scottish Acts of Union, and to enact that after the first Tuesday of September 1894 the English and Scottish Parliaments should revive as if those Acts had not passed, there would be no pretence for arguing that any Imperial supremacy would belong to the English Parliament at Westminster over Scotland which would not

equally belong to the Scotch Parliament over England. Each would be a sovereign Parliament, but only, of course, within its limited jurisdiction. To the practical man, naturally, these academic discussions were of little interest. He knew, as a matter of fact, that Parliament had on various occasions most effectually surrendered its powers, and that it was absolutely incapable of resuming them. A Parliament in which there were no Irishmen would, in his mind, have had no moral right to govern, to tax, or to make laws for Ireland. The Bill of 1886 therefore meant separation in his eyes, and nothing else, and it was, accordingly, summarily rejected by the British people.

In 1893, Mr. Gladstone is endeavouring to accomplish his twofold purpose by means of a scheme cunningly devised to meet the objections which proved fatal to his Bill of 1886. Eighty Irish members—a larger representation than is contributed by the whole of Scotland—are to remain at Westminster. There will, therefore, continue to be a supreme Parliament representing the whole United Kingdom sitting in London, and at the same time a national Irish Parliament to govern Ireland sitting in Dublin. We will inquire shortly how this plan works out. In the meantime, it is evident that Mr. Gladstone, in endeavouring to escape shipwreck on the fatal rock of separation, has exposed his vessel to difficulties and dangers from which his former course preserved him. It is true that the present Bill is not like the old one, on the very face of it, a separation Bill. But it is also true, as the most cursory glance at its provisions will show, that it is no mere Bill 'to amend the Provision for the Government of 'Ireland,' to quote its very inadequate title; for it is a measure which bases upon entirely novel principles the parliamentary government of Great Britain and the whole Empire.

Throughout the controversy it has been amusing to observe the dismay which any attempt to give form and substance to Home Rule aspirations has brought upon ingenuous Home Rule minds. Mr. John Morley is greatly shocked if he is called a Separatist; the late Professor Freeman shuddered at the very idea of 'federalizing' the United Kingdom, or 'restoring the Heptarchy.' Mr. Stead loses all self-control in his indignation against a scheme which will destroy in 'dementing' that great engine of our constitutional system, the British House of Commons. We sympathise with every one of these eminent personages. Neither separation, nor federation, nor confusion, will solve the Irish difficulty, nor

bring anything but trouble and disaster upon British and Irish alike. Mr. Gladstone's grand conception of Home Rule combined with true Union is incapable of embodiment in an Act of Parliament, and there is no more signal proof of his ascendency over his followers than that he should have induced the country to take seriously either his reckless separatist project of 1886, or the still more astounding Constitution now under discussion in the House of Commons.

The Prime Minister proposes to call into being by Act of Parliament 'a nation;' and having created it, to fix precisely by various sections of the Act its exact size, its exact strength, and its exact relation to another nation—viz. to the British People. For the first time, the world is to make acquaintance with a 'Statutory Nation'! The condition of a colony or dependency of the Crown is known to every British subject. The position of a State, one member of a federation of States, is easily understood. Ireland is to be neither a 'colony,' nor a 'province,' nor a 'State.' The grand object is to satisfy the demands of certain Irish politicians that Ireland should be 'a Nation.' But the British people, the people of the United Kingdom as a whole, consider that they are a nation, and are determined in their Parliament assembled to continue to exercise over the whole of the United Kingdom that absolute sovereignty, in fact as in theory, which now belongs to them. To the ordinary mind, the British and the Irish claim to nationhood seem antagonistic. They are antagonistic. But the mind of Mr. Gladstone is no ordinary mind, and the minds of his colleagues and followers have apparently not been exercise, and have no weight, upon the question of Home Rule. We are, accordingly, to make trial of an elaborate experiment in Constitution-making; 'two authorities, neither supreme,' are to be set up, and, of course, 'confusion' will be the natural and necessary consequence that will ensue.

The Duke of Argyll, in his newly published 'Irish 'Nationalism,' appeals to history against those passionate denunciations of England which have marked the recent speeches and writings of Mr. Gladstone. The seven centuries of oppression and ill-treatment to which Ireland has been subjected by English government, according to Mr. Gladstone, melt into a period shorter than many a human life, under the treatment of the Duke of Argyll. It was not till after William III. had finally established his rule in Ireland at the beginning of the eighteenth century that 'the 'complete and assured dominion' of England began; and it

lasted only till 1782, 'when a virtual independence was 'conceded to a native Parliament.' In this manner the conclusion is reached

'that so far as those causes are concerned which determined the domestic and economic condition of the people, they lay entirely outside the power of the earlier English "Lords" or of the later English kings of Ireland. These causes lay, not only predominantly, but almost exclusively, in the persistent survival in Ireland of native habits, usages, and traditions, some of which had, indeed, been common to the earlier stages of society in other countries, but the whole of which in Ireland had yielded to no process of developement except the developement of increasing barbarism and destructiveness.'

Doubtless it would have been better for Ireland herself to have undergone the successive conquests by Roman, by Saxon, and by Norman, which have had so large a share in moulding the character and the destinies of the inhabitants of Great Britain. English and Irish have in the past committed against each other many a crime, have done much for which mutual forgiveness should be extended. So have the English against the Scotch, and the Scotch against the English; yet, though rivalry remains, enmity is dead between the inhabitants of the Northern and the Southern Kingdom. Whoever was to blame, whatever were the causes, we have to deal with existing facts, and the Duke of Argyll is not too severe in the rebuke which he administers to Mr. Gladstone for adding to the difficulties of the United Kingdom by inflaming every 'National' Irish sentiment and prejudice against the people of England.

Let us turn from these general observations to the Bill itself. It establishes in Ireland, as any proposal for Home Rule must necessarily do, an Irish Legislature and Executive Government. It recites in its preamble that this is to be accomplished 'without impairing or restricting the supreme 'authority of Parliament.' It is, then, worth our while to inquire in what consists at the present day this supreme authority which resides at Westminster. In the first place, Parliament chooses and controls the government of the whole United Kingdom; it selects the men who are to govern Ireland, and it supplies them with sufficient physical force to maintain the law of the land and to execute the orders of the Government. In the second place, Parliament imposes taxes, and raises the national revenue from the whole kingdom, including Ireland. In the third place, Parliament legislates for the whole kingdom, including Ireland. Administration, taxation, legislation, appear to be the

principal functions directly or indirectly performed by Parliament. Can anyone, with the text of the Bill before him, pretend that the authority of Parliament to govern Ireland, to tax Ireland, to legislate for Ireland, will not be impaired or restricted by its provisions? Why, government, and the selection of the men who govern, will be transferred from Parliament to the Irish Legislature. The latter body, except as regards Customs and Excise, will have the entire control of Irish taxation, and all legislation limited to Ireland is, with certain exceptions, in express terms given up by Parliament to the Irish Legislature in College Green.

The main outlines of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Constitution are easily comprehended. The Legislature is to consist of two Houses, viz. (1) a Legislative Council, containing forty-eight councillors, elected for eight years by electors owning or occupying land or tenements of a rateable value of 20*l.*, and not subject to dissolution; (2) a Legislative Assembly elected for five years, but subject to dissolution, containing 103 representatives, elected by the existing constituencies. In case of disagreement between the Council and the Assembly continuing after a dissolution, or after the lapse of two years, the members of the two Houses are to deliberate and vote together upon the Bill in dispute, which is to be adopted or rejected by a majority of the members of the combined Houses voting upon it.

So far—on paper—nothing could be more simple. The test of a Constitution, however, is not how it looks upon paper. The question is, how it will work; and when we come to investigate the relations which are to exist between the British Government and the Irish Government, between the British Parliament and the Irish Legislature, between the Irish Legislature and the Irish Executive Government; when we consider the duties imposed upon the latter Legislature, the authorities and powers delegated to it and withheld from it, we find not merely the certainty of endless confusion in practice, but even on paper the greatest ambiguity and uncertainty as to what is the real intention of the authors of the Bill.

It is often forgotten that, even during the existence of the old Irish Parliament, the Irish Executive was but a branch of the King's Administration in London, which was, of course, itself dependent upon the British Parliament. In the days of Grattan's Parliament, when in theory the Irish Legislature was independent, the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary were as completely members of the Sovereign's

Administration in London as are Lord Houghton and Mr. Morley to-day. There have never been separate national executives governing Great Britain and Ireland. Even Mr. O'Connell, in his great speech in the House of Commons in 1834 in favour of Repeal, did not urge upon Parliament the creation in Ireland of a national executive, independent of the Ministry at Westminster. The fifth clause of the Bill, which creates the Irish Executive, is of such extreme importance, and at the same time its language is so vague, that we prefer that our readers should gather from its actual words, if they can, the real intention of the Prime Minister. Clause 5 runs as follows:—

'(1) The executive power in Ireland shall continue vested in Her Majesty the Queen, and the Lord Lieutenant on behalf of Her Majesty shall exercise any prerogatives or other executive power of the Queen the exercise of which may be delegated to him by Her Majesty, and shall in Her Majesty's name summon, prorogue, and dissolve the Irish Legislature.

'(2) There shall be an Executive Committee of the Privy Council of Ireland, to aid and advise in the government of Ireland, being of such numbers and comprising persons holding such offices as Her Majesty may think fit, or as may be directed by Irish Act.

'(3) The Lord Lieutenant shall, on the advice of the said Executive Committee, give or withhold the assent of Her Majesty to Bills passed by the two Houses of the Irish Legislature, subject nevertheless to any instructions given by Her Majesty in respect of any such Bill.'

The meaning of this at first sight seems to be that the Lord Lieutenant is to govern in accordance with the advice given to him by a Ministry dependent on the support of the Irish Legislature. This, however, does not give a complete account of the position of the Lord Lieutenant. He has been appointed, and may at any moment be recalled, by the English advisers of the Queen. Upon whose advice—that of the English or the Irish Minister—is he, for instance, to exercise his prerogative of dissolving the Irish Legislature? It is quite clear that subsection 3 contemplates the case of a Lord Lieutenant advised to exercise his legislative prerogative in one direction by the Irish Ministry, and in the opposite direction by the British Ministry, and intends to retain for the latter, on paper, an overruling authority. In short, the Bills approved, perhaps introduced, by a national Irish Ministry, and passed by a national Irish Parliament, are to be subject to veto by an English Cabinet! This, we presume, Mr. Gladstone considers is at one and the same time to safeguard the supreme authority of Parliament and to give due recognition to the nationhood of Ireland!

Another illustration of the uncertain nature of the position of the Lord Lieutenant under the Bill is to be found in clause 30, by virtue of which that official, 'as representing 'Her Majesty,' is invested with full control over the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police, so long as these forces continue in existence. Is the Lord Lieutenant to be responsible, through his Irish Ministers, to the Irish Legislature for his employment of the Irish police forces, or is he to be responsible only to the English Home Secretary? If the former, the Ministers of the Queen are divested of every particle of authority in Ireland; if the latter, national parliamentary government in Ireland is little better than a mockery and a sham. In truth, however important upon paper the prerogatives of the Lord Lieutenant, 'as representing Her Majesty,' may appear, they can amount to very little in the stress of actual facts. Once having given to Ireland, in the name of Irish nationality, a democratic Irish Parliament, there will be no alternative between, on the one hand, allowing that Parliament to govern as well as to legislate for Ireland, and, on the other hand, governing Ireland from England through the instrumentality of English force. When we consider this question of the Lord Lieutenant, and try to make partition of his authority, and to decide when he is to be the servant of a sovereign advised by British Ministers, and when the constitutional sovereign of a national Irish Parliament, we see the hopelessness of the task which Mr. Gladstone has undertaken. To create a national Irish Parliament, with a national Irish Executive, and to do this in the name of Irish nationalism, is a project which logically requires to be completed by the creation of yet another national Irish authority—viz. of an Irish sovereign—who should be guided solely by the advice of his Irish Ministers. In this way, or by the establishment of an Irish republic, it is alone possible to work out the theory of Irish political nationhood. But these are developements from which Mr. Gladstone and his followers have hitherto shrunk.

On this question of the supremacy of Parliament the House of Commons will have, when the Bill reaches Committee, to make a clear and momentous decision. It cannot evade its responsibility by incorporating a worthless expression of its own supreme authority in the preamble of the Bill. Aye or no, the House of Commons must declare whether it intends to retain or to give up the right and the

power to govern one of the two British islands. The words of the preamble must be moved as an enacting clause to the effect that nothing in the Bill 'shall impair or 'restrict the supreme authority of Parliament' over legislation and administration in Ireland. If the preamble is honestly intended, that is its meaning, and nothing else. If this is not meant, then let the House of Commons, if it likes, pass an Act which involves its own abdication. Only let it do it in the light of day! Only let the constituencies know what their representatives are doing! Is it to be competent to Parliament, in order to secure justice and to maintain the peace in Ireland, to pass a 'Coercion' Act or to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and to legislate, if it chooses, and as it chooses, on matters affecting Ireland? Is the 'sovereignty of Parliament' to remain, in the words of Mr. Asquith, 'unquestioned and unquestionable over all 'persons, and over all matters local and imperial'? Is Parliament within the bounds of the United Kingdom to retain not merely the right of passing laws, but the power of entrusting their execution to the Government of its choice? It is difficult to believe that the majority of the House of Commons, pledged, as they consider themselves, to accept whatever Mr. Gladstone may call Home Rule, are so dead to all feeling for the authority and dignity of Parliament as to decree the abject surrender of its own power.

Mr. Gladstone having, in order to satisfy the national claims of Irish members, established a national Irish Government and Legislature in Dublin, proceeds by other clauses* of his Bill to prescribe their functions and to limit their powers. The national Legislature is forbidden to legislate in respect of the naval or military forces, or the defence of the realm, or with respect to trade outside Ireland, or to the establishment or endowment of religion. That Legislature is not to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or take away private property from its owner without just compensation, and any law made by the Irish Legislature in contravention of these 'exceptions and restric-'tions' shall be void. In other words, any person *may* be deprived of life and liberty by Irish Act, or by process in pursuance thereof. We do not pretend to understand upon what principle a national Legislature is to be forbidden to

* Clauses 3 and 4.

raise a Volunteer corps, to establish a Church, or to regulate its trade. No British colony claims national privileges. Yet these are powers which every British colony enjoys. We are not, however, concerned for the moment with the principle or the merit of Mr. Gladstone's restrictions, but solely with their efficacy. Clauses 3 and 4 contemplate the case of the Irish Legislature passing Acts *ultra vires*, and therefore assume that the Lord Lieutenant may give assent to such measures. Suppose, for instance, it establishes, arms, and subsidises a Volunteer force of 50,000 men. To suggest this is not to impute any extraordinary wickedness to the Irish people, but merely to foresee on the part of their new national Legislature a very natural and probable step. Such an Act would be void under the clause already quoted, and would doubtless be so declared by the learned judges of the Privy Council in London. But would that much matter? The Irish Ministry, the Irish Parliament, and the Irish people support the validity of the Irish Volunteer Act, or it would not have been passed. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council will say that the Act is void, and the British Ministry that it is wicked. Troops may be sent to Ireland, but if they are to be employed against the constituted authorities of the Irish people, that is a very different matter from the calling out of soldiers to support 'the civil arm,' and, in fact, means war, and nothing else, between England and Ireland. Might not our statesmen usefully turn their attention to the best method of preventing what is illegal from taking place at all? Constitutional theorists may think it sufficient to record in advance in the Statute-book the illegality of any Act creating an Irish Volunteer force. Let these gentlemen rest assured that, were that force once created, illegally or not, its existence would be a fact quite as important as any judicial decision to the effect that the Act creating it was void!

It is hardly too much to say, that if the Imperial Government representing the Imperial Parliament is to have no instruments in Ireland to carry out its will (except Custom House officers at the ports, and the army), the supremacy given by Act of Parliament to the British over the Irish Government will be a mere paper supremacy, and will prove in practice not worth the paper on which it is written.

Leaving aside, however, the questions of conflict that must arise between the two Parliaments representing the two 'Nations' and their respective Governments, let us

examine whether the Irish Legislature is likely to effect by legislation results beneficial to the Irish people. Those who favour the creation of an Irish Parliament imagine, it is to be presumed, that such a Parliament will pass wiser and juster laws, and laws more likely to conduce to the prosperity of the Irish people, than can be hoped for from the Parliament of the United Kingdom. What evidence is there in the parliamentary action or in the behaviour inside or outside the House of Commons of the majority of Irish members that they possess larger political wisdom, or a higher standard of justice, than the average which prevails at Westminster? That they are more extravagant in their views, more violent in spirit and in language, than ordinary English representatives, is certain, and hitherto extravagance and violence have not been accounted marks of statesmanship. But even were the Nationalist Irish members distinguished beyond other men for their character, their prudence, and their wisdom, an Irish Parliament would still lack the power under Mr. Gladstone's Bill, and under existing conditions in Ireland, though it had the intelligence and the will, to accomplish for Ireland one tithe of the good work which the United Parliament is capable of achieving.

In no country of the world has legislation for the benefit of the poorer classes of the community been carried so far as it has been in Ireland during the last few years. In every province of Ireland thousands of tenant-farmers have been turned into actual proprietors of the lands they occupy, without any cost, even temporarily, to themselves. This process is being carried out steadily and successfully. How has it been possible to cause so large a transformation in the system of land-occupation in Ireland? It has only been possible, and it will only continue possible, because the Government of Ireland, hitherto the Government of the United Kingdom, enjoys good credit, and can borrow money at such a low rate of interest as to be able to lend to the Irish tenant at a rate of interest which will be the equivalent of his former rent and contribute to a sinking fund as well. This is but a single instance out of many where Ireland, the poorer country, has benefited to an untold degree from the fact that it has enjoyed the common purse, and the credit in the money-market, of the richer country with which it has been united. Ireland, in itself full of turbulent elements, and divided by bitter faction, social, religious, and political, has gained scarcely less from the fact that its Government,

being one with that of England, has been strong enough to maintain order and to enforce the law.

The new Government of Ireland must, under any circumstances, be a weak Government, and cannot in the nature of things hope to enjoy the credit which attaches to the Government of Great Britain. But when we remember, as it is our duty to do, who are the men who will compose the Irish Government at Dublin; when we call to mind that they are the aiders and abettors of the fraudulent Plan of Campaign, that many of them have been the recipients of the pay of the Clan-na-Gael, that their leaders have been found by an impartial tribunal to have been engaged in a great conspiracy to establish the complete independence of the Irish people, what possible prospect can there be that such a Government can enjoy any credit at all, or be able wisely and peacefully to govern the discordant and jarring factions of which that people is composed?

It is becoming evident to everyone who has studied the Bill, that it is not only from the clashing of British and Irish interests and feelings that difficulty and confusion will arise from its provisions. We greatly doubt whether under Mr. Gladstone's scheme his new nation will be able to stand upright at all without leaning on its powerful neighbour. What is to be the financial position of Ireland after it has acquired the national privilege of a separate treasury, the dignity of possessing a Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the glory of annual Budgets? Customs duties are reserved for the Imperial Parliament alone. They are to be imposed by Parliament, to be collected by Imperial officers, and to be paid into the Imperial Treasury. This revenue is taken as the equivalent for the sum now paid by Ireland as its contribution to the expenditure of the Empire. Mr. Gladstone this year puts the whole Imperial expenditure of the United Kingdom at 59,000,000*l.*, and the Irish contribution towards it at something between 4 and 5 per cent. The net income from Irish Customs is 2,370,000*l.* Upon this revenue the Imperial Treasury will 'lay hands,' to use Mr. Gladstone's expression; it is never to be allowed to go near the Irish Exchequer, and it will be employed for the general purposes of the Empire. When the House of Commons gets into Committee these figures will be threshed out. At present it need only be said that Mr. Gladstone in 1893 puts the total Imperial expenditure very considerably less than he put it in 1886, whilst he also very largely diminishes the proportion of contribution which Ireland should pay towards it.

Ireland's share in 1886 of the whole burden he put at one-fifteenth, which proportion of 59,000,000*l.* would give 3,933,333*l.*, instead of 2,370,000*l.*, the sum he now proposes. Against this financial proposal of the Bill Irish Home Rule members are loudly uplifting their voices. Not only would one-fiftieth of the Imperial burdens be, according to them, an ample contribution for Ireland to make; but the method of annexing Irish Customs to the British Treasury is extremely distasteful to Irish national sentiment, and so is the reflexion that if the Irish Customs revenue were to increase, the whole benefit of the increase would go into British pockets. The transfer of the proceeds of the Irish Customs to the British Exchequer, in lieu of any other contribution, would make it the interest of the Irish Government, and of the whole Irish people, to encourage contraband trade, instead of repressing it. To defraud a foreign government of its dues would in their eyes be no moral offence. The nature of the Irish coast, the habits of the peasantry, and the absence of restraining power would all favour smuggling; and contraband tobacco, tea, or foreign spirits once landed in Ireland could be freely exported to the ports of Great Britain, unless a line of custom houses were re-established between the two islands.

Excise duties, again, are to be imposed by the Imperial Parliament alone, but they are to be collected and managed by the Irish Government, and to form part of the public revenue of Ireland. Should these duties be increased by the Imperial Parliament, the increase of revenue thence arising is to be paid to the credit of the Imperial Treasury; if they be reduced, the loss to the Irish Treasury is to be made good by the payment of an equal sum to Ireland out of the Imperial Treasury. Thus the Imperial Parliament reserves to itself by the Bill the whole of the Irish Customs and the whole revenue from increased Excise duties; for the former it possesses the security belonging to the actual collection of the funds, for the latter it will practically be in the position of an unsecured creditor, and will receive the revenue as soon as the Irish Treasury pays it. Postage rates are also to be under the Imperial Parliament alone, whilst the management and control of the Post Office will be in the hands of the Irish Administration. With the exception of Customs, Excise, and postage, the Irish Legislature may impose upon Irishmen what taxes it pleases. The Irish balance-sheet will stand as follows:—

	£		£
*1. Excise contributed by Ireland (exclusive of licenses)	3,220,000	1. Civil government charges (exclusive of Constabulary, &c., charge and salary of Lord Lieutenant, but inclusive of local charges met out of local taxation revenue)	3,210,000
2. Local taxes		2. Collection of Inland Revenue.	160,000
a. Stamp duties £755,000		3. Postal services	790,000
b. Income-tax 550,000		4. Contribution to Imperial Constabulary, &c.	1,000,000
c. Excise licenses 190,000			5,160,000
	1,495,000	Surplus	500,000
3. Postal revenue	740,000		
4. Crown lands	65,000		
5. Miscellaneous revenue	140,000		
	£5,660,000		£5,660,000

This table shows at a glance that the financial stability of the new Irish nation is to be based upon the revenue drawn from alcoholic drinks. Mr. Balfour, in a speech at Ealing, put the matter concisely and correctly in declaring that 'Ireland could only remain solvent so long as she was 'drunk.' The total amount which Ireland will have to raise annually to meet Imperial and annual charges together, and to leave her a fair balance, will be 8,030,000*l.*, out of which the revenues from Customs, Excise, and Crown lands, amounting to 5,655,000*l.*, are drawn from sources outside the jurisdiction of the Irish Legislature. The Post Office in Ireland produces a loss of 50,000*l.* a year; but it will not be within the power of the Irish Legislature to alter the rates of postage. Were it attempted to impose such a scheme of finance upon any self-governing British colony, there is not one of them which would not at once repudiate the British connexion and declare its own independence. With all colonies, Customs duties are a favourite source of revenue, but Customs and Excise can hardly be left under the control of different authorities. English statesmen dare not give power over Customs to an Irish Government; hence these two great sources of revenue are to be kept under the

* Parliamentary Return showing the effect of the financial proposals of the Government of Ireland Bill, as regards Ireland, on the basis of the estimated revenue and expenditure for 1892–3.

exclusive control of the Imperial Parliament—that is to say, that nearly three-fourths of the eight millions of revenue raised from Irish sources will be levied by the authority of the British, not of the Irish, Parliament.

What will be the effect of these proposals on British Finance? In the first place it will be impossible to alter the customs duties of the Kingdom without at the same time modifying the financial relations between England and Ireland. In case of war, the Irish customs revenue will, no doubt, fall off, and where out of Irish sources is the Imperial Government to raise an increased revenue? As we have seen, the income-tax at sixpence produces a little over half a million. There are but 100,000 income-tax payers in the whole of Ireland! Moreover, is it not certain that an increased income-tax imposed by 'supreme authority,' and an increased excise duty, both imposed upon Irishmen, not by their own Parliament, but by that of Great Britain, and collected by the Irish Government, will produce a maximum of discontent and a minimum of cash? Looked at either from the British or the Irish standpoint, the financial proposals of the Bill are impossible and absurd.

Hitherto one of the great difficulties to be faced in Ireland has arisen from the land question. In the Bill, that question is to be settled by ignoring it for three years! As has been said, Mr. Gladstone's hopes do not go beyond the passing of the Bill, which provides that for three years the 'Irish 'Legislature shall not pass an Act respecting the relations 'of landlord and tenant, or the sale, purchase, or letting of 'land.' After that the deluge! Or is it intended that, having settled the Irish question by passing the present Bill, the British Parliament is to occupy the whole of the following three years in settling on a permanent basis the most indisputably Irish of all Irish affairs?

If, as regards its government and its political institutions, Ireland is to be cut adrift from Great Britain, it behoves statesmen to see that the new 'nation' should at least start in a condition of stable equilibrium; that in Ireland there should be, to begin with, at all events, a fair prospect of an established Government being formed, a Government which would enjoy general support, stand high in the public credit, and receive the ready and cheerful obedience of Irishmen of all ranks and creeds.

To turn the whole political and social condition of Ireland upside down at the very moment that Ireland is entering on its career of 'nationhood' is an act, not of statesmanship,

but of political insanity. In no country of the world was a permanent democratic Government ever formed upon such a foundation as that on which Mr. Gladstone is building. Everything in Ireland connected with property, with industrial prosperity, with commercial success, is, in its own interest, in violent antagonism to the proposed Constitution. Those who know anything of Ireland hardly required to learn from the evidence given by recent deputations to British statesmen, the unanimity of abhorrence with which the Home Rule Bill is regarded in Ireland itself, outside the ranks of the professional agitators, the priests, and the peasantry. The leading merchants, bankers, shipowners, shipbuilders, lawyers, stockbrokers, brewers, distillers, directors of railway companies, chambers of commerce, the great linen industry of the North, speak with a single voice. It is no longer the voice of Ulster only, of Protestantism only, that is crying to British ears for justice—for protection in the maintenance for all classes of Irishmen in Ireland of those political privileges which Englishmen and Scotchmen enjoy. There have been great popular demonstrations in Limerick, in Waterford, in Cork, as well as in Dublin, against the Bill. And yet there are in England feeble folk who say, 'Let us pass this 'Bill; it is high time that the question should be settled!' Have Englishmen yet to learn that the cowardly abandonment of duty, the base desertion of their fellow-citizens in their hour of peril, are not the means by which they can win for themselves immunity from future trouble? Whatever men may think as to the expediency or the reverse, as to the right or the wrong of Home Rule, it is now clear that to discard the principle of political union with Great Britain, and to rest the future government of Ireland on the support of priests and peasantry, is to send to Ireland, 'not peace, but a 'sword.' The Prime Minister is fond of expatiating upon the selfishness that has in past ages marked the conduct of England toward Ireland; and history undoubtedly records many occasions upon which English rulers have used Ireland as an instrument for advancing their own political, perhaps even their personal, aims. But never in the whole course of history have the interests of Ireland been more recklessly bartered for political support by an English party leader than they have been in recent years by Mr. Gladstone himself. The necessities of English party warfare have outweighed the needs of poor Ireland with an English statesman. 'Perish Ireland,' but let Mr. Gladstone triumph at the polls!

It is a melancholy mark of the mischief already caused by

Mr. Gladstone's 'great betrayal' that honest men and sober citizens should be obliged seriously to discuss the possibility of having to maintain their elementary privileges as British citizens by force of arms. During last summer, immediately before the General Election, a very remarkable message was sent by the loyalists of Ulster—a majority, be it remembered, of that Province—to their British fellow-subjects. These men were in earnest, and they have since been joined in their remonstrance by whatever is prosperous, orderly, and progressive in the other Provinces of Ireland. They were acting constitutionally in plainly stating their thoughts to the British electorate before they went to the poll. Would that Mr. Gladstone had treated the electors with equal honesty, with equal regard to the spirit of the British Constitution! The message contained a solemn warning. It declared that they recognised their allegiance as British subjects to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, to which Englishmen and Scotchmen owed allegiance also; that though they might disapprove legislation passed by that Parliament, as good subjects they would feel bound to obey it; but that were that Parliament to proceed so far as to abdicate its authority, and to attempt to transfer its rights of government to some mockery of a Parliament and Government in Dublin, they would ignore the latter altogether: they would not send representatives to it, they would disregard its authority, and repudiate its claim to their obedience. It is most earnestly to be hoped that the action of Parliament, that the wisdom and honour of the House of Commons, will not suffer the blind infatuation of the Prime Minister to plunge Ireland into civil war. The language of the loyalists of Ireland means, under certain circumstances, resistance; and resistance most assuredly means for them victory. No Government of Great Britain which ventured to send troops to Ireland to force Irish citizens to surrender their rights of political equality with Englishmen and Scotchmen could exist for a single day. But are these rights really to be secured to Irish loyalists at the cost only of civil war? That is a question which, for the time being, it is for the House of Commons to answer; later it may be, though we hope not, for the House of Lords; and ultimately for the British people. Should Irish loyalists be forced into resistance, one thing is certain, viz. that they will be fighting for what Englishmen and Scotchmen have always thought to be worth fighting for, and not till after they have exhausted every constitutional means of making their righteous claim heard.

The right to claim obedience from subjects involves the duty to extend to them protection, whether it is a monarch or a Parliament that makes the claim. No monarch has the moral right to transfer to others the allegiance his subjects owe to him. If such a transference is attempted, it will be for the new Sovereign, not for the old one, to enforce the new sovereignty, if he can. Mr. Balfour, then, was right in using plain language at Belfast, and in declaring that 'every 'rational and sober man would say that what was justifiable 'against a tyrannical king might under certain circumstances 'be justifiable against a tyrannical majority.' Whether questions such as these are to remain 'academic' only, the electorate of the United Kingdom will, before many months are over, be called upon to decide.

So much has been said in and out of Parliament about clause 9 of the Bill, which provides for the retention at Westminster of eighty Irish members, that it need not be discussed at length here. So wild, and at the same time so humiliating a proposal, was surely never before seriously made by any British Ministry. The Irish Parliament is to choose and control the Executive Government of Ireland without the interference of British representatives, and at the same time is to send eighty members to Westminster to assist in choosing and controlling the Executive Government of Great Britain. The choice of the British Ministry is, of course, the most important factor in deciding the character of the legislation to be passed in Great Britain. It is not enough, it seems, to grant Ireland the 'management of its 'own affairs.' Ireland is to have also a casting vote in the management of ours. The practical difficulty, indeed the impossibility, of working the 'in-and-out' scheme contained in clause 9 of the Bill must be apparent to everyone who has had any experience of our parliamentary system. Parliamentary government through the instrumentality of a 'double 'majority' is impracticable, and the public are looking forward with curiosity, not unmixed with amusement, to the speeches with which Home Rule statesmen are about to defend so singular a plan. Grotesque indeed is this project for 'dementing' the House of Commons, and looked at from the point of view of Ireland this scheme, which involves the establishment of a *third* parliamentary electorate, seems scarcely less ludicrous.

There is to be in Ireland, as we have seen, a specially constructed electorate to choose the forty-eight councillors, the present House of Commons electorate to choose the one

hundred and three members of the Legislative Assembly, and the same electorate, though distributed in differently arranged constituencies, to choose the eighty members who are to attend the House of Commons. It is not without interest that we observe that the sacred principle of 'one 'man one vote' has been forgotten, since the 20*l.* ratepayer votes for a member of the Council, as well as for the member of the Legislative Assembly, who is the sole representative of his poorer friend. It is a little difficult seriously to contemplate the election of these eighty senators, who are to be selected by the peasantry of Ireland as their representatives, not on Irish, but on foreign, colonial, Indian, and other Imperial questions!

Thus Mr. Gladstone's second attempt to grant 'national 'autonomy' to Ireland on examination breaks down as completely and hopelessly as did his first. His Bill involves the oppression of Ulster and of the loyal minority in Ireland, and their deprivation of the ordinary civil privileges enjoyed by Englishmen. It involves a scheme of finance utterly inadequate for the national requirements of Ireland, and certain to create difficulties of an acute kind between Ireland and Great Britain. It leaves entirely unsettled the difficulties connected with Irish land, and it introduces into the Parliamentary system of Great Britain and the Empire an element of confusion which would inevitably produce deadlock. The notion that Home Rule was to be a final settlement of the Irish difficulty has been abandoned even by Home Rulers; whilst everyone now perceives that the immediate effect of the Home Rule Bill would be to create in Ireland a complete social revolution, in all probability involving civil war.

Why, then, should these things be? Who wants Home Rule? Outside Ireland, with the single exception of Mr. Gladstone, it is difficult to find any public man advocating Home Rule as if he cared for it. The constituencies of England, Scotland, and Wales manifest no interest in its favour. No meetings are called to support the Bill. Party gatherings of Gladstonians have, of course, been held, yet at hardly any of these have the merits of that Bill been the chief topic of the speeches made. On the other hand, one great demonstration after another against the Bill has taken place. Never in recent times have so many meetings been held against any proposal of any Government. In hundreds of the towns and villages of Great Britain men during the last three weeks have been meeting together to

protest their abhorrence of Mr. Gladstone's measure. Even more striking is the state of things in Ireland itself. The agitation, the zeal, the speeches, the public meetings, appear to be entirely against Home Rule. Irish Nationalist members shrink from appealing, even in Ireland, to public opinion. Probably, were they to attempt 'demonstrations' on their side, they 'would demonstrate' only that they had with them a party whose sole element of solidity consisted of the priests and the peasantry. The remarkable fall in Irish stocks and securities which was caused by the publication of Mr. Gladstone's Bill was an eloquent testimony of the opinion of the Irish propertied classes. In the trying and exciting period of the great Reform agitation of 1831–1832, it was the prospect of the loss of the Bill which sent down the Funds. It was the action of the House of Lords which caused a run upon the Bank of England. The carrying through Parliament of fundamental constitutional changes has never yet been effected against such overwhelming manifestations of public opinion. The leader of the Liberal party, if such he is to be styled, cares nothing for public opinion so long as he can count a majority of votes. So far as the second reading of this iniquitous Bill is concerned, deep as will be the discredit to the House of Commons, he will doubtless have his way. That House has already surrendered to the Prime Minister the whole of its time. Have the majority surrendered to him also their whole judgement, independence, and courage? It remains to be seen. It is bad enough that men should have pledged themselves to the support of a policy even whilst it was studiously concealed from them. It will be degrading indeed if, in the practical discussions of Committee, members consider themselves as no more than counters in their leader's hand.

It is scarcely necessary to repeat that with Unionists the objection to a Home Rule Bill can never be a mere objection to this, that, or the other detail of the Bill. Mr. Bright spoke on behalf of the whole party when he declared that the question with him was not one of a little more, or of a little less, of a Parliament in Dublin. He objected to the establishment of a separate Irish Parliament altogether. The discussion of details is, however, the best method of bringing home to many minds the hopelessness of the principle which Mr. Gladstone is attempting to carry out. Above all, let us remember that we are dealing with facts, and with men. It is childish or senile to suppose that the

expression of nice sentiments in speeches, or in preambles, or even in clauses, is in itself of any avail. Supremacy will not be reserved to Parliament merely by saying that it ought to be reserved, nor the rights of property assured merely by enacting that those rights ought to be respected.

According to the American Declaration of Independence, 'all men were created equal, and endowed by the Creator 'with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit 'of happiness.' According to the practice of the American Constitution, for nearly a century after this declaration, millions of men were held in bondage, and had no civil rights whatever. 'Statutory Nationhood' cannot be the permanent condition of the inhabitants of Ireland. If tried, it will either break down in utter confusion, and so give place to another union, or it will prove a halfway house to that destination to which Mr. Parnell and his friends steadily pointed, namely, that of complete national independence. For if we, the electorate of Great Britain, suffer such a Bill to pass, in the teeth of our own majority in the House of Commons, we should for ever alienate and estrange the loyalists of Ireland, who are the mainstay of the British connexion.

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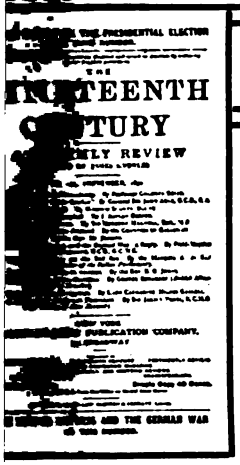

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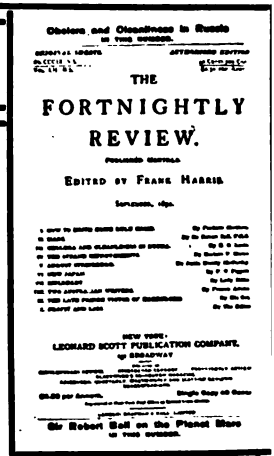

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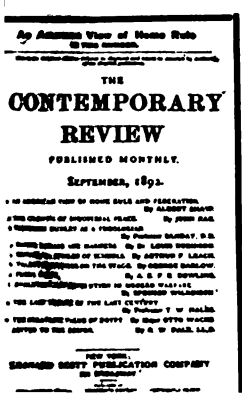

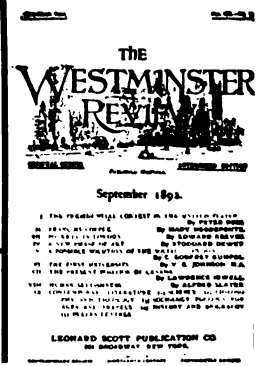

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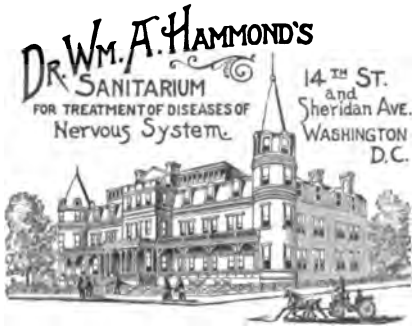

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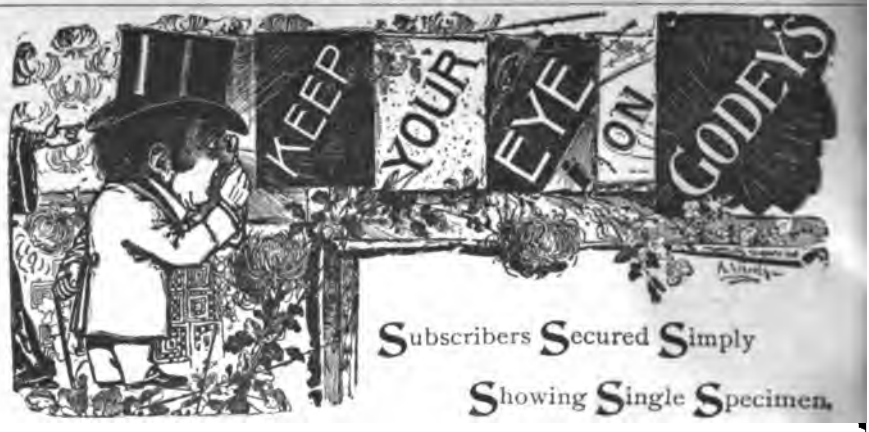

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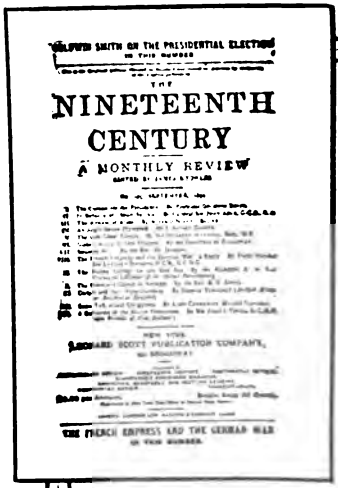

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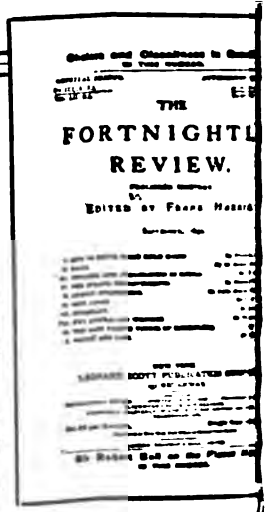

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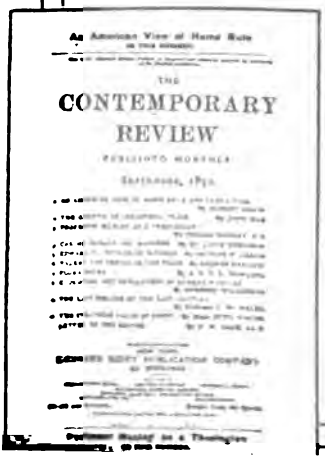

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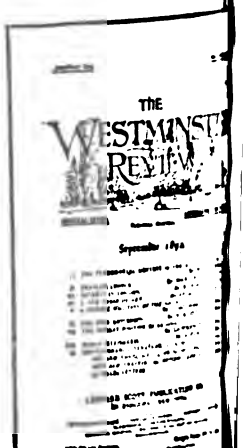

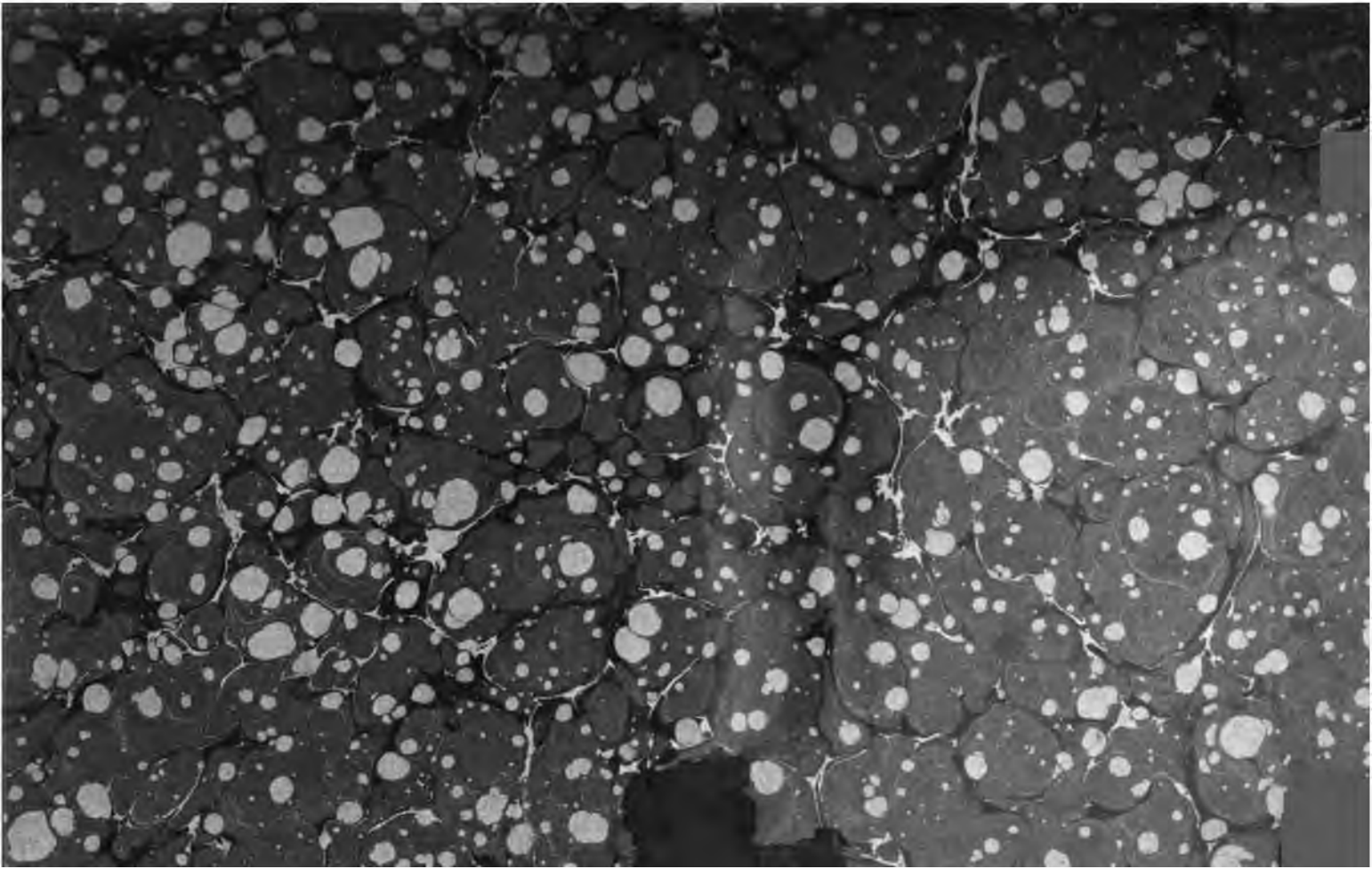

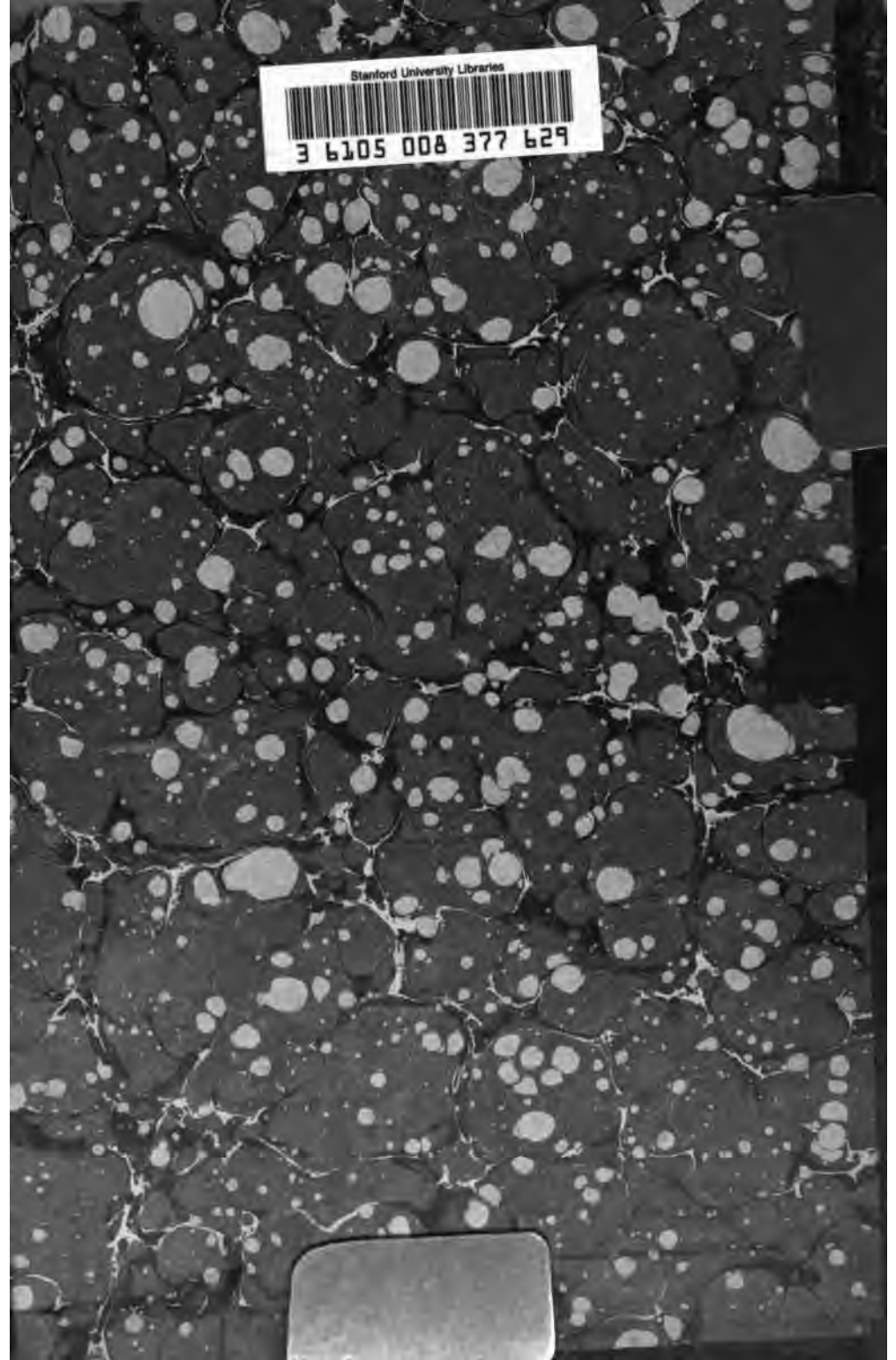
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